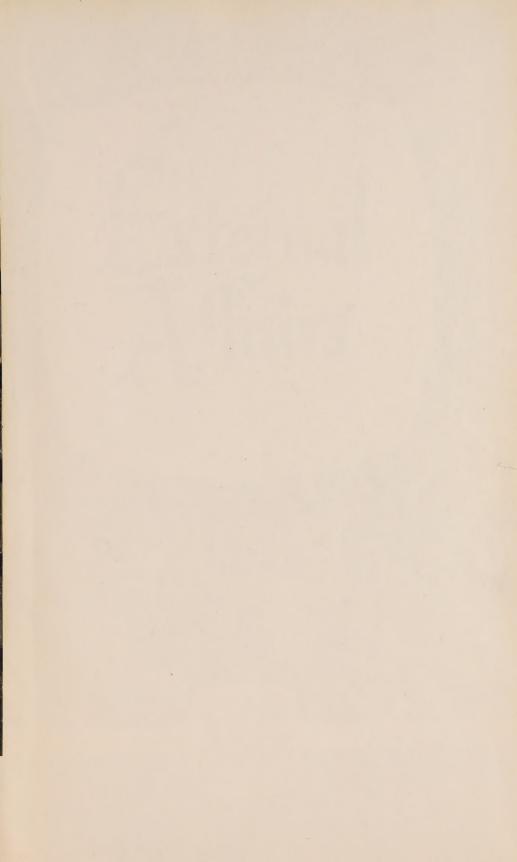


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# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# **Canada and the United Nations**

## The Middle East Crisis

**W**<sub>HEN</sub> the General Assembly of the United Nations met on November 12 to commence its 11th regular session, one of the most urgent problems before it was the crisis in the Middle East. The Special Emergency Session of the Assembly, at its concluding meeting two days earlier, had adopted a resolution placing the Middle East question on the provisional agenda of the regular session as a matter of priority.(1)

While the crisis was among the issues being most actively discussed by the delegates during the opening days of the 11th session, no further formal action was taken by the Assembly until November 24. In the interim the Secretary-General had visited Cairo to discuss with Egyptian authorities arrangements for implementation of the resolutions passed by the Special Emergency Session on November 2, 4 and 7 regarding the United Nations Emergency Force and the re-opening of the Suez Canal. Meanwhile the Commander of the Force, Major-General E. L. M. Burns, had been proceeding with the organization of the United Nations Emergency Force. The first advance units of the Emergency Force arrived in the Canal zone near Ismailia on November 15, and thereafter its growth progressed rapidly.

On November 20 the Secretary-General submitted to the General Assembly a report on the UN Emergency Force outlining the discussions he had held in Cairo with the Egyptian Government. This report set forth in an aidememoire the principal results of these discussions, amounting to an understanding with the Egyptian authorities on the basis for the presence and functioning of UNEF in Egypt. It also gave some details of the build-up of the Force up to that time.

On the same date Mr. Hammarskjold placed before the Assembly a report on the implementation of that part of the cease-fire resolution passed by the Special Emergency Session on November 2 which has urged, *inter alia*, that as soon as the cease-fire became effective, steps should be taken to restore freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal. The Secretary-General had discussed this matter with Egyptian authorities in Cairo and had given them an assurance that the United Nations would seek to provide assistance in clearing the Canal. Mr. Hammarskjold asked the General Assembly to give him authority to negotiate agreements with salvage firms in countries "outside the present conflict", and proposed that a survey of the work required should be undertaken without delay by experts within the United Nations technical assistance programme, in conjunction with representatives of the firms approached.

<sup>(1)</sup> A report on the Special Emergency Session is given in "External Affairs" for November 1956.

The Secretary-General's two reports were the subject of a resolution submitted to the General Assembly on November 24 and co-sponsored by Canada, Colombia, India, Norway, the United States and Yugoslavia. This resolution noted with approval the understanding between the Secretary-General and the Egyptian Government on the basis for the presence and functioning of UNEF in Egypt. It also expressed approval of the progress made by the Secretary-General regarding arangements for clearing the Suez Canal, and authorized him to proceed with the negotiation of agreements so that clearing operations might go forward without delay. This resolution was adopted by the Assembly without a dissenting vote, although nine states abstained

On the same day the General Assembly approved a resolution, proposed by twenty Asian and African delegations, which recalled previous Assembly resolutions calling for withdrawal of foreign forces from Egyptian territory; noted that withdrawal of those forces had not been carried out; and reiterated previous exhortations to France, Israel and the United Kingdom to withdraw their forces "forthwith". The Belgian Delegation had proposed an amendment to this resolution calling for replacement of the operative portion by a paragraph taking note of the withdrawal of forces which was already under way, and urging that completion of withdrawal be expedited. This amendment was, however, lost, as only 23 states, including Canada, supported it, 37 voted against, and 18 abstained. The twenty-power resolution subsequently was adopted by a vote of 63 in favour, 5 opposed and 10 abstentions (including Canada).

### Canada's Attitude

In explaining to the General Assembly Canada's attitude toward the Asian-African resolution and the six-power resolution dealing with the Secretary-General's reports, the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made the following statement:

There are two draft resolutions before the Assembly, one of which my Delegation has the honour to sponsor, along with the Delegations of Colombia, India, Norway, the United States and Yugoslavia (A/3386); but, before saying a few words about that draft resolution I should like to comment on the draft resolution contained in document A/3385, which deals with compliance with previous resolutions which have been passed by the Assembly on the question of withdrawal of forces from Egypt.

It seems to me that this draft resolution, at the present time—and I emphasize "at the present time"—is unnecessary because steps are being taken to bring about the withdrawal in question. Indeed, that withdrawal has begun; we believe that it will soon be completed, and we expect that to be done. We believe also that one way of expediting that process which has begun would be to do our work here quickly and satisfactorily in setting up a United Nations Force, with functions which are agreed on, under the authority of the United Nations and of the United Nations only—a matter which is dealt with in the second draft resolution, which I hope will receive, and very quickly receive, the endorsation of the General Assembly.

The withdrawal, as we see it, has begun. Now, resolutions reiterating previous resolutions are, I think, useful and often necessary when the

original resolution of the Assembly has been treated with contempt and has been defied, as is the case with the United Nations resolution on Hungary. But when a resolution deals with a matter on which action has begun in compliance with a former resolution, and when that compliance is under United Nations supervision, then I do not think, myself, that reference to the former resolution is positively helpful in achieving the objective which we have in mind. Indeed, it often merely takes up the time of the Assembly which, as in this case, could be surely used for the task of bringing about a settlement, the creation of an atmosphere within which progress could be made to such a settlement, and expediting the solution of practical problems, such as the clearing of the Suez Canal and the maintenance there of freedom and security for navigation for all countries.

It seems to me that the draft resolution which we have the honour to sponsor with other delegations (A/3386) is designed for this purpose. It "Notes with approval the contents of the aide-memoire on the basis for the presence and functioning of the United Nations Emergency Force in Egypt, as annexed to the report of the Secretary-General"—and I hope that we can give that approval to the aide-memoire. It is important, however, in giving that approval, to know what we are approving.

What are the functions of this United Nations Emergency Force? Those functions and the task—and it is a very difficult task indeed which confronts the Force—have been laid down by resolutions of the General Assembly, and they are found also in the Secretary-General's second and final report, which has been approved by the Assembly. The basic resolution for these purposes is that which we adopted on 4-5 November (A/RES/394), which states that the functions of this Force are "to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all"—and I emphasize the word "all"—"the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November 1956" (A/RES/390). In that latter resolution, as representatives will remember, provision is made for a cease-fire, for a prompt withdrawal of forces, and also—and this is no time to forget this provision— "that all Member States refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hosilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the present resolution". And in paragraph 4 of that resolution we have this provision, namely, that, upon a cease-fire, steps are to be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore freedom of navigation.

Later, by resolution A/RES/395 of 7 November, the Assembly approved certain principles for the organization and functioning of the United Nations Emergency Force and those principles were stated in certain paragraphs of the Secretary-General's report (A/3302) which was attached to the resolution.

There is very strong, enthusiastic support in my country for this Force—but only as a United Nations Force, under United Nations control, and as an effective and organized Force which can do that job that has been given to it and which, if it can do that job, may be the beginning of something bigger and more permanent in the history of our Organization: something which we have talked about at United Nations meeting for many years, the organization of the peace through international action. Therefore, it is important that this Force should be so constituted and so organized that it will be able to do the work that it has been given to do and thereby set a precedent for the future.

It is also important that the principles on which the Force is to operate are sound. What are these principles? They have been laid down for us in the Secretary-General's report. The Force must be fully independent, in



RCAF Photo

#### END OF THE LINE

C-119's of the RCAF's 435 Transport Squadron line the tarmac at Abu Suweir airport in Egypt after a flight from the UN staging area in Naples, Italy. The Flying Boxcars have just disembarked a platoon of Finnish soldiers, part of that country's contribution to the United Stations Emergency Force, and are already being refuelled for the return flight to Naples.

At mid-January the composition and strength of the national components of the UN Emergency Force were as follows: Brazil: 530; Canada: Army 789, R.C.A.F. 350; Colombia: 527; Demark: 389; Finland: 257; India: 954; Indonesia: 593; Norway: 471; Sweden; 354; Yugoslavia: 783.

regard to its functions and its composition, of the political situation of any single member. The United Nations alone controls it and is responsible for it.

I agree, of course, that the Force—in the circumstances and on the basis of which it was set up, could not operate in the territory of a country without the consent of that country. That is why we are happy that Egypt has given that consent in principle and I am sure that we all agree that, in giving that consent to the constructive and helpful move, no infringement of sovereignty is involved. It is rather an example of using national sovereignty to bring about peace and security and a political settlement through United Nations action.

The control, then, of this Force is in the hands of the United Nations and must remain there. Otherwise it would not be a United Nations Force but it would be merely a collection of national forces, each under the control of its own Government and serving in another country with the consent of and under conditions laid down by that country. That, I am sure, would be unacceptable to most of the Governments in this Assembly.

Having said that, however, I do agree that the Secretary-General should certainly consult with the Government of the country in which the Force is serving, on all matters of any importance that affect it; also, as we understand it, the Force is to remain in the area until its task is completed, and that would surely be for the determination of the United Nations itself. It operates according to the principles as we understand them, where it is necessary to operate in order to accomplish its task, certainly between the opposing Powers to prevent conflict from recurring. As the Secretary-General has said in his report, its functions can be assumed to cover an area extending roughly from the Suez Canal to the armistice demarcation lines, and in that area to facilitate and aid the establishing and securing of peaceful conditions, as an indispensable prerequisite to a just and agreed political settlement.

Surely we must not for one moment lose sight of that objective. It seems to me that it is high time that we began the process of achieving it through United Nations action, because at best the achievement is going to be a long and difficult undertaking.

So I venture to repeat that we should without unnecessary delay get on with the business before us, the constitution and the functioning of this Force, which has been made possible by the cessation of hostilities, and with the clearance of the Canal.

The draft resolution to which I am referring, in paragraph 2,

Notes with approval the progress so far made by the Secretary-General in connexion with arrangements for clearing the Suez Canal as set forth in this report; (A/3386).

We cannot make much more progress unless we pass this draft resolution. Then there is paragraph 3, which is as follows:

Authorizes the Secretary-General to proceed with the exploration of practical arrangements and the negotiation of agreements so that the clearing operations may speedily and effectively be undertaken.

That paragraph is, of course, without prejudice to the allocation of costs and, of course, it is without prejudice to the normal procedures of the United Nations in dealing with expenditures.

So I suggest that our immediate task, now that the process of withdrawal has begun, is to back up the Secretary-General in the terrific undertaking we have imposed on him. His industry and his intelligence deserve our full support. We have faith in him, as he has faith in the good faith of those he is dealing with. We hope, therefore, that we can help him with his work, that we can get ahead with that work in this Assembly instead of having to listen to long, distorted propaganda diatribes such as the one to which we have just had to listen—speeches we have already heard three or four times, which do not improve but, indeed, deteriorate with age.

However, this is not a time for recrimination among those who are anxious to find a solution for the problems with which we are faced. It is not a time for recrimination between delegations who are anxious to get ahead with this work. It is a time for restoration; first, the restoration of the sovereign rights of Egypt over all of its territory by the withdrawal of foreign forces from that Egyptian territory. It is a time for the restoration of free pasage for all through the Suez Canal. It is a time, above all, for restoration, not of the situation which because of the failure of all of us at the United Nations and elsewhere has brought about this critical situation, but for the restoration of peace, security and decent conditions of life in an area of the world which has not seen such conditions for many years."

## Financing of Force

On November 26 the Assembly adopted a resolution dealing with interim financing arrangements for the United Nations Emergency Force and authorizing the Secretary-General to establish a special UNEF account in an initial amount of \$10 million to which funds for meeting expenses of the Force should be credited and from which payments for that purpose should be made. The resolution also provided for interim financial operating arrangements, pending adoption of more permanent arrangements as might be decided upon by the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly. The vote

on this resolution was 52 in favour (including Canada), 9 opposed and 13 abstentions, with five members absent.

On December 20 the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the Assembly adopted a resolution pursuant to the Assembly's resolution of November 26 dealing with the allocation of payment of the expenses of UNEF. This resolution, which was co-sponsored by 25 states including Canada, provided that the expenses of the Force should be borne by the United Nations, and that the first \$10,000,000 of such expenses should be apportioned among the Member states in accordance with the scale of assessments for contributions to the United Nations' annual budget for 1957. The resolution, which was approved by a vote of 57 in favour, 8 opposed and 9 abstentions, also established a committee of 9 states—Canada, United States, Soviet Union, India, El Salvador, Chile, Liberia, Ceylon and Sweden—to examine the question of apportionment of expenses of the Force in excess of \$10,000,000. On the following day, December 21, it was endorsed by the General Assembly, At the end of the year the nine-member Committee had not yet submitted to the General Assembly the report on UNEF financing called for by the resolution.

## Hungary(1)

After action by the Security Council to condemn Soviet military intervention in Hungary had been vetoed by the U.S.S.R., the matter was referred to the Second Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly, convened from November 4 to 10. The Assembly passed four substantive resolutions on Hungary, calling for withdrawal of Soviet forces and free elections in Hungary, admission of UN observers, contributions of food and medical supplies, and aid to refugees. The Special Session also placed the Hungarian question on the provisional agenda for the General Assembly's regular session as a matter of priority.

A few days after the Kadar Government's programme had been announced from Moscow, the Hungarian authorities rejected the request for UN observers to enter Hungary but submitted a list of relief and medical supplies that were urgently needed. The Soviet Union ignored the Assembly's call for withdrawal of Soviet forces. Meanwhile reports of deportations of young Hungarians aroused world opinion and the Hungarian question was again brought before the General Assembly. The Cuban Delegation introduced a resolution raising the deportation issue and urging compliance with the resolutions passed by the Special Session.

In a statement to the Assembly on November 19, Mr. Pearson said that the Soviet Government must bear full and final responsibility for frustrating an impartial investigation by UN observers; he contrasted the ready cooperation with United Nations resolutions by the United Kingdom and France in the Middle East with the obduracy of the Soviet Union in Hungary; and he asked that questions of ideology and power politics not be permitted to interfere with distribution of medical supplies, food and clothing to the Hun-

<sup>(1)</sup> See "External Affairs" November 1956 and December 1956.

garian people. Mr. Pearson termed Russian denials of the deportations as "hollow and false" and concluded by saying:

The Canadian Delegation has given strong support to the other United Nations decisions designed to help the Hungarian people, and we shall also wholeheartedly support the present draft resolution dealing with the cruel deportation of men, women and children from their native land. We can pray that by focussing the spotlight of world opinion on this cruel and inhuman operation we may help to bring to an end the martyrdom of a brave people.

Although Imre Horvath, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, and Mr. Shepilov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, spoke of "the white terror" in Hungary and of UN "interference" in Hungarian domestic affairs, the Cuban resolution was adopted on November 21 by a majority vote of 55 in favour (including Canada) to 10 against (Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia) with 14 abstentions.

Meanwhile the Indian Delegation, with the support of Ceylon and Indonesia, had also taken the initiative in introducing a resolution referring to the reports of deportations and calling on Hungary to admit United Nations observers. The Indian resolution was passed by a vote of 57 in favour (including Canada), 8 against (Soviet bloc with the significant exception of Poland, which abstained) and 14 abstentions (including Yugoslavia).

The Soviet bloc was isolated once again in the voting on a United States resolution appealing for contributions from member states to assist the UN High Commissioner's office in a co-ordinated programme of assistance to Hungarian refugees. This resolution was carried by an overwhelming vote of 69 to 2 with 8 abstentions. The two delegations opposing were Hungary and Rumania. Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Sudan, the Ukraine and the Soviet Union abstained.

On November 30, the Secretary-General reported that Hungary had still not complied with the Assembly's request for the admission of the three UN observers named by Mr. Hammarskjold on November 12-Judge O. Gundersen, of Norway, Mr. A. Lall, of India and Mr. A. Lleras, of Colombia; that all his efforts to persuade the Hungarian Government to admit his representatives had been of no avail, and that he himself had offered to go to Budapest but had not yet received a favourable reply. Thirteen member countries then co-sponsored a resolution noting the failure of the U.S.S.R. and Hungary to comply with the provisions of the Assembly's previous resolutions and recommending that the Secretary-General immediately dispatch his observers to the borders of Hungary. Before the matter came to a vote, the Hungarian Government announced that it would be willing to have the Secretary-General visit Budapest "at a later date appropriate for both parties". The Secretary-General suggested December 16-18 as a reasonable time for the visit, but these dates were subsequently rejected as unsuitable by the Kadar Government. Meanwhile the resolution was pressed to a vote and was carried by a majority of 54 to 10 with 14 abstentions. Mr. Roch Pinard, heading the Canadian Delegation in the absence of Mr. Pearson, spoke in support of the resolution

The continuing obstructive attitude of the Soviet and Kadar Governments, as exemplified by Budapest's rejection of the Secretary-General's offer to visit Hungary, led to a strong protest from the United States Delegation and to the introduction on December 10 of a further resolution (see below) which gained the sponsorship of 20 member countries. India, together with Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia, introduced an alternative resolution less condemnatory in tone which suggested that the Secretary-General might pursue his inquiries in Moscow. A brief resolution to give the Secretary-General discretionary authority to deal with the problem was introduced by Austria.

Debate on the Hungarian question continued in the General Assembly and with few exceptions the delegates roundly condemned the U.S.S.R. for its repressive action in Hungary. The Indian Delegate, Mr. Krishna Menon, while acknowledging that the Hungarian people wanted Soviet forces to withdraw completely from their country, supported conciliation rather than condemnation. The Kadar Government's delegate did not vote since he had withdrawn from Assembly discussions of the Hungarian issue as a gesture of protest over UN "interference". On December 12, the 20-power resolution, with an Austrian amendment, was adopted by a vote of 55 in favour, (including Canada) 8 against and 13 abstentions (the Arab states, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and Finland). As revised, the resolution recommended that the Secretary-General "take any initiative that he deems helpful in relation to the Hungarian problem in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly". In view of the vote and the amendment, the Indian and Austrian draft resolutions were withdrawn.

During the first week in January, Philippe deSeynes, United Nations Under-Secretary, was permitted to visit Hungary, accompanied by a threeman team of experts on agricultural and industrial matters. The visit was made without fanfare to discuss only relief and economic problems—not politics—with Hungarian officials.

On January 5, the Secretary-General submitted a further report on the Hungarian situation to the General Assembly. He pointed out that the observers selected by him, Messrs. Gundersen, Lall and Lleras, had been able to collect "only a fringe of material" on the Hungarian uprising because of the lack of co-operation of the governments directly concerned. Mr. Hammarskjold suggested that the Assembly might wish to establish an ad hoc investigating committee to take over the functions of the three observers and "serve as an organ of the General Assembly for continued observation of developments in relation to Hungary".

### New Resolution

As a sequel to the Secretary-General's report, a new United States resolution was introduced in the Assembly, co-sponsored by 24 member states including the United Kingdom, France and Canada. The resolution provided for a Special Committee composed of the representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay, "to investigate and to establish and maintain

direct observation in Hungary and elsewhere, collecting evidence and receiving information, as appropriate, in order to report its findings to the General Assembly". One of the sponsors' motives in proposing the Special Committee was to offer an opportunity for a reasonable hearing under United Nations auspices for Hungarian refugees such as Mrs. Anna Kethly, the Social Democratic leader who had been a Minister of the Nagy Government. Speaking for the Canadian Delegation, Mr. G. Légaré, M.P., remarked how many "individuals and governments who love freedom and hate tyranny" had provided money, supplies and a warm welcome for Hungarian refugees. In contrast, the U.S.S.R. and the Kadar régime had treated with contempt the recommendation of the UN Assembly. Mr. Légaré concluded: 'There must be no abating of the concern of the UN about the situation created by the brutal and bloody intervention of Soviet armed force in the internal affairs of a small neighbour".

The 24-power resolution was adopted on January 10 by a sweeping majority of 59 to 8 (Soviet bloc minus Hungary) with 10 abstentions (Afghanistan, Egypt, Cuba, Finland, India, Jordan, Saudi-Arabia, the Sudan, Syria and Yugoslavia). The Cuban Delegate abstained because he had favoured introducing a stronger resolution that would have recommended expulsion of Hungary from the United Nations. Even before the resolution was passed, the Kadar Government had announced its opposition to this "unprecedented interference" in the internal affairs of Hungary, a UN initiative "obviously inspired by the United States".

The Special Committee is to submit the results of its investigations and hearings to the present session of the General Assembly.

### 80th Member

The General Assembly unanimously adopted on December 18 a resolution approving the recommendation of the Security Council that Japan be admitted to membership in the United Nations. The resolution was sponsored by 51 nations, including five permanent members of the Security Council and Canada. Japan is the 80th country to become a member of the United Nations.

## Special Political Committee

At its meeting of December 18, the General Assembly agreed without a vote to a recommendation of the Sixth (Legal) Committee changing the Assembly's Rules of Procedure to provide for the establishment of the Special Political Committee (formerly the Ad Hoc Political Committee) on a permanent basis.

#### Elections

The General Assembly on December 7 elected the Philippines to the seat on the Security Council from which Yugoslavia had announced its intention of retiring on December 31, 1956 in accordance with an understanding reached with the Philippines last year in order to break a deadlock in the voting. The

Philippines were elected on the first ballot, receiving 51 votes, Czechoslovakia received 20 votes, and Afghanistan, Syria and Yugoslavia one vote each.

In Plenary Session on December 19, elections were held to fill the non-permanent seats of the Security, Economic and Social, and Trusteeship Councils, which became vacant at the end of 1956. Colombia, Iraq and Sweden were elected as non-permanent members of the Security Council for two-year terms beginning January 1, 1957 replacing Belgium, Iran and Peru.

Six members of the Economic and Social Council were named for three-year terms beginning January 1, 1957. Of this group, Pakistan, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom were re-elected, and Mexico, Poland and Finland were elected to replace Czechoslovakia, Ecuador and Norway.

India and Haiti were re-elected as non-administering countries on the Trusteeship Council for three-year terms beginning January 1, 1957.

On November 28, the Sixth Committee of the United Nations voted to increase the membership of the International Law Commission from fifteen to twenty-one seats.

The Sixth Committee also came to an informal agreement that of the six new seats, one should be filled by an Eastern European country, one by a Western European country and three by Afro-Asian countries. The remaining seat is to be allocated in rotation to a Latin American and a Commonwealth country. It was decided that a Latin American would occupy this seat during the immediately forthcoming term and that a Commonwealth representative should be chosen for the term commencing in 1962.

Following the adoption by the General Assembly of the Report of the Sixth Committee, elections to the enlarged ILC were held on December 18, 1956 and the following members were elected on the first ballot: Spiropoulos (Greece), Pal (India), Nervo (Mexico), Scelle (France), Amado (Brazil), Edmonds (U.S.A.), Garcia-Amador (Cuba), Zourek (Czechoslovakia), Fitzmaurice (U.K.), Tunkin (U.S.S.R.), El-Khoury (Syria), Daftary (Iran), Bartos (Yugoslavia), El-Eriam (Egypt), Sandstrom (Sweden), Yokota (Japan), Ago (Italy), Khoman (Thailand), Hsu (China), François (Netherlands), Verdross (Austria).

# **NATO** Ministerial Meeting

At the ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council, held in Paris from December 11 to December 14, 1956. Canada was represented by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Ralph Campney. The Canadian Ministers were assisted by the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, by the Chairman, Chiefs of Staff, General Charles Foulkes, and by officers of the Permanent Delegation in Paris and of the Departments of External Affairs, National Defence, Finance and Defence Production.

It had been anticipated that this December meeting would be of special importance because:

- a) It was fairly generally held that international developments since the death of Stalin had reduced, though not removed, the threat of all-out military aggression. While these changes had not diminished the need for collective military defence, NATO had to determine whether and how they should be reflected in its strategic military planning.
- b) Events in the Middle East had among other things obviously affected the consultative process between the three major powers of the Alliance, whose co-operation is essential to the maintenance of that superior military strength which is one of the main justifications of NATO.
- c) Finally, the Council had just received the report prepared by the Committee of Three Ministers which it had appointed in May 1956 to advise on ways and means to improve and extend NATO co-operation in non-military fields.

## Military Questions

As they normally do at the end of each year, the Ministers first surveyed the military capabilities of the Alliance, and assessed the progress achieved during 1956. The situation was found generally encouraging, and the Council noted with particular approval the efforts made by NATO military authorities to provide NATO forces with new modern weapons.

The most important step taken by the Council in the military field was the approval of a directive for future military planning which would take into account NATO's most recent estimates of Soviet intentions and capabilities, and the various types of new weapons available for NATO defence. This directive does not in fact call for any fundamental change in the NATO strategic concept. It re-affirmed that NATO, a defensive Alliance, should have sufficient land forces in Europe to act as a shield against any sudden aggression, adequate air and naval forces to retaliate against the aggressor, nuclear weapons for use in the event of overt Soviet military aggression, and the ability to deal locally with situations short of all-out war such as infiltrations, incursions and limited hostile actions.

Consideration was also given to the increasing cost of defence, and to the problems involved in trying to maintain large conventional forces to deal with limited attacks, in addition to forces equipped with tactical nuclear weapons.

### **International Situation Reviewed**

As this Council meeting was concerned primarily with the non-military activities of NATO, the review of the international situation, with the recent events in Hungary and the Middle East as background, assumed considerable importance. The Ministers were quick to agree that the present turmoil in Eastern Europe presented dangers to the Alliance, and that great care should be exercised by all NATO governments not to interfere with the evolutionary process towards freedom in the satellites. While registering shock and revulsion at the course of events in Hungary, the Council members welcomed recent developments which gave reason to hope that in due time the apparent loosening of the Soviet grip over the Eastern European satellites would mean greater freedom for the people of these countries to choose the government they want. The Ministers reaffirmed the conviction of their governments that the United Nations should continue its efforts, through pressure of world public opinion, to induce the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Hungary and to right the wrongs done to the Hungarian people. The Council was, however, anxious to avoid any impression that NATO wished to arouse active opposition, or otherwise to intervene directly in the affairs of the Eastern European countries.

The fact that the Council devoted a significant part of its discussions to political developments outside the area covered by the North Atlantic Treaty constituted an important departure from earlier practices. The decision to discuss these situations reflected an increasing awareness that the stability, security and well-being of an area such as the Middle East are essential to the maintenance of world peace, which in turn is a matter of direct concern to the Atlantic Community.

It was, of course, agreed that it would be inappropriate for NATO to consider assuming special responsibilities in areas not covered by the Treaty. But there was evidence that NATO members may be less reluctant than before to discuss developments outside the NATO area when they have an impact on the Atlantic Alliance. It was within this context that it was agreed in the Council to emphasize the need for rapid progress in clearing the Suez Canal in conformity with the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, and for pressing ahead with the restoration of the Canal to full and free operation. The Ministers were also in full agreement in endorsing, as the basis on which a lasting settlement should be worked out, the six principles agreed upon by the United Nations Security Council on October 13 as basic requirements in any settlement of the Suez question.

Although this exchange of views on current political issues did not—and was not expected to—lead to the formulation of a common policy on all these matters between all NATO governments, it did succeed in bringing out more clearly the broad outlines of what should be the main objectives of the Atlantic Alliance in the world of today. The review of the international situation helped considerably in re-establishing the mutual understanding which had existed before the Middle East developments, and in laying down a basis on which to resume and to pursue constructive and close co-operation.



REPORT PRESENTED

The Report of the Committee of Three on non-military co-operation in NATO was presented at the Ministerial Meeting held in Paris December 11-14, 1956. Committee members are, from left to right above, Mr. Halvard Lange, Foreign Minister of Norway; Mr. Gaetano Martino, Foreign Minister of Italy; Mr. L.

B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada.

## Committee of Three Report

The report prepared by the Committee of Three Ministers, Mr. Martino of Italy, Mr. Lange of Norway and Mr. Pearson, was generally well received by the other governments, and considered as an important landmark in the development of NATO activities in the non-military field. The report was not only approved in principle by the Ministers, but all its recommendations were accepted; in that sense, therefore, the recommendations in the report are now binding on the Permanent Council which has been invited to consider them in the light of comments made by governments. The Secretary-General has also been invited to draw up for consideration by the Council such further specific proposals as may be required for the implementation of these recommendations. The Canadian delegation welcomed the Council's decision that the report be made public.

In the report the three Ministers attempted to deal with all the non-military fields in which NATO can make a useful contribution. The most important, of course, is that of consultation among NATO governments and the report stressed the need for members of the Alliance in present circumstances to develop common policies by full and timely consultation on issues of common concern. The report recognizes that new institutional arrangements or organizational changes would not in themselves meet this need, nor are they necessary; what is needed is sustained political willingness to form policies through consultation, in order to develop courses of action which will

take into account the common interests of the members of the Alliance. If this can be achieved, the North Atlantic Alliance, which is so essential to the protection of Canadian interests, embracing as it does our closest neighbours and friends, can grow in strength and effectiveness. It is the hope of the Canadian Government that the Committee of Three Report will assist NATO in developing further the habit of thinking and acting in concert, so that it can meet and overcome critical situations as they develop.

Another important recommendation concerned the differences which may arise between members of the Alliance. The Council recognized that NATO members must do everything possible to eliminate conflicts among themselves, if they are to preserve the unity and strength essential for continuous co-operation in military and non-military fields; as a result of the report, the Secretary-General has now been empowered to initiate or to facilitate a number of procedures which should assist in the settlement of such disputes and differences between members of the Organization.

The report also recommended that NATO members promote cultural co-operation among their peoples by all practical means in order to strengthen their unity and develop maximum support for the Alliance.

### Conclusions

Summing up the achievements of this NATO ministerial meeting, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, made the following statement to the Press on his return to Ottawa:

It was in my opinion the most important Council meeting which we have had, both because of the circumstances in which it met after a period of strain on the Alliance and because we laid down principles of co-operation and consultation in the non-military field—which if followed could remove much of the risk of the kind of differences which we have recently experienced. It was also important in that it showed that NATO was not hesitant about discussing the effect on the Alliance of developments outside the NATO area. These developments are, of course, not for NATO discussion alone—or indeed NATO consideration alone—but they are important for the Atlantic coalition which at this session of the North Atlantic Council faced up to their implications.

The appointment of Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak to the Secretary-Generalship of the Organization, in succession to Lord Ismay, which is to take effect next April, lent added significance to the approval accorded the recommendations of the Committee of Three for wider authority and powers for the Secretary-General, whose office now becomes a political as well as an administrative one. The selection of a political personality such as Belgium's Foreign Minister also underlined the new era into which NATO is entering with a new emphasis on non-military co-operation as an essential complement to continued co-operation in defence.

# TEXT OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial Session from 11th to 14th December, under the Chairmanship of Professor Gaetano Martino, Foreign Minister of Italy, and took decisions that will strengthen the military and non-military co-operation of the Alliance.

- 2. In the meeting just ended, the Ministers drew from the experience of past divergences in the policies of NATO members the confirmation of the necessity for all members to develop effective political consultation and co-operation. They reaffirmed their determination to work together in unity and friendship to achieve the aims of the Alliance and to strengthen the Alliance in all its aspects as an indispensable agency for security and peace.
- 3. As a major forward step in the development of NATO in the non-military field, the Council approved the recommendations of the Committee of Three in their report to the Council. In doing so, the Council approved wider and more intimate consultation among the member states on political matters. The Council also approved arrangements to aid in the settlement of disputes among member states on political matters. The Council also approved arrangements to aid in the settlement of disputes among members and adopted measures for strengthening the organization of NATO internally and for further co-operation between members in certain economic and cultural fields. The report has been released by the Committee of Three.
- 4. The Council reviewed the international situation, discussing frankly the problems which confront the Atlantic Alliance. In the course of this discussion Ministers, realizing that their views were in general agreement, decided that the detail should be worked out by continuous consultation in the Council in the months ahead.
- 5. The Atlantic Alliance is primarily concerned with the threat to the security of the NATO area. The Council discussed the threat which Soviet penetration into the Middle East would present for NATO. In view of the fact that the security, stability and well-being of this area are essential for the maintenance of world peace, the Council agreed to keep developments in this area under close and continuing observation.
- 6. The Council members emphasized in particular the need for rapid progress in clearing the Suez Canal in conformity with the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of 2nd November last. The Ministers further stressed the urgent need for initiating and pressing to a conclusion negotiations through the good offices of the United Nations with a view to restoring the Canal to full and free operation. They endorsed, as the basis on which a lasting settlement should be worked out, the six principles agreed upon by the United Nations Security Council on 13th October. They also agreed on the urgent need to bring about, through the United Nations, a permanent political settlement between Israel and the Arab States, including an equitable solution of the Arab refugee problem. The need for adequate support for economic development of the area was recognized.
- 7. The Council Members have followed the course of events in Hungary with shock and revulsion. The brutal suppression of the heroic Hungarian people stands in stark contrast with Soviet public professions. The Council reaffirmed the conviction of its Member Governments that the United Nations should continue its efforts, through the pressure of world public

opinion, to induce the Soviets to withdraw their forces from Hungary and to right the wrongs done to the Hungarian people. The peoples of Eastern Europe should have the right to choose their own governments freely, unaffected by external pressure and the use or threat of force, and to decide for themselves the political and social order they prefer.

- 8. The Ministers examined the implications for NATO of Soviet policy and actions in Europe and elsewhere. In the light of their assessment of Soviet policy they were in full agreement on the need to face up to any threat which would endanger the security and freedom of the Atlantic Community. In this connection, the Council approved a directive for future military plans, taking into account the continued rise in Soviet capabilities and the various types of new weapons available for NATO defence. The concept of forward defence in NATO strategy will be maintained. The Council considered the Report on the 1956 Annual Review and approved force goals for 1957, 1958 and 1959.
- 9. The Council expressed their deep regret at the decision of Lord Ismay to retire this spring as Secretary General of the Organisation and paid tribute to his distinguished services to the Alliance. Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, was appointed as Lord Ismay's successor.

### CANADIAN-GERMAN AIR TRAINING AGREEMENT

The Department of External Affairs announced December 19 that the Federal Republic of Germany had concluded arrangements with the Government of Canada for the training in Canada of 360 aircrew to man a number of F86 Sabre aircraft allotted to the Federal Republic under mutual aid arrangements and a further number of aircraft to be purchased in Canada. The Federal Republic of Germany agreed to reimburse the Canadian Government for the cost of maintaining the NATO air training establishment for an additional period of several months to complete the training of the German aircrew. The trainees were expected to commence training in Canada some time in 1957 and it was anticipated that the training would be completed by approximately April 1959.

# Mr. Nehru Visits Ottawa

THE Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, accepted the invitation to visit this country which was extended to him earlier last year by Prime Minister St. Laurent, and was in Ottawa from the late evening of Friday, December 21 to Sunday, December 23.

His Excellency the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, C.H., invited the Prime Minister of India to be his guest at Government House. Mr. Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Secretary-General of the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. N. R. Pillai, and Mr. M. O. Mathai, Mr. Nehru's personal secretary, also stayed at Government House.

The Governor General entertained at dinner in the Prime Minister's honour on Saturday, December 22, and on the same day Prime Minister St. Laurent was host at luncheon at 24 Sussex Street. Prior to the departure of Mr. Nehru and his party for London on December 23, the High Commissioner for India, Dr. M. A. Rauf, held a reception in Mr. Nehru's honour.



PRIME MINISTERS MEET

Seen above with Prime Minister St. Laurent during their recent visit to Canada are Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister of India, and Mr. Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

During his visit Prime Minister Nehru was interviewed on a special CBC television programme by Mr. Edgar McInnis, President of the Canadian Institute for International Affairs. He also held a press conference in the Parliament Buildings.

## India's Foreign Policy

Replying to a question from Mr. McInnis about India's policy of non-alignment, the Prime Minister said in part:

... I think in any event the only policy open to India by history, tradition, habit and by virtue of its new independence was the policy she has pursued and it is totally immaterial what government functioned in India. Every government would have done that. But there is something more to that. All that we learnt from Mr. Gandhi in the course of our own struggle for independence, translated to the international sphere, leads to this conclusion. We really would be false to our own traditions and to our own method of achieving national independence if in the international sphere we followed a policy of military pacts and alliances. . . .

of any major attack from the big countries. So far as other countries are concerned, say in Asia, eastern or western, well, it is conceivable their case is somewhat different from India's. But any kind of attack, even on a small country, as things are, would probably lead to a major war. Therefore you really have to consider it in the context of a possible major war, and no country is going to take the risk of a major war today unless somehow by accident it is forced into that. Anyhow, my point is that we have arrived at a stage now when on the one hand every one wants to put an end to the idea of a major war, because of atomic weapons which will destroy a good part of the world, and further realises that a minor war may lead to a major war. Therefore, minor wars should also be avoided. Well, if this is so, it also follows that the atmosphere and the climate of war should be avoided apart, of course, from removing the causes. Now I think that this cold war business is totally and absolutely illogical once you decide not to have war.

### Canadian-Indian Relations

Discussing Canadian-Indian relations at the press conference, Mr. Nehru said in part:

... We have found that Canada has shown a greater appreciation of the reality of today in Asia and that I think is one reason why we have got on so well with Canada. Although we have differed in regard to many matters there has been this basis, coming closer to each other and understanding each other more. I would, therefore, say that in the conflicts of the world today Canada has performed a very important service in being in some ways a link between the growing countries of Asia and Europe and the Americas. . . .

... We have also in our own way tried to bring understanding and to be some kind of a bridge or link. So, because Canada and we, at any rate, try to do so, that has also brought us together in being a common factor. We have no problems between India and Canada. We are interested, all of us, in problems of the world, so the problems of the world were discussed between two friends, without any conflict. I suppose it was more a question of emphasis. Mr. St. Laurent emphasised one aspect; I emphasised another, and so we were trying to clarify, trying to understand the situation in all its aspects.

### The Commonwealth

Replying to questions about the effect on the Commonwealth of the recent crisis in the Middle East, Mr. Nehru said:

... the Commonwealth suffered a severe shock undoubtedly. It survived it. So far as some of us were concerned in India, this did not lead us to think that the Commonwealth association was not good enough, or

should be broken. I never thought so, in spite of the grave differences of opinion. Certainly some people in India, some important people, even suggested that the Commonwealth association was doing no good, but we are firmly of the opinion—and we discussed this in our parliament some days ago-and declared quite clearly that we wished the Commonwealth association to continue because we thought that in spite of differences it was an association helping mutual understanding, a measure of co-operation and the larger causes of peace in the world; also there are so many what may be called disruptive tendencies in the world that I, for my part, am not prepared to break up any kind of an association or bridge that there is. . . . The Commonwealth somewhat changed its character eight or nine vears ago, more so seven years ago when India became a republic and yet continued in the Commonwealth. That itself was a novel feature, a republic being in the Commonwealth. Now, of course, Pakistan is also a republic and is in the Commonwealth. That showed a certain adaptability, flexibility of the Commonwealth, which I think is a great virtue; in these times of transition it can adapt itself to changing conditions. If you think in terms of all the countries of the Commonwealth having more or less similar policies in regard to most things, then, I would say that is not so because they do pursue different policies, as also common policies, both. But I think the major virtue of the Commonwealth has been that while following different policies sometimes, they keep in touch with each other; consult each other, and therefore try to adapt themselves to each other's policies as far as possible. I think that friendly bridge and an attempt to co-operate, even though they may not have the same policies, in the end is more important than a rather artificial unity policy. . . . the Commonwealth way of dealing with each other, that is, a friendly approach, and trying to understand each other and try to co-ordinate as far as possible their policies and yet have complete freedom to adopt any line of action a country thinks fit and proper, is the kind of way which can really be expanded to cover any country in the world, or all the countries. It is peaceful and co-operative co-existence in spite of difference.



#### EXCHANGE OF NOTES

Seen from left to right above during the Exchange of Notes at Colombo in connection with Canada's gift of \$2,000,000 to Ceylon under the Colombo Plan are Mr. J. J. Hurley, Canadian High Commissioner to Ceylon, Mr. Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare, and the Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon.

## **External Affairs in Parliament**

### STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

In the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the 5th Session of the 22nd Parliament on January 8, 1957 the Governor General said, in part:

The international scene continues to be characterized by instability in the Middle East and in Eastern Europe.

My Ministers remain convinced of the need to maintain the basic unity of the Commonwealth and the reality of the Western alliance, to contribute effectively to the supervision of the cessation of hostilities between Israel and Egypt under the authority of the United Nations and to the achievement of a lasting settlement of Middle East problems.

Visits to Canada in the last few weeks by the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India have been conducive to a renewed strengthening of the bonds which unite the peoples of the Commonwealth in their constant aim to co-operate in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress.

An encouraging advance is being made, as evidenced by the latest Ministerial Meeting of the Council, in the development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the non-military as well as in the military field. My Ministers remain strongly convinced of the need to maintain the North Atlantic Treaty as the keystone of the defence of the Western nations.

In the Middle East Canadian servicemen, as part of the United Nations Emergency Force proposed by Canada at the General Assembly of the United Nations, are performing valuable tasks in the interest of world peace.

The United Nations has served to focus world opinion on the brutal repression of the heroic Hungarian people in their endeavour to throw off the yoke of the Soviet imperialism. The vast humanitarian problems that have arisen as a result of Soviet intervention require the joint efforts of many countries. Through the United Nations, the Red Cross, and in cooperation with the Government of Austria, this country is playing its part in relieving suffering and re-settling the refugees.

The entrance into Canada of Hungarian refugees has been greatly facilitated and free transportation provided from Austria to new homes in this country. Already thousands of these Hungarians have been welcomed to Canada and we look forward to receiving thousands more during the winter and spring. There are also substantially increasing numbers of immigrants from the British Isles arranging to proceed to Canada this year.

Recent events have confirmed my Ministers' belief in the importance of seeking solutions to international problems through the United Nations and of upholding by all practical and constructive means the principles of the United Nations Charter. My Ministers also believe, however, that

while making every effort to achieve these long term goals, the Western nations must remain strong and united in their defences and in their diplomacy in order that aggressive action against them will be prevented and international tension can be lessened.

Excellent progress is being made in our national economic development. Expansion is evident in every part of Canada. Rapid strides are being made in opening up and utilizing our natural resources and in our industrial and urban growth. Employment has reached unprecedented levels. Once again we have been blessed with good crops. External trade was considerably greater last year than during any previous year. Canadians in almost every part of the country have been enjoying the benefits of this invigorating economic climate.

## Foreign Policy Review

The following review of Canada's position in international affairs was given in the House of Commons January 14 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson:

Recent events, especially events in the Middle East, have emphasized to all Canadians the importance and the responsibilities of Canadian foreign policy, even in respect of far away areas where there may seem to be few direct Canadian interests but where the paramount interests of all in peace and war are often involved. These events have also brought about, not only widespread public discussion of the decisions that we have made and may have to make, but also a reassessment of the principles which have underlined our policies and the factors which influence them. It has, I think, Mr. Speaker, been confirmed, if confirmation was necessary, that our foreign policy must be Canadian, based on Canadian considerations, Canadian values and Canadian interests, the greatest of which, however, apart from freedom itself, is peace. But a Canadian policy, in this day and age, is not necessarily the same as an independent policy. There is no country in the world today, even the most powerful, which in the preservation of peace and security can afford the luxury of, or run the risk of, a policy of independence in foreign affairs, in the sense that independence means isolation from one's friends or immunity from the effect of their decisions and their actions.

We should not, of course, and we do not, automatically or unhesitatingly follow the policy of the United States or the United Kingdom or any other country. Nevertheless, we cannot, and I suggest we should not, make our own decisions and our own policies without being influenced by, without taking into consideration, the policies of the United Kingdom or the United States or those of our other friends and allies with whom we are associated. No country is in a better position to appreciate the necessity and indeed, if you like, the opportunities of interdependence in the realm of foreign policy than Canada, situated as we are on the North American Continent but being an active member, as we are also, of the Commonwealth of Nations, NATO and the

United Nations and trying to play a responsible part in all those associations. We are, of course, a free and a sovereign state, but freedom and sovereignty do not mean for us, or for other nations, either isolation or immunity; unless we abandon all of our national and international responsibilities, and perhaps not even then. It seems to me evident, then, that Canadian foreign policy must be influenced by various factors which we can and indeed which we often try to modify, but which we ignore at our peril.

These principal factors, I suggest, are four in number. The first is our membership in the Commonwealth of Nations, four-fifths of the people of which are now Asian, 443 million out of 530 million. Action by any of the Commonwealth nations which seems likely to foster and strengthen the ties which bind us together is almost certain to deserve, and certainly should receive, our support. The reverse, of course, is also often true.

#### The Commonwealth Association

In actual practice, there have been over the last 10 years or so since World War II very few international occasions when we have not been on the side of Great Britain; the centre of our Commonwealth. But the rarity of dissenting occasions stems not from our automatic acceptance of the policies of Great Britain but from the fact in the vast majority of international questions our interest and hers have happily been almost invariably identical. When that does not happen we, of course, regret it deeply and we do our best to reconcile our differences without delay and without recrimination. We experienced such regret indeed to the point of distress when we differed, not perhaps in objectives but in methods and procedures, with the United Kingdom on certain occasions at the United Nations Assembly meeting last autumn in connection with the Suez crisis. The Commonwealth was indeed deeply split on that issue and our relief was therefore correspondingly great, a relief shared in full measure by the Asian members of the Commonwealth, where the separation pressures were most intense, when this danger to the Commonwealth was removed by the Anglo-French decision to accept the cease-fire resolution of the United Nations Assembly. So the Commonwealth association remains strong and close. The friendly, informal and frank exchange of views in a sincere effort to reach agreement on all matters of common concern goes on, and the Commonwealth continues to play its invaluable and constructive role in today's troubled world; a role for which the whole world has reason to be grateful.

Mr. Churchill: What nations of the Commonwealth would have left the Commonwealth had the British and French not abided by the resolution of the United Nations?

Mr. Pearson: There is evidence, strong evidence, which I and others have received, to suggest that if the fighting in Egypt between Anglo-French and Israeli forces and Egyptian forces had continued and if the United Nations Assembly cease-fire resolution had been repudiated or rejected, the pressures in regard to separation from the Commonwealth in certain Asian members of the Commonwealth would have been so great that it would have been indeed very difficult to resist them. We have had evidence to that effect both from New Delhi and from Karachi.

**Mr. Churchill:** Has that not been denied by both Ceylon and India?

Mr. Pearson: This has been questioned, I believe, in Ceylon, including the Prime Minister. Mr. Speaker, I am giving my opinion on the basis of information which I have received from the highest authorities in the Government of India. I am not suggesting, Mr. Speaker—and in my earlier statement on this I think I made it clear in the House I did not suggest—those pressures affected what we sometimes call the old members of the Commonwealth, but they certainly did affect those new members which, as I have just said, constitute four-fifths of the population of the Commonwealth.

It seems to me that this Commonwealth association, which all its members wish to preserve, to be of enduring value must strive for the widest possible areas of agreement between its members. It seems to me also that the limits of such areas, though not often expressed, may be pretty clearly discerned. Whether or not we speak of it, there are certain fundamental things that unite the governments and the peoples of the Common-wealth: freedom, personal and national; parliamentary democracy and the supremacy of the individual over the state. There is also a certain basis of morality in political action to which Commonwealth members are by tacit consent expected to adhere. Such a basis can easily be disregarded, on the other hand, by those who do not share our Commonwealth beliefs and our ways of doing things. They have, for instance, often been and are being disregarded by the Soviet Union in Hungary; but the barbaric luxury of this type of conduct is not open to us. Indeed, it is completely foreign to us and that is one reason, perhaps a main reason, why we can and must work together in the Commonwealth. It is more important than ever for us at this time to strengthen within the Commonwealth our will to work together in defence of these principles; for very significant events are now about to occur in the Commonwealth, as significant perhaps as those which took place 10 years ago when India, Pakistan and Ceylon became members.

We often also, Mr. Speaker, speak of the Commonwealth as a bridge, as it is, between Asia and the West; and perhaps it would not be inappropriate at this moment if I expressed my own feeling of gratitude for what the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. Martin), in his recent trip to Asia, has done to strengthen that bridge. If there is such a bridge, it has been made possible by the accession of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, which was in its turn the result of an act of constructive abdication by the United Kingdom to India in 1947. Now, this evolving process is about to shift to Africa. On March 6 next we shall welcome a new member into the Commonwealth, the state of Ghana, at present known as the Gold Coast. It will be the first native African member, and its progress as an independent nation inside the Commonwealth will be watched with great interest throughout Africa and Asia, and also in the West and by the Soviet Union.

Ghana will probably be the first of a series of new members to emerge from the Continents of Africa and Asia. It may be that by 1960 and 1962 the Commonwealth will include also Malaya, Nigeria, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and nearer home the Caribbean Federation.

Thus the process of what I might call creative withdrawal continues to the special credit and indeed to the glory of the heart and centre of the Commonwealth, the United Kingdom. As has been said, "The smaller the Empire the greater the Commonwealth." New nations arise from former colonial territories to take their place among the free democracies of the world. As an older member of the Commonwealth Canada is proud, I am sure, to assist in welcoming these young countries, as they attain independence, to our growing family and to assure them of our friendship and our support.

#### **United Nations**

A second factor influencing Canadian foreign policy, Mr. Speaker, is the United Nations, now going through a testing period that will have far-reaching effects on its future as an organization effective for the promotion of international peace, security and justice.

It should, I think, be clear to us that so long as we try to discharge our obligations we

have accepted under the United Nations Charter we must by that fact accept some limitation on our complete independence in international affairs. There are now 80 members in the United Nations Assembly with widely varied resources, traditions and political experience The Assembly's decisions which are, after all, merely recommendations and not laws, although this is sometimes forgotten, necessarily involve a great deal of give and take. We cannot expect always to have our own way on matters which are decided by the wisdom, or if you like the unwisdom, of a majority of 80 sovereign states with differing interests, differing loyalties and unfortunately with different conceptions of peace and justice.

The activities of the United Nations Assembly in recent weeks in regard to the Middle East have given us some ground for hope that the organization can be used effectively and swiftly in bringing about a cessation of hostilities, though it remains to be seen whether it will be as effective in bringing about a just settlement of the issues that brought about those hostilities. That will be for the United Nations a more important and I suspect a more difficult task. We can take satisfaction over what has already been done in the Assembly, but recent developments have raised in our minds some questions regarding its future and I want to mention one or two of these.

In the first place, Mr. Speaker, we have become more aware than we were previously of the gap between responsible and irresponsible membership; between the membership of those democratic countries such as the United Kingdom and France who are loyal members of the organization and as such take heed of its recommendations and those totalitarian despotisms such as the Soviet Union which treat such recommendations with contempt when they cut across their own national policies.

This has led to a demand in some quarters that somehow or other the United Nations Assembly should take action to enforce effectively its own recommendations. This of course ignores the fact that such compulsory enforcement procedure through the Assembly is not in accordance with the terms of the Charter as drafted; and also that resolutions that may be passed by an irresponsible majority in the Assembly may be such that we ourselves would find great difficulty in accepting them and the enforcement of which we would in certain circumstances resist.

Mr. Diefenbaker: What does the Minister mean by irresponsible?

Mr. Pearson: Well, I mean by exercising the right of membership in an irresponsible fashion against the principles of the Charter which was accepted by all members. This leads to another question which causes some anxiety in our minds, and that is the growing tendency in the Assembly, which is of course facilitated by the one-state one-vote principle, and regardless of the powers of

state, to force through, by sheer voting strength, resolutions that are impractical and at times quite unreasonable. In reverse, there is the power of a minority of one-third plus one to prevent reasonable and useful resolutions of the majority which we may consider ourselves to be both practical, reasonable and desirable.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, in a very real sense the effectiveness of this unique instrument for the preservation of peace, the United Nations Assembly, rests with a majority of small nations now operating at least to some extent in blocs. If the group veto or the bloc veto in the Assembly, irresponsibly exercised, replaces the single-power veto in the Security Council, the larger body will soon become as futile as on so many occasions the smaller body has become. I suggest therefore that each member of the Assembly has now a greater duty than ever before to exercise its rights with a clear and unprejudiced understanding of their implications for the future of the organization and for international peace and security. If they do it in that way they will be showing a sense of responsibility.

The need for a constructive and moderate approach to complex political and economic problems without which the General Assembly will not be able to function effectively and may not even survive can be illustrated, this is only one illustration, by the attitude taken by some members of the Assembly to what are called the colonial powers. Incidentally, those who use that term at the United Nations often exclude from its meaning the greatest colonial power of all and the one which exercises that power in the most arbitrary and tyrannical fashion, the Soviet Union. The old colonialism is disappearing inevitably and, if the process is orderly, desirably; but that is all the more reason why those countries which still have direct responsibilities for non-self-governing territories should not be made to feel at the United Nations or elsewhere that they are oppressors to be deprived arbitrarily of their rights or indeed their reputations. The actual fact is that these countries for the most part have been leading participants in the great twentieth century experiment of bringing national consciousness and selfgovernment to peoples who have never known them before.

There is another danger, Mr. Speaker, which faces the Assembly of the United Nations, the tendency to forget that while the world organization can perform and is performing, as I see it, an indispensable role it is no substitute for the national policies of its members. It reflects those policies, it influences them, but it rarely creates them. I think it is wrong, even dangerous, to suggest that it does or to try to replace the necessity of hammering out wise and constructive policies among one's friends merely by a resort to high-sounding moral platitudes at the Assembly. As Mr. Dean Acheson put

it the other day, "Nothing more comes out of the United Nations than we put into it.

I think it is also wrong to rely on United Nations decisions only for a particular area or a particular situation. It should be remembered that if governments are to use the United Nations when they consider it in their interest to do so, and ignore it on other occasions when they find it a less convenient instrument for their purposes, the organization will be very greatly weakened indeed and will be open to the criticism of being merely an agency for power politics. I am not suggesting that these things have hap-pened at the United Nations but I am suggesting that we should watch carefully to see that they do not happen.

Recently the Assembly took a very important step indeed in extending its functions into the field of security after the Security Council itself became powerless in that field through the exercise of the veto. I refer, of course, to the Emergency Force which was set up to supervise and secure a cessation of hostilities. Now, Mr. Speaker, the immediate value of this force which now numbers, incidentally, about 5,500 of whom over 1,100 are Canadians, in respect of the specific emergency which brought it into being has I think been well established. Its continuing value in helping to bring about and maintain peaceful conditions and security in the area in which it operates remains, of course, to be proven. I myself think it should be of a great value for this purpose also, provided it remains genuinely international in control, composition and func-tion, and providing also that its limitations are recognized, especially that it is a voluntary organization which must act strictly within the terms of resolutions which are only morally binding and which must be passed by two-thirds of the Assembly in each case. But even within these limitations the United Nations force can, I think, play an important part in bringing about an honourable and enduring political settlement in the Palestine and Suez area.

We have been discussing the possibilities of such a settlement with friendly governments in recent weeks and it seems to be the general view among members of the United Nations that the present atmosphere, charged as it is with fears and suspicions which have been exacerbated by recent armed conflicts is not at the moment conducive to the kind of discussion and negotiation which would have to precede such a settlement. I think perhaps we have to accept that position. But if, however, the passions and the bitterness of fighting must be given time to recede, that does not, as I see it, mean we can safely sit back and let nature take its course. There may be some reason for delay; there is none for indifference or for indefinite avoidance by the United Nations of a responsibility which is inescapable: to make peace in the area, without which the ceasefire would not have any permanent value.

While the political climate of the Middle East is maturing toward the time when conditions will be more appropriate for a comprehensive settlement it is essential, I think, for the countries of the region, and indeed for us all, that there should be no return to the former state of strife and tension and conflict on the borders; that security should be maintained and, indeed, guaranteed. I suggest that for this purpose there will be a continuing need during the period until a political settlement is achieved for the stabilizing international influence that the Emergency Force is now exercising. And this essential stabilizing role might well require the continuing presence of a United Nations force along the boundary between Egypt and Israel; perhaps also for a time in the Gaza strip and, with the consent of the states involved, along the borders between Israel and her other Arab neighbours, though that of course would require a further resolution from the United Nations Assembly.

It seems to me that some such United Nations supervision might help to ensure the security of the nations concerned which is so vital if they are to approach with the necessary confidence negotiations toward a comprehensive solution of their conflicts.

Not only, Mr. Speaker, in my view, must the borders be made secure between Israel and her neighbours; so must freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal and in the Gulf of Agaba. As the Canal will soon be open to traffic again it is, I think, very important indeed to press on with discussions which have already begun at the United Nations so that the control of the operation, maintenance and development of the Canal will be in accordance with the six principles agreed on at the Security Council last September-I think it was last September. Events since that time, far from weakening the validity of these principles, have strenthened that validity and I think it is now more important than ever that the operation of this essential international waterway beand I quote from one of these principles-'insulated from the politics of any one nation" and that the United Nations recognize and confirm that fact.

This is a problem which is right on top of us at the United Nations Assembly now, and it must be solved satisfactorily or there will be further trouble in that area. It is obvious of course—I think it is obvious, though I wish it were not-that the Soviet Union will do its best to prevent such an agreed solution on terms satisfactory both to the users of the Canal and to Egypt. Moscow has already shown that its policy is to trouble these waters and to fish in them.

Looking further ahead, the experience of the United Nations in respect of the Suez crisis, especially the necessity for hasty improvisation, underlines, I think, the desirability and the need of some international police force on a more permanent basis. We have recognized this need in the past. We have expressed that recognition at the United Nations and elsewhere as recently as in the General Assembly before the recess and we have done all we could to translate that necessity into reality, but for one reason or another it has never been possible for the United Nations, except in the special and limited cases of Korea and the Middle East, to have armed forces at its disposal; the reason for that I will not go into at this time.

Mr. Fulton: Is it the view of the Canadian Government that the United Nations Emergency Force should be assigned a stabilizing role in connection with the Suez Canal?

Mr. Pearson, Well, Mr. Speaker, there are possibilities for that if such a role is needed, but if there is agreement between the users of the Canal and the Government of Egypt which would in its turn provide for a satisfactory means of resolving the dispute over the use of the Canal it might not be necessary for any outside United Nations force to be present on the Canal while that agreement is in effect. I think the best thing to do is to wait and see how these discussions work out

This present Emergency Force in the Middle East is a unique experiment in the use of an international police agency to secure and supervise the cease-fire which has been called for by the General Assembly. Why should we not, therefore, on the basis of this experience—the experience we have gained by the operation and establishment and organization of this force—consider how a more permanent United Nations machinery of this kind might be created for use in similar situations as required?

What the United Nations now would seem to need for these limited and essentially police functions is perhaps not so much a force in being as an assurance that members would be prepared to contribute contingents when asked to do so, to have them ready and organized for that purpose; with some appropriate central United Nations machinery along the lines of that which has already been established for this present Emergency Force.

The kind of force we have in mind would be designed to meet situations calling for action, intermediate if you like, between the passing of resolutions and the fighting of a war, and which might incidentally have the effect of reducing the risks of the latter. It would not, however, as I see it, be expected to operate in an area where fighting was actually in progress; it would be preventive and restoratory rather than punitive or belligerent.

It is not possible to determine in advance what would be required in any emergency, but surely members through the proper legislative processes could take in advance the necessary decisions in principle so that should the occasion arise the executive power could quickly meet United Nations requests for assistance which had been approved by it. In doing so we would be making at least some progress in putting international action behind international words.

#### NATO

The third factor that has a bearing on our independence in foreign policy is NATO, our membership in which gives us, not only the assurance of a strong and collective defence if we are attacked but, even more important, is our strongest deterrent against attack. Since I last had occasion to speak on foreign affairs in the house a NATO Council meeting of very considerable importance has taken place in Paris

The meeting took place in Paris from December 11 to December 15. Ministers from each of the NATO countries met in Paris. My colleague the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Campney) and I represented the Canadian Government at this meeting. In addition to the annual stocktaking of NATO's defence plan and the approval of a directive for future military planning, secret of course, which took into account both economic and atomic capabilities, we had what we considered to be useful discussions of the general international situation, particularly on the impact on the alliance of developments in the Middle East and Eastern Europe

In these discussions we devoted more time than usual to political developments outside of what is described as the NATO treaty area. That merely reflected the increasing awareness of the NATO governments that the security, stability and well-being of an area like the Middle East, to quote one example, is essential to the maintenance of world peace, which in turn is the matter of primary concern to the NATO members.

A significant aspect of this recent meeting was the evident desire on the part of all members to strengthen the non-military side of NATO; as we increasingly realized that relations between the Western alliance and the Soviet have become a contest in terms of political judgment and action; of economic and industrial power, and not merely a contest in military strength. Having said that, it would be unwise not to add that it was recognized at our Council meeting that events in Hungary and the use of naked military force there by the Soviet Union-which use might have had far-reaching effects—these events have underlined the absolute necessity. of maintaining also our military defensive strength as we become more and more preoccupied with the political and economic aspects of the struggle. As has been said by so many people so many times, we have to continue to do both.

It was to these problems of non-military co-operation confronting the alliance that the Committee of Three Report addressed itself. That report, which has been made public, was submitted to the Council and its recommendations were accepted by the Council members. Apart from maintaining defensive military strength the most important need of the NATO alliance in the present circumstances is for the development of common policies, as essential to that unity, which is important, as strength itself. The Committee

of Three Report recognized this, also that new institutional arrangements or organizational changes or changes in structure would not in themselves meet this need.

What is required, and this is easier to say than to bring about, is a sustained will and desire on the part of member governments to work out through consultation policies which will take into account the common interests of the members of the alliance. If that is not done and if national factors alone prevail in the formulation of policy, then the alliance will have great difficulty in surviving. Certainly it will not develop beyond a purely military arrangement which will disappear if and when the fears and emergencies of the present lessen and disappear.

The most powerful member of our NATO coalition, and as recent history has perhaps demonstrated the only one which now has the economic and military power to enable it to discharge fully truly world-wide responsibilities, is the United States. Within the last few days the Administration in Washington has proposed to Congress an increased acceptance of those responsibilities in the middle East in what is called the Eisenhower doctrine.

I do not think it would be appropriate for me to discuss in detail a proposal of the United States Government which is now before Congress and concerning which differences of opinion have already appeared, but I think I can say without impropriety that the ideas behind this doctrine are welcomed by this Government as evidence of the increased interest of the United States in the Middle East in terms of both defence and economic aid for the development of the area. It seems to me important that those two things go together there as elsewhere.

Mr. Dulles, in quoting the President's declaration to a Congressional Committee, has warned, and I think the warning is a good one, that no single formula will solve all the problems in the Middle East and that there is no single panacea for them. Nevertheless it is quite obvious I think that those proposals have very important implications which have been very well put in my view by the Washington correspondent of the Winnipeg Free Press, and I quote from one of his articles as follows:

The American Government, once Congress has given its expected approval,—

Or perhaps as I should say "if Congress gives its expected approval."

—will be committed to a solemn and unprecedented obligation in the Middle East. It will be pledged to use force if necessary to protect that region from Russia or from any state responsive to Russia's pressures.

Then Mr. Freedman went on to say this:

That is the ultimate commitment. There can be none greater. It has been defined in this challenging form to prevent Russia from believing that the eclipse of British and French influence allows it to bring the Middle East under Moscow's control.

Mr. Stewart, (Winnipeg North): Does that doctrine not suggest there is a danger of

by-passing the United Nations?

Mr. Pearson: I do not think so. It has been said that the principles and the procedures envisaged in this doctrine are the same as those which prompted Anglo-French intervention in the Suez crisis last October. But I doubt whether that deduction will be borne out by the text of the Presidential declaration which contains the following points, and some of these bear on the particular point raised by my friend the hon member for Winnipeg North: (1) any assistance against aggression would be given only at the request of the state attacked; (2) any obligation to give such assistance is restricted to overt aggression by any nation controlled by international communism; (3)—and this is of some importance—any measures taken must be consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and with any action or any recommendations of the United Nations; and I take it that would mean either positive or negative action by the United Nations.

**Mr. Green:** Does that mean that action is taken first and then the United Nations acts afterwards or just what does it mean?

Mr. Pearson, I think I had better stick to the wording of the declaration. You know what happened in the case of Korea, Mr. Speaker. Certain action was taken by one member of the United Nations. But within half an hour or an hour, I forget which—within a very short time—the matter was referred at once to the Security Council and this action was before Security Council for confirmation or otherwise.

**Mr. Green:** That is only because Russia was absenting herself.

Mr. Pearson: True, confirmation was received only because Russia absented herself from the Security Council. But we now have a procedure by which, when action is vetoed in the Security Council, the Assembly can be called together within twenty-four hours and the matter referred to the Assembly, as was done indeed last October.

The fourth point is that the measures to be taken or envisaged would be "subject to the overriding authority of the United Nations Security Council in accordance with the charter".

Then, Mr. Speaker, I think I should also point out—and this is of some importance—that the declaration does not deal with conflict between non-communist states in the Middle East nor does it deal with communist subversion brought about by non-military means.

Welcome as is this indication of the acceptance by the United States of a direct and immediate responsibility for peace and economic progress in the Middle East, even more welcome to a Canadian would be the full restoration of close and friendly relations between London, Paris and Washington in respect of that area, and the strengthening of their co-operation generally.

Perhaps we in Canada are particularly conscious of the desirability and the need of this result. For that reason I think we would all want to give particularly wholehearted support, especially at this time, to one sentence from President Eisenhower's State of the Union Message last Thursday when he said this:

America, alone and isolated, cannot assure even its own security. We must be joined by the capability and resolution of nations that have proved themselves dependable defenders of freedom. Isolation from them invites war.

I think it is hardly necessary to add in this house that no people in the world have proved themselves more "dependable defenders of freedom" than have the British.

Co-operation in the Commonwealth of Nations, in the United Nations and in NATO—all this—is important, indeed essential. But nothing is more important in the preservation of peace and the promotion of progress than is an enduring and solid friendship as the basis for co-operation and unity between the United Kingdom, France and the United States. The recent NATO Council meeting in Paris—and this may have been almost its most important achievement—began the process of restoring and strengthening that co-operation after the strains and interruptions to it brought about by the Suez crisis. It is essential that this process should continue.

We now have a great opportunity to profit from the unhappy experiences of the recent past by taking steps to ensure that those experiences will not be repeated.

Perhaps I should not close, Mr. Speaker, without at least mentioning—and there will be time only to mention it—a fourth factor which bears strongly on the formulation and execution of Canadian foreign policy. I refer to the fact that we are a neighbour of the United States on the North American Continent.

### Canadian-U.S. Relations

On our relations with the United States my colleagues and I have often spoken over the last few years. I think we have made it abundantly clear that our acknowledgement of the United States as the inevitable and indispensable leader of the free world does not at all imply automatic agreement with all its policies. I have even been told by some of my friends below the line that we have a tendency to make this fact almost unnecessarily clear. On the other hand, it seems to me to be difficult to imagine a really critical situation in international affairs, one which involved final questions of war or peace, on which we should be likely to diverge very widely from the attitude of our neighbours. If we had to, for Canadian purposes, we would certainly be in a most uneasy position. For us in Canada, therefore, to formulate and try to follow foreign policies which do not take into account the closeness of all the ties which link us—and must do so—with the United States, would surely be nothing but unrealistic and unprofitable jingoism. The time when we can comfortably enjoy this particular form of national indulgence seems to me to have long since disappeared.

In our relations, then, with the Common-wealth, with the United Nations, with NATO, and with the United States, we have the fullest liberty to propose, to persuade, to advise, to object; and this liberty I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, we have used and shall use whenever a Canadian interest requires it. We will not, however, be using this freedom for the benefit of our country if we try to secede or weaken from our international commit-ments or if we try to ignore or take away from the geographic and economic facts of life on this continent. Membership in the international associations to which we belong undoubtedly brings us nationally very great advantages in terms of security and progress. The national advantages are, however, coupled with international responsibilities. I think, Mr. Speaker, that Canada's record in the discharge of those responsibilities over the years has been a good one and I am sure it will continue to be so.

## Statement by Prime Minister

Speaking in the House of Commons on January 9, Prime Minister St. Laurent reported to the Members of Parliament on his recent conversations on international affairs with President Eisenhower, of the United States, and Prime Minister Nehru, of India. Excerpts from the Prime Minister's remarks follow:

which occurred on the eve of Mr. Nehru's visit. I said to the President quite frankly that I believed he and Mr. Nehru at the present time were probably . . . the two most influential statesmen in the world, the two statesmen whose influence radiated the most widely in the free world at this time. I said, "Of course, I am not saying anything about China be-

cause I have never been behind the bamboo curtain and I do not know Mr. Chou En-lai, but I do know, or at least I think I know from my own personal observation, that Mr. Nehru is a statesman of whom, whether or not they will admit it openly, all Asians are proud. They are proud of his stature in the world at this time, and his attitudes, even for those who will not state that they fully agree with them, are attitudes which have an influence on their thinking." I believe the same is true of the President of the United States. The personal attitudes of the President of the United States are attitudes that radiate throughout the free world, and whether or not we always agree with all of them our thinking is always influenced to a degree by the attitudes which are thus adopted by him.

I asserted with conviction that Mr. Nehru was just as anti-communist as Mr. Eisenhower was, although in India there was not the same fear of dangers imminent from communism that Senator McCarthy had in the United States; that there might not always be the same approaches to the proper methods of counteracting what influences might be exercised by communism; but that it should not be forgotten that the background of the United States or the North American Continent was not the only background against which we should set up and appraise the attitudes of other people throughout the world outside of the North American Continent.

I think this is something that we all have had to learn. Human nature and the essential aspirations of human nature are very much the same all over the world, but the background against which you have to place the attitudes of different people must be the background of their own civilization, of their own tradition and ancestral habits and ways of thinking and of acting. I am quite happy to report to the House that I got the very distinct impression, when Mr. Nehru visited us after his visit to the United States, that he was very much better satisfied with his last visit than he had been with the visit he made in 1949.

The hon. member [Mr. Diefenbaker] speaks of a conference of France, the United States and the United Kingdom. It would be important and it is important that their actions be conducive to the same general results for the benefits of free people all over the world as they have to such a great degree in the past years and perhaps even in the past century. But there are other peoples in the world, and if we want to have peace in the world there must not be strife, there must not be misgivings, and there must not be mistrust or suspicion among the leaders of any of the other nations.

We have to try to behave in such a way that we will not be looked upon with suspicion and misgiving. Many hon, gentlemen saw and heard Mr. Nehru being interviewed by Mr. McInnes on the Sunday afternoon preceding his departure from Ottawa. I had the privilege of seeing him almost immediately afterward at the reception at the home of the High Commissioner for India and I complimented him and told him that I hoped a lot of people in the United States enjoyed seeing him on the screen and of having the opportunity of appreciating his discussion with Mr. McInnes.

I told him that I must remind him that he had reminded me that the terrestrial globe might look different to one sitting on the north pole than it would to someone sitting at the equator. I told him that I had accepted that as a reason for his, and his people's, approaching some problems somewhat differently from our own people. I said that the aspect of the international situation at the present time might appear somewhat different to us in Ottawa and to Mr. Eisenhower and his colleagues in Washington than it would to Mr. Nehru and his colleagues in New Delhi.

I said that there did not seem to be any suggestion that India was going to be the ultimate target of any aggression which might be undertaken, but that so long as there were these terrible agents of destruction at the disposal of us in the free world and of those behind the iron curtain we had to be sure that those behind the iron curtain who might be-I do not think they are apt to be for a very long period-actual aggressors should be convinced that if there was aggression there would be inevitable retaliation which would do to the aggressor at least as much damage as they might do to the nation attacked.

If there was to be that kind of aggression it did not seem improbable that the ultimate target would be the United States and that the way to the United States would be on a path which led through Canada and that we intended to have that path in such condition that it could not be used for aggression without serious damage to those using it and that if it was used, no matter how rapid or how unexpected the aggression was, there would still be inevitable retaliation which which would do as great damage to the aggressor as he might have caused.

We agreed that the likelihood of going to war with these terrible implements of destruction was not great, but that there was still a possibility. Because of that possibility we felt that the free nations must remain in such a position that possible aggressors would realize that retaliation would be inevitable and the result would unfortunately be a great degree of mutual destruction.

Mr. Nehru had suggested that military alliances appeared to him to be adding to the international tension because they appeared to denote a warlike attitude. I told him that unfortunately for us we were in such a position that we had to maintain military alliances as long as there was any possibility of aggression with the use of these new weapons because we ourselves did not have them. In our military alliances the tasks had been distributed and we could count, and possible aggressors knew this, upon the fact that these weapons were at the disposition of the United States.

I was saying all this to him, not to criticize his attitude but to ask him to feel that we also could rationalize our conduct, that we had what appeared to us to be very good reasons for maintaining these alliances and not adopting the view taken by him that there might be less international tension. We felt that the tension which existed was necessary as a deterrent against the use of any of these terrible instruments.

# **Canada's Contributions to United Nations**

Each member of the United Nations (and at the present time 80 states belong to it) is required to pay an annual membership fee, usually called an assessment, which represents the country's share of the normal administrative expenditures of the Organization. Last year Canada's share was \$1.6 million, representing 3.63 per cent of the United Nations administrative budget of approximately \$48.6 million.

Canada also pays an annual fee for membership in each of the ten United Nations Specialized Agencies, which are the chief instruments through which members of the United Nations pool their efforts and resources to help achieve higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress throughout the world. In 1956 the total of Canada's assessments for membership in these Agencies was about \$1.4 million.(1)

In addition to the assessments for the regular budgets of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, member states have been requested each year to contribute to special programmes of assistance designed to overcome certain acute problems and serious deficiencies which exist in various materially under-developed areas of the world. As money for these special programmes is not available through the regular budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, it has to come from "extra budgetary funds", i.e. those obtained from voluntary contributions made by member states. At the present time the United Nations is sponsoring four of these special programmes—the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), the United Nations Refugee Fund (UNREF) and the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme (ETAP).

As is understandable, political and security questions before the United Nations are widely publicized in newspapers, magazines, over the radio and on television. Not much public attention is given, however, to the quiet, valuable and constructive work of the Specialized Agencies and that done under the four special programmes, which continues steadily with little fanfare and few newspaper headlines. Through these agencies and programmes the member countries of the United Nations endeavour to conquer the timeless enemies of mankind—hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy and illness—and thus to raise the world's living standards and, perhaps, contribute indirectly to political stability. In this aspect of United Nations work there has never been much assistance or co-operation from the communist countries.

A short description of the four special programmes for which the United Nations solicits voluntary contributions is given below, together with a statement of Canadian contributions to these programmes.

#### UNICEF

The United Nations Children's Fund was created by the General Assembly in December 1946 to conduct emergency relief activities for the special benefit of children and adolescents of countries which were the

<sup>(1)</sup> These figures do not include Canada's contributions to the capital of two of the Specialized Agencies, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

victims of aggression, for children and adolescents in countries which had been receiving relief from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and for child health purposes generally. In 1953 the General Assembly decided to continue the Fund for an indefinite period. The emphasis in its operations has in consequence shifted to long-range projects such as the building up of children's health and welfare services, child feeding, and related undertakings. The Fund is at present conducting operations in 95 countries and territories, mainly in under-developed countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. Last year there were 283 UNICEF-aided projects, a large proportion of which were concerned with the eradication of malaria, the control of yaws and tuberculosis, and similar basic health programmes.

Since its establishment, contributions have been given to UNICEF on a voluntary basis by governments and individuals in 118 countries and territories (countries receiving aid are required to equal or better the funds allocated to them). As of December 31, 1955 the total contributions and pledges had amounted to about \$185,000,000, of which \$170,000,000 constituted governmental contributions. The annual budget has been continually expanding and UNICEF officials hope to raise a sum in the neighbourhood of \$20,000,000 for operations during 1957.

Canada has contributed substantially to UNICEF since its inception, its initial contribution, made in 1947, being \$5,200,000. The total donated to the Fund by the Canadian Government will have reached \$10,675,000 by the end of 1957; this amount includes the \$650,000 pledged, subject to Parliamentary approval, for 1957. In addition to these governmental contributions there have been private contributions resulting from organized campaigns in Canada and totalling about \$1,500,000.

## **UNRWA**

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East was established by the General Assembly in December 1949 to provide for the relief and resettlement of about 950,000 refugees left homeless by the hostilities in Palestine in 1948. The Agency was charged with the task of co-operating with local governments in direct relief and works programmes in the Middle East, and of consulting with those governments on measures to be taken until such time as international assistance for relief and works programmes would no longer be available or until such time as the refugees would be able to exercise the choice between repatriation and compensation offered to them by resolutions of the General Assembly.

Political considerations have impeded the various plans for solving the Palestine refugee problem. In particular, the refugees have been reluctant to take any action leading to resettlement in countries in the area other than Israel since they feel this might prejudice their position with regard to repatriation or compensation. A programme of temporary employment which was first proposed proved unworkable, and a plan for reintegration, which was intended to resettle the bulk of the refugees by the end of 1955, proved unacceptable to the refugees. At present, the implementation of two major resettlement projects which would place about 200,000 refugees on land made cultivable by irrigation in the Yarmuk-Jordan Valley and Western Sinai is held up by political difficulties. It is clear that the Palestine refugees will continue to be an international charge until such time as there is a settlement of the major differences between Israel and the Arab States.

Up to June 30, 1956 expenditures by UNRWA and its predecessor, United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (established in December

1948), totalled about \$218 million. By far the larger part of this sum has been spent on direct relief, even though the cost of maintaining the refugees at a subsistence level is only about \$27 per capita per year. Canada has been the fourth largest contributor to the Agency, following the United States, the United Kingdom and France. Recently Canadian pledges have been in the neighbourhood of \$500,000 annually, and approval by Parliament of a contribution of \$750,000 for the 18-month period ending December 31, 1957 will bring the total amount contributed by Canada for the period 1948-57 well over the \$5 million mark.

#### UNREF

A refugee is defined by the United Nations as a person who has left the country of his normal residence because of fear of persecution. At the end of the Second World War the number of refugees in Europe was close to 2.2 million people. By the beginning of October 1956 this number had been reduced either by emigration, re-establishment in the country of present asylum, or voluntary return to original homes, to about 300,000 persons. Most of these 300,000 European refugees were in Austria, Germany, Greece and Italy. Those still living in refugee camps numbered 70,000, and included many aged, sick or physically handicapped persons who are known as "hard core" refugees.

Canada has aided United Nations refugee work since 1947. Immediately after the Second World War this work was carried on by the International Refugee Organization (IRO) and between the years 1947 and 1951 Canada contributed approximately \$19 million to that Agency and to the interim agencies which assumed some of IRO's work in 1951 and 1952. IRO was terminated in 1952 when the refugee problem in Europe had become more manageable and the great post-war urgency had passed. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, whose office had been established in 1950, then took over IRO's task of settling and assisting refugees, and was charged with the administration of the United Nations Refugee Fund. Canada continued to support the Fund, contributing a total of \$450,000 to it during the period 1952-1956. Subject to the approval of Parliament, Canada will, in addition, contribute \$200,000 to the regular 1957 budget of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who is endeavouring over a four-year period (1955-58) to find some permanent solution for this tragic and pitiable European refugee problem.

During recent weeks the work of the High Commissioner for Refugees has been vastly increased by the great influx to Austria of refugees from Hungary. To meet this great emergency the Canadian Parliament at its special session in November made a special contribution of \$1 million to Hungarian relief, of which \$250,000 has been allotted to UNREF.

#### ETAP

The United Nations and the Specialized Agencies all have technical assistance programmes financed out of these regular budgets. In 1950 the General Assembly set up the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme to be supervised by the Technical Assistance Committee of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and administered by the Technical Assistance Board. Since its inception ETAP has been financed by voluntary contributions from countries willing to assist in a very real and active way the economically less-developed countries of the world. Canada's gifts to ETAP, which complement Canadian contributions to the Colombo Plan, provide a continuing expression of Canada's willingness to co-operate internationally to try to raise standards of living and improve economic conditions in the less-fortunate areas of the world.

During the years 1950-56, Canada has given a total of \$7.2 million to ETAP. In 1957 Canada will contribute, subject to the approval of Parliament, an additional \$2 million, representing an increase of more than 10 per cent over the amount given in 1957. To enable the Technical Assistance Board to plan ahead with some surety of continued support, and in order to help the recipient countries to co-ordinate their development programmes, Canada and a number of other states have furthermore stated their intention to contribute, subject to the approval of their legislatures, to the Expanded Programmes for the years 1958 and 1959 amounts of a similar magnitude to those contributed by them in 1956. Canada's contribution to ETAP is now the third largest, ranking after those of the United States and the United Kingdom; on a per capita basis Canada is the highest contributor. The \$2 million pledged for 1957 represents an annual gift of 13.2 cents by each person living in Canada. Other countries giving more than 9 cents for each of their inhabitants are Denmark (13 cents), Norway (11.2 cents), Sweden (9.16 cents) and the United States (9.5 cents).

It may be of interest to examine how ETAP will use the \$31 million which has been pledged by 71 states for the Expanded Programme in 1957. The Economic and Social Council has approved the allocation of the bulk of this \$31 million to five agencies as follows: (1) approximately \$5.5 million will go to the World Health Organization (WHO) to help that Specialized Agency to accelerate its work of training health workers, to provide more demonstration clinics, and generally to speed up its programme aimed at improving standards of health; (2) about \$5 million will go to another Specialized Agency, UNESCO, to help it improve the level of elementary education in under-developed areas, to improve cultural contacts between nations, and to promote research in basic scientific problems; (3) another Specialized Agency, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), which is concerned with increasing the productivity of the land, forests and fisheries as well as improving their products, will receive the largest amount of all, over \$8½ million; (4) the International Labour Organization (ILO) will be allotted \$3\frac{1}{2}\$ million to assist it in carrying on its effective and valuable programme of improving work skills and in increasing the productivity of labour; (5) and finally, the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration (UNTAA), which has as its Director-General a Canadian, Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, will receive \$6½ million. UNTAA provides advanced training in public administration, in welfare services, and in various scientific pursuits for many scholars and fellows from the less technically developed areas of the world.

Over the years Canadian spokesmen have repeatedly stressed the desirability of using United Nations machinery for providing or supervising technical assistance to the less-developed areas. Canada is gratified that ETAP, by contributing to the sum of technical knowledge and the dissemination of that knowledge, is bringing about some improvement in the standard of living of people who can benefit from such assistance and will thus be in a position to increase their own contribution to the international community. ETAP also helps to promote mutual understanding and goodwill among all the 71 countries which actively take part in this world-wide programme of service.

To sum up, in 1956 Canada paid \$3,000,000 in membership fees or assessments to the United Nations and to the United Nations Specialized Agencies. Last year Canada also gave voluntarily to the four special United Nations programmes an additional sum of more than \$3 million. Thus Canada's total contributions for United Nations work in 1956 amounted to more than \$6 million.

# **Economic Review, 1956**

The following are excerpts from the year-end review of Canada's economy by Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Minister of Defence Production.

The economic upswing of 1955 has continued with sustained vigour throughout the current year. The result has been a period of accomplishment in many ways without equal in Canadian history. In the brief space of two years, overall physical output has risen by about one-sixth. This is the equivalent in dollar terms of roughly six Canadian wheat crops or one-third the output of the entire North American automobile industry.

More fundamental even than the rise in output has been the tremendous strides toward further development of Canada's resources and widespread additions to productive capacities generally. Industries based on the newly developed resources of oil, natural gas, iron ore and uranium have continued their meteoric advance, and now hold positions of ever-increasing prominence in both national and continental markets. Production of these key materials within our own borders adds tremendously to Canada's industrial stature and to the solidity of the economy. Yet, outlays in these fields, though large, constitute but a minor part of the overall volume of resources directed toward expansion of capital facilities. Capital expansion in 1956 has been proceeding, not only on a broader scale, but is actually increasing at a more rapid rate than at any previous time in the post-war period. Opportunities for new investment in Canada have become increasingly attractive, not only to Canadians but to business interests the world over. Industrial growth has, therefore, been facilitated by a record inflow of capital in the form of both direct investment in specific undertakings and security purchases, attracted by prospective yields in the Canadian market. This external participation in Canada's development has been a key factor in sparking the currently high rate of expansion. At the same time the accompanying capital inflow has provided the means to pay for the tremendous upsurge in imports needed to service this expansion.

With the aid of this influx of resources from abroad, the substantial step-up in capital outlays has been achieved alongside a continuing rise in exports and a further improvement in the living standards of Canadians. Moreover, in the face of a generally strong demand situation, increased imports and a strong Canadian dollar have helped to counteract upward pressure on prices. Although the consumer price index has been rising for some months, the rate of increase has been moderate and of about the same magnitude as that occurring in the United States. In short, increased foreign participation in Canada's development has made possible a rate of growth which, to achieve otherwise, would have involved substantially more dislocation in our business life and extensive sacrifices on the part of Canadian consumers...

# Foreign Trade

Canada's unparalleled expansion of the past year has been taking place against a background of sustained prosperity in other parts of the Western World and expanding international trade. Production levels in the United States and in Western Europe rose less rapidly in 1956 than in the preceding year, but international trade in these areas and elsewhere moved steadily upward. In these circumstances external markets for Canada's goods have continued to grow.

On the basis of ten month figures, it now appears that merchandise exports will approximate \$4.85 billion for the full year, 12 per cent higher than in 1955. Larger shipments of wheat account for more than one-third of this increase. Wheat shipments this year are the highest since the banner sales of 1952, despite difficulties arising from the United States surplus disposal program. Crude petroleum exports now exceed \$100 million annually, a four-fold increase from the preceding year, and foreign sales of iron ore have risen from \$100 million to approximately \$160 million. Other items which have contributed significantly to the increase in total sales include newsprint, copper, chemicals and aircraft. Lumber has been the only major export commodity to show a significant decline.

Merchandise imports have increased from \$4.7 billion in 1955 to approximately \$5.8 billion in 1956, nearly twice as much as exports. This heavy influx of goods from abroad reflects the tremendous upsurge in demand, particularly for expansion purposes. Accordingly, most of the increase in imports has consisted of machinery and equipment, steel and other industrial materials needed for the production of capital goods. Imports of consumer items have risen also but on a more moderate scale. By and large the increase in imports has not prevented an expansion in the business handled by domestic producers. A major portion of the increase in shipments from abroad has consisted of items not made in Canada or of requirements in excess of the productive capacities of domestic industries. In those lines most subject to foreign competition, such as textiles, electric appliances and industrial machinery, shipments from Canadian factories have, in most cases, kept pace with the upward trend of imports.

As regards the geographic pattern of Canada's foreign trade in 1956, sales to and purchases from the United States have both increased roughly in proportion with the change in overall exports and imports. In the United Kingdom, the measures designed to restrain excessive internal demands have had the intended effect of holding down imports, and Canada's sales to that country have remained at about the level of the previous year. On the other hand sales of British goods in Canada have risen by more than one-fifth, thus providing a significant measure of support to the foreign balance position of the United Kingdom. Elsewhere in the Commonwealth, intensified import controls in Australia and New Zealand have reduced Canada's exports in these markets. A notable development in Canada's trade with other overases countries has been the substantial increase in sales to and purchases from Germany and Japan. Canada retains a large favourable balance with each of these countries. Canada's trade with Iron Curtain countries has, for the first time, assumed significant proportions with the sale in 1956 of nearly 40 million bushels of wheat in this area.

# Balance of Payments

The sharper increase in imports than in exports has resulted in a much greater imbalance in Canada's commodity trade. In addition, higher costs for shipping, travel and various other items have added to the non-merchandise deficit. Canada's deficit on all current transactions for the first three-quarters of 1956 rose to an annual rate of more than \$1¼ billion. This is more than one-fifth of total current receipts. This current deficit has been met by an inflow of capital funds of about the same magnitude, while there has been little change in official holdings of gold and U.S. dollar

reserves. The capital inflow in the latter half of the year has in fact tended to exceed the deficit on current account causing a firming in the external value of the Canadian dollar which toward the end of the year has been selling at a premium of close to 4 per cent on the U.S. dollar.

The imbalance in Canada's current external account is directly attributable to the stepped-up pace of industrial expansion. This growth is being achieved through increased reliance on financial and physical resources from abroad. The inflow of capital funds on the one hand and larger imports on the other provide the means whereby this foreign participation in Canada's growth is brought about.

Notwithstanding the size of the current deficit, the underlying soundness of Canada's external financial position is evidenced by the high cost to non-residents of Canadian dollars for investment in Canada. This position is further re-inforced by the current expansion in export industries and in other capacity which will provide domestic sources for goods now imported. . .

## The Year Ahead

The Middle East crisis and other recent international events have introduced new elements of uncertainty into the world trade situation, the effects of which are not now discernible. Apart from these influences, the pressure of world demand on Canada's principal export materials is not presently as strong as a year ago. Nevertheless foreign markets for these commodities, with one or two exceptions, remain reasonably firm. In addition, expanded capacity in export industries will increase the volume of supplies available. The diversion of large quantities of Western Hemisphere oil to Europe will entail a further substantial rise in Canada's exports of petroleum, although distribution facilities will limit the extent of this movement. In addition much larger quantities of uranium concentrates will be moving into export channels during the coming year. More moderate increases will probably be realized in sales of a number of other commodities. Given sustained prosperity in the United States, total exports will continue at a high level.

# Free Trade Area in Western Europe

PRIME MINISTER LOUIS S. ST-LAURENT issued in November the following statement on behalf of the Government in connection with the suggestion that the United Kingdom might join a free trade area embracing most of Western Europe:

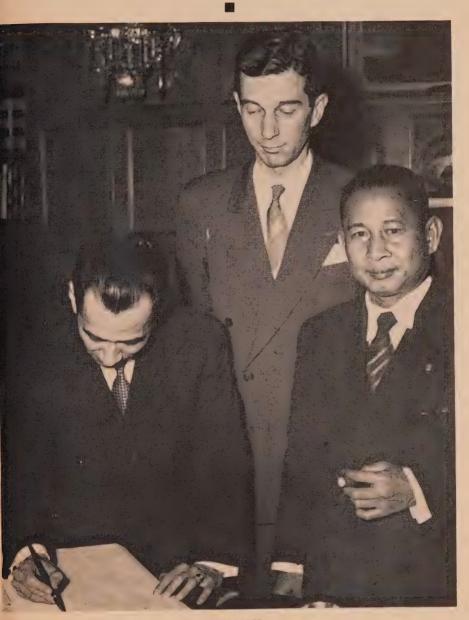
The Canadian Government has been informed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade of the proposal under consideration by the Government of the United Kingdom which would involve the United Kingdom entering a Free Trade Area in Western Europe along with France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Germany and Italy (who are considering the establishment of a full Customs Union among the six of them), and other countries of Western Europe. The entry by the United Kingdom into such a free trade arrangement with European countries would entail the removal by defined stages of its customs duties on the products of such countries in return for reciprocal action on their part toward United Kingdom products. The United Kingdom proposes that this arrangement would not apply to foodstuffs, feeds, beverages or tobacco. In that event such advantages as are now accorded by the United Kingdom to imports of these types of products from other Commonwealth countries would not be affected.

Even with the exclusion of such products, the changes in United Kingdom and European trading relations involved in the carrying out of these proposals would present a number of problems for Canadian trade with the countries concerned. The various possible effects upon Canada's trade and upon our existing trade arrangements will require detailed study by the Government and thorough discussions with the other Governments con-

It will be important that the carrying out of these proposals proceed according to a definite programme and on a firm time-table and be accompanied by appropriate internal economic policies. The proposed new arrangement will have its most beneficial effects if it is brought into being with a minimum of discrimination against the trade of other countries and if the expansion of mutually advantageous trading relations with other countries is encouraged.

If the proposals are carried through with determination, and at the same time the countries concerned proceed forthrightly with the removal of other trade barriers between themselves, and also against other countries as they are already pledged to do, it should be possible to surmount any difficulties which may be created and to increase the flow of trade, and maintain the ties, between this large European area and the rest of the world. On the other hand, a partial development that resulted only in the creation of a new system of intra-European tariff preferences would interfere with trade between Europe and other countries, including Canada, without achieving the positive results which are expected from a full implementing of the plan. Similarly, it would be a matter of concern to us if the pursuit of this European objective, worthy as it is, were to result in an increase in tariffs against non-European countries or in less effort or willingness to reduce the other barriers to the development of competitive multilateral trade, which is the over-riding objective of the Canadian Government and of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Should the proposals be adopted and successfully carried through by Britain and nations of Western Europe they should increase the economic strength and prosperity of the peoples of that whole great area and also their sense of solidarity and common purpose even beyond the economic field. Such a result could not fail to be welcomed by Canadians whose security, and cultural and political heritage, as well as economic welfare, have been, and are, so closely linked with that part of the world.



VISIT RECORDED

His Excellency Katay D. Sasorith, right, Deputy Prime Minister of Laos, is seen after signing the Speaker's Book in the Senate during his visit to Ottawa last month. Mr. Keo Viphakone, Counsellor of the Laotian Embassy in Washington, is shown signing the book. With the distinguished visitors is Mr. Paul Bridle, former Commissioner, Canadian Delegation, International Supervisory Commission, Laos.

# APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. M. N. J. Gauvreau posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective December 4, 1956.
- Mr. M. H. Wershof appointed Permanent Representative of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva. Proceeded to Geneva effective December 5, 1956.
- Mr. J. Fast appointed to the Department of External Affairs as External Affairs Officer 2, effective December 12, 1956.
- Mr. A. E. L. Cannon posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective December 14, 1956.
- Mr. H. B. Singleton posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective December 16, 1956.
- Mr. J. C. Langley posted from the Canadian Delegation to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective December 19, 1956.
- Mr. H. G. Norman, CMG, Consul General in New York, retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service, effective December 23, 1956.
- Mr. A. E. Ritchie posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective December 30, 1956.
- Mr. M. Gauvin, DSO, posted from the Canadian Delagation to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective November 30, 1956.
- Miss B. M. Meagher posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective November 30, 1956.

# TREATY INFORMATION Current Action

# Bilateral

## Federal Republic of Germany

Exchange of Notes respecting the contract for the purchase of F-86 Aircraft, and the training of German aircrew in Canada.

Signed at Bonn September 17 and December 18, 1956. Entered into Force December 18, 1956.

#### United States of America

Exchange of Notes concerning proposed navigation improvements to be undertaken in the Detroit River section of the Great Lakes connecting channels.

Signed at Ottawa July 23 and October 26, 1956. Entered into force October 26, 1956.

Protocol to the Convention for the Protection, Preservation, and Extension of the Sockeye Salmon Fisheries in the Fraser River System signed at Washington on the 26th day of May 1930.

Signed at Ottawa December 28, 1956.

#### Multilateral

Agreement on the joint financing of certain air navigation services in Iceland.

Signed at Montreal November 28, 1956.

Agreement on the joint financing of certain air navigation services in Greenland and the Faroe Islands.

Signed at Montreal November 28, 1956.

Protocol amending the International Convention for the regulation of whaling signed at Washington on the 2nd day of December 1946.

Signed at Washington November 30, 1956.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# **Canada and the United Nations**

The General Assembly, reconvened in New York on January 2, devoted much of its time during the month to the consideration of the Middle East and Hungarian questions.

With respect to Hungary, the Assembly adopted on January 10, by a vote of 59 in favour (including Canada) and 8 against, with 10 abstentions, a resolution, sponsored by 24 nations, which provided for the creation of a special five-member committee "to investigate and to establish and maintain direct observation in Hungary and elsewhere, taking testimony, collecting evidence and receiving information, as appropriate, in order to report its findings to the General Assembly." The special committee, which is comprised of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay, was asked to report during the present session of the Assembly. (1)

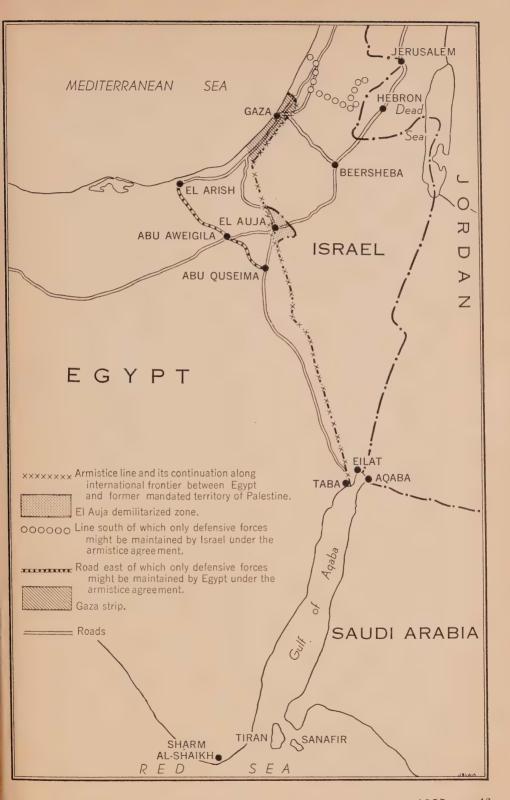
# Middle East Crisis

When the General Assembly adjourned for the Christmas recess on December 21, its deliberations on the Middle East crisis had reached the end of a phase. The UNEF was established at the northern end of the Suez Canal in the area once occupied by Anglo-French forces and was taking over positions in the Sinai Desert from the withdrawing Israeli forces. The Assembly had agreed that in financing UNEF, the first \$10,000,000 should be apportioned among the member states in accordance with the scale of assessments for the 1957 United Nations budget, and that the question of apportioning expenses beyond the first \$10,000,000 should be referred to a nine-nation committee. The Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjold, had proceeded with arrangements for clearing the Canal under the authority given him by the Assembly in its resolution of November 26.

On December 25, the Secretary-General addressed a request to all member states that their governments consider advancing funds to provide the immediate cash needs of the Suez Canal clearance operation.

On January 15, the Secretary-General submitted to the General Assembly a report on the compliance with Assembly resolutions of November 2, 4, 7, and 24 calling for the withdrawal of troops. The withdrawal of Anglo-French forces had been completed, he said, on December 22. The withdrawal of Israeli troops had proceeded by phases. By January 22 the Sinai Desert would be evacuated entirely by Israeli troops with the exception of the Sharm al-Shaikh area, a strip on the western coast of the Gulf of Aqaba ensuring freedom of navigation through the Straits of Tiran and in the Gulf. The attitude of the Israeli Government on the evacuation of the Gaza strip had not been made known to the Secretary-General. The promised degree of withdrawal, however, would enable UNEF to take up positions on the armistice demarcation line from the southern tip of Israel to within a few miles of the Mediterranean coast, where the Gaza strip begins.

<sup>(1)</sup> See "External Affairs" for January 1957.



In the closing paragraphs of his report, which are quoted in full below, the Secretary-General examined points in the General Assembly's resolutions on withdrawal which would still require attention after January 22. These were (a) the requirement that Israel should withdraw from the Gaza strip; (b) the usefulness of having both parties reaffirm their undertakings not only to desist from raids across the armistice demarcation lines but also to take active steps to prevent incursions; (c) the need for greater support by the parties for the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization and the advantages of liaison between that body and UNEF when the latter reached the armistice line; (d) the question of Israel's withdrawal from Sharm al-Shaikh and the right of innocent passage for ships in the Gulf of Aqaba, and (e) the priority which must be given to withdrawal as the first essential phase in developing peaceful conditions. What the Secretary-General said was as follows:

In consequence of the intended withdrawal announced in the latest communication to the Secretary-General from the Government of Israel on 14 January, 1957, "the United Nations Emergency Force on 22 January will reach the armistice demarcation line wherever it follows the northeastern boundary of the 'Sinai Desert'. At that stage the last two points in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of 2 November will assume added importance.

One of these points is the request for full observance of the provisions of the armistice agreements. This request makes it clear that the withdrawal of Israel forces must be behind the armistice line as it has been established in the Egypt-Israel agreement. In this context it is to be noted, therefore, that the Israel communication is silent about withdrawal from the Gaza strip which, according to this armistice agreement, falls on the Egyptian side of the armistice demarcation line. Further discussions with the representatives of Israel are required on this point.

The other point which is mentioned together with the request for withdrawal refers to raids across the armistice demarcation lines into neighbouring territory. Such raids are prohibited also in the armistice agreements. The call for general observance of these agreements reinforces the specific request to the parties to desist from raids. The cease-fire assurances given to the Secretary-General by the parties in April and May, 1956 lent further legal solemnity to the relevant articles in the armistice agreements.

The Truce Supervision Organization established under the armistice agreements, as one of its main duties, assists in the prevention of incursions and raids. It is in accord with the call for scrupulous observance of the armistice agreements for the parties to take all appropriate measures to give UNTSO the support necessary to render it fully effective. It is a primary duty of the United Nations Emergency Force to supervise and enforce the cease-fire to which the parties committed themselves in response to the request of the General Assembly in the resolution of November 2. Appropriate liaison should be established between these two United Nations auxiliary organizations. Further consideration may have to be given to the question of the extent to which the Force might assume responsibilities so far carried by the Truce Supervision Organization.

The Secretary-General considers that, in view of the serious developments which have taken place, it would assist the two United Nations organs and facilitate compliance with this specific point in the resolution of 2 November, if the parties were formally to reconfirm their undertakings to desist from raids and to take active steps to prevent incursions. When

full implementation of the request for withdrawal of forces behind the armistice line is ensured, such reaffirmations should, therefore, in the Secretary-General's view, be solicited from all the parties.

The communication of 14 January from the Government of Israel, in making an exception for the Sharm al-Shaikh area as 'the strip on the western coast of the Gulf of Aqaba which at present ensures freedom of navigation in the Straits of Tiran and in the Gulf', indicates that the evacuation of the strip is anticipated, although further conversations with the Secretary-General are suggested in connexion with this evacuation. The area referred to and the islands opposite Sharm al-Shaikh are Egyptian territory, or territory under Egyptian jurisdiction on the basis of an agreement with Saudi Arabia. Under the terms of the General Assembly resolution, the forces should be withdrawn from these territories. The Israel declaration of 8 November stated that Israel would be willing to 'withdraw' its forces from Egypt." (A/3320).

The international significance of the Gulf of Aqaba may be considered to justify the right of innocent passage through the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf in accordance with recognized rules of international law. The Secretary-General has not considered that a discussion of the various aspects of this matter, and its possible relation to the action requested in the General Assembly resolutions on the Middle East crisis, falls within the mandate established for him in the resolution of 4 November.

Like the cease-fire, withdrawal is a preliminary and essential phase in a development through which a stable basis may be laid for peaceful conditions in the area. When the General Assembly, in its various resolutions concerning the recent crisis in the Middle East, gave high priority to the cease-fire and the withdrawal, the position of the Assembly reflected both basic principles of the Charter and essential political considerations.

The Assembly, in taking this position, in no way disregarded all the other aims which must be achieved in order to create more satisfactory conditions than those prevailing during the period preceding the crisis. Some of these aims were mentioned by the Assembly. Others are to be found in previous decisions of the United Nations. All of them call for urgent attention. The basic function of the United Nations Emergency Force, 'to help maintain quiet', gives the Force great value as a background for efforts toward resolving such pending problems, although it is not in itself a means to that end.

It is essential that, through prompt conclusion of the first phases of implementation of the General Assembly resolutions, Member Governments should now be enabled to turn to the constructive tasks to which the establishment and the maintenance of the cease-fire, a full withdrawal of forces behind the armistice lines, a desisting from raids and scrupulous observance of the armistice agreements, should open the way."

# Resolution Adopted

The General Assembly took up the discussion of this report on January 17. Twenty-five Asian-African delegations introduced a draft resolution, the operative portion of which noted "with regret and concern" the failure of Israel to comply with the terms of previous Assembly resolutions on withdrawal, and requested the Secretary-General "to continue his efforts for securing the complete withdrawal" of Israeli troops. It also asked him to "report on such compliance" to the General Assembly within five days. As

the debate on this draft resolution continued on January 18, the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made a statement in which he said in part:

Our delegation shares the regret expressed by other Members of the Assembly that a situation has arisen in which compliance with the earlier resolutions on withdrawal has not yet been completed. But we would also regret and be concerned about a withdrawal merely to the old state of affairs. And we recall at this time that the earlier resolutions, in accordance with the terms of which Israel forces are to withdraw, dealt with matters other than territorial withdrawal, but matters which are related to this essential step. Therefore, I hope that the Secretary-General, in his efforts—which we support—to bring about compliance regarding withdrawal will in the further report which he is to make to us give consideration to ways and means of securing and stabilizing through United Nations action the situation after withdrawal has taken place and pending that political settlement which alone can establish real and lasting peace and security in the area.

The twenty-five power resolution came to a vote on January 19 and was adopted by a vote of 74 in favour (including Canada) to two against (France and Israel) with two abstentions (Costa Rica and Cuba).

# Secretary-General's Report

When the Assembly resumed debate on the resulting situation on January 28, it had before it the report prepared by the Secretary-General in pursuance of the Assembly's resolution of January 19 and an aide-memoire on Israel's position in the Sharm al-Shaikh area and the Gaza strip transmitted to Mr. Hammarskjold by the Delegation of Israel. The Secretary-General reported that Israel had not fully complied with the Assembly's request for withdrawal. It was still in occupation of the whole western shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, as well as the Gaza strip. In his report Mr. Hammarskjold described under three non-controversial headings the limits within which the United Nations might properly operate:

- (a) The United Nations cannot condone a change of the *status juris* resulting from military action contrary to the provisions of the Charter. The Organization must, therefore, maintain that the *status juris* existing prior to such military action be re-established by a withdrawal of troops, and by the relinquishment or nullification of rights asserted in territories covered by the military action and depending upon it.
- (b) The use of military force by the United Nations other than that under Chapter VII of the Charter requires the consent of the States in which the Force is to operate. Moreover, such use must be undertaken and developed in a manner consistent with the principles mentioned under (a) above. It must, furthermore, be impartial, in the sense that it does not serve as a means to force settlement, in the interest of one party, of political conflicts or legal issues recognized as controversial.
- (c) United Nations actions must respect fully the rights of Member Governments recognized in the Charter, and international agreements not contrary to the aims of the Charter, which are concluded in exercise of those rights.

The Secretary-General observed that the principle embodied in the first of these three points was reflected in the Assembly's various resolutions calling for the withdrawal of troops behind the armistice lines. Expression had been given to the second when UNEF's terms of reference were drawn up. There had been "no intent in the establishment of the Force to influence the military balance in the present conflict and thereby the political balance affecting efforts to settle the conflict". The Force, moreover, was not to have "military functions exceeding those necessary to secure peaceful conditions on the assumption that the parties to the conflict take all necessary steps for compliance with the recommendations of the General Assembly". In conformity with the third point the Assembly in its November 2 resolution had urged the parties to observe their armistice agreement scrupulously.

This agreement gave to Egypt "control" of the Gaza strip, which included responsibility for administration and security. The administration of the area could be legally changed only through settlement between the parties, and the United Nations was thus precluded from accepting even the non-military administration of the Gaza strip which Israel had offered to maintain there. Any widening of United Nations administrative responsibilities in the Gaza strip, beyond the responsibility it already has for the crowded refugee population, would have to be based on agreement with Egypt. The Assembly might recommend a United Nations administration, but it would lack the authority to require compliance. Deployment of UNEF in Gaza would require the consent of Egypt if it were planned to give the Force in this area any broader function than it had already been assigned along the armistice line in the Sinai Peninsula.

The Secretary-General reasserted his belief that a restoration of more stable relations between the parties could be based on a reaffirmation of the first article of the armistice agreement which is a pledge of non-aggression. The reaffirmation should extend to other articles as well. The Secretary-General mentioned in particular articles 7 and 8 of the agreement. Under Article 7 Egypt and Israel are permitted to have only very limited armed forces in the neighbourhood of the Gaza strip and south of it. Article 8 provides for demilitarization of the El Auja zone and stipulates that no Egyptian defensive position facing the demilitarized zone shall be closer than El Ghouseima and Abu Aweigila. These two articles, which were intended to reduce the danger of armed clashes, had been progressively undermined in recent years and were not being fulfilled when the crisis was reached.

The Secretary-General reminded the Assembly that execution of the provisions of the armistice agreement was to be supervised by a Mixed Armistice Commission, over which a senior officer of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization presides. Headquarters of the Mixed Armistice Commission have been at El Auja, the main intersection point for desert roads east of the Sinai Peninsula, in the demilitarized zone on Israel's side of the old Egypt-Palestine border. The functions of UNEF, now being used to secure and supervise the cease-fire, had therefore to be discussed as the way opened up for it to take positions along the armistice line. In this connection the Secretary-General said:

The United Nations Emergency Force is deployed at the dividing line between the forces of Israel and Egypt. The General Assembly concurred in paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's Second and Final Report (A '3302) which specifically referred to the deployment of the Force on only one side of the armistice line. On this basis, the Force would have units in the Gaza area as well as opposite El Auja (i.e. in Egyptian territory). With demilitarization of the El Auja zone in accordance with the Armistice Agreement, it might be indicated that the Force should have units stationed also on the Israel side of the Armistice Demarcation Line, at least in that zone. Such deployment, which would require a new decision by the General Assembly, would have the advantage of the Force being in a position to assume the supervisory duties of the Truce Supervision Organization in all the territory where that Organization now functions under the Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel. In both Gaza and El Auja, the functions of the Truce Supervision Organization and the Force would somewhat overlap if such an arrangement were not to be made. As an arrangement of this kind was not foreseen by the Armistice Agreement, it obviously would require the consent of the two parties to that Agreement. Such mutual consent might be given to the United Nations directly, especially since the arrangement would be on an ad hoc basis.

UNEF and UNTSO, with their respective responsibilities, should cooperate, he said, in the prevention of incursions and raids across the armistice line.

The Secretary-General reported that the Government of Egypt had informed him of its desire that "all raids and incursions across the armistice line, in both directions", should be brought to an end and that United Nations auxiliary bodies should afford effective assistance to that end.

Finally the Secretary-General addressed himself to the question of Israel's withdrawal from the Sharm al-Shaikh area. The question of the situation in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran, he said, was not directly related to the present crisis and had been of longer duration. Israel's military action and its consequences should not be elements influencing the solution.

A legal controversy exists as to the extent of the right of innocent passage through straits forming part of the territorial sea of one or more states (in this case Egypt and Saudi Arabia) constituting the sole means of access to the port of another state (in this case Israel's port of Eilat). The Secretary-General believed that in these circumstances rights in relation to the Gulf and the Straits should be exercised with restraint on all sides. Claims to belligerent rights, if asserted, "should be limited to clearly non-controversial situations". A Security Council resolution of September 1, 1951 had denied that the parties to the armistice agreement could claim belligerent rights, such as the right of search or seizure of vessels, which Egypt had exercised and against which Israel had protested. This resolution, the Secretary-General said, was still valid. He pointed out that if the armistice agreement, and especially articles 7 and 8 on limitation of armed forces in certain areas, were to be implemented again, the case against all acts of belligerency "would gain full cogency". With the broader implementation of the armistice agreement, the parties should be asked to give assurances that they will not assert any belligerent rights, including of course belligerent rights in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran.

On the possible use of UNEF in the Sharm al-Shaikh area the Secretary-General had the following words to say in conclusion:

Israel troops, on their withdrawal from the Sharm al-Shaikh area, would be followed by the United Nations Emergency Force in the same way

as in other parts of Sinai. The duties of the Force in respect of the cease-fire and the withdrawal will determine its movements. However, if it is recognized that there is a need for such an arrangement, it may be agreed that units of the Force (or special representatives in the nature of observers) would assist in maintaining quiet in the area beyond what follows from this general principle. In accordance with the general legal principles, recognized as decisive for the deployment of the United Nations Emergency Force, the Force should not be used so as to prejudge the solution of the controversial questions involved. The UNEF, thus, is not to be deployed in such a way as to protect any special position on these questions, although, at least transitionally, it may function in support of mutual restraint in accordance with the foregoing.

### Canada's View

In support of the Secretary-General's position, Mr. L. B. Pearson, head of the Canadian Delegation, said in part during the general debate on January 29:

I suggest, Mr. President, for consideration by the Assembly that certain ideas might be worthy of inclusion in any resolution which we may be discussing. I think that the two parties concerned, Egypt and Israel, should be called upon by this Assembly to observe all the provisions of the 1949 Armistice Agreement and to refrain from all acts of hostility, including the exercise by either party of any claim to belligerent rights. I think that the Secretary-General might be instructed to make arrangements, after consultation with the parties concerned, for the deployment of the United Nations Emergency Force on both sides of the demarcation line and in the Gaza strip, in order that this Force, which is our own creation and which is effectively functioning in the area in the interests of peace and security, might assume the supervisory duties of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization; prevent incursions and raids across the demarcation line, and maintain peaceful conditions along the line. I believe that Egypt and Israel, to assist in this essential work of the UNEF, should be requested to remove from, or limit their military forces in, these areas of deployment which would be defined. I think that the United Nations should be associated with steps to replace the present civilian administration of the Gaza strip and to ensure that that area will not in the future be used as a base or as a target for raids or retaliations. I believe that it would be wise to take appropriate steps to determine legal positions in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran but that, pending this determination, the parties should be called upon to give assurances that they will not assert or exercise any belligerent rights in these waters or interfere with navigation in them. And then I think that the Secretary-General, on whom we seem to be placing great burdens of responsibility these days, should be authorized to arrange for a unit or units of the United Nations Emergency Force, after the withdrawal of Israeli forces, to be stationed at some point in the Gulf of Tiran to assist in the establishment and maintenance of peaceful conditions in that area. In this connection, Mr. President, may I quote, because I think that this paragraph is important and I agree with it, what Mr. Lodge said vesterday:

We believe that it is essential that units of the United Nations Emergency Force be stationed at the Straits of Tiran in order to achieve there the separation of Egyptian and Israeli land and sea forces. This separation is essential until it is clear that the non-exercise of any claimed belligerent rights has established in practice the peaceful conditions which must govern navigation in waters having such an international interest. All of this would, of course, be without prejudice to any ultimate determination which may be made of any legal questions concerning the Gulf of Aqaba.

I hope, Mr. President, that the agreed solution can be reached along these lines. The alternative to non-agreement is so threatening to peace and security that we are bound to put forward every effort with sincerity and determination and goodwill to reach an honourable, peaceful and agreed settlement.

# Two Related Resolutions

After the general debate of January 28 and 29 informal negotiations took place among interested delegations, as a result of which two related resolutions were put forward on February 1 under the joint sponsorship of seven nations—Brazil, Colombia, India, Indonesia, Norway, the USA and Yugoslavia. The first resolution deplored the non-compliance of Israel with earlier United Nations resolutions asking for withdrawal of Israeli forces behind the armistice line and called upon Israel to complete its withdrawal behind the armistice demarcation line "without further delay". The second resolution was in the following terms:

Recognizing that withdrawal by Israel must be followed by action which would assure progress towards the creation of peaceful conditions.

- 1. Notes with appreciation the Secretary-General's report and the measures therein to be carried out upon Israel's complete withdrawal;
- 2. Calls upon the Governments of Egypt and Israel scrupulously to observe the provisions of the 1949 Armistice Agreement;
- 3. Considers that, after full withdrawal of Israel from the Sharm el-Shaikh and Gaza areas, the scrupulous maintenance of the Armistice Agreement requires the placing of the United Nations Emergency Force on the Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Demarcation Line and the implementation of other measures as proposed in the Secretary-General's report, with due regard to the considerations set out therein with a view to assist in achieving situations conducive to the maintenance of peaceful conditions in the area;
- 4. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the parties concerned, to take steps to carry out these measures and to report, as appropriate, to the General Assembly.

# **Explains Canada's Position**

On the following day, February 2, Mr. Pearson said in explaining Canada's position on the two resolutions:

We have before us, as members know, two draft resolutions: one on the immediate with-drawal of Israeli forces and one on arrangements for peace and security in the area to follow such withdrawal.

The Canadian Delegation would have preferred these two draft resolutions to be separate parts of a single draft resolution which could be voted upon separately. Our reason for that view is a simple one. We think that these two matters are interconnected, and what we do about the second will help

or hinder our efforts to bring about effective action in regard to the first—withdrawal. This inter-relationship exists, in our view, not because it will assist Israel in achieving any objective of national policy, but because it will affect the chances of achieving our own objective of peace and security in the area. And that, I take it, is the objective of the Assembly. We do not expect the second draft resolution to result in anything that would not have been desirable if Israeli military action had not taken place.

There is in our minds no question of reward or approval. We do expect a satisfactory second draft resolution to result in the kind of United Nations action that will prevent military action in the future, and we look at this second draft resolution from that point of view, as well as from the point of view of the effect which it will have on the achievement of Israeli withdrawal.

I recognize the force of the reasons that made one draft resolution impossible of acceptance by the necessary majority in this Assembly. I hope that others will realize the force of the argument that the views expressed on the second draft resolution and, even more important, on the meaning of that draft resolution, are bound to influence our

Our position on these two questions has been stated already and I do not need to repeat it at length.

feeling about the first.

We agree with the view that there must be a full implementation of the Armistice Agreement of 1949, and that there must be a formal affirmation by the Governments concerned that they desist from raids and incursions across the demarcation line and take active measures to prevent these things happening. The Secretary-General, in his report, has called for these things. But they are not enough. The United Nations must take action to achieve as well as merely to proclaim these objectives; to secure and supervise arrangements to this end.

We have at hand an agency of the United Nations, our own agency, which can be used effectively for these purposes if we so desire. If we do not use it—the United Nations Emergency Force—all our work of last autumn will have been wasted, and our failure will extend far beyond this particular situation and will weaken, perhaps even destroy, the value of this Assembly for the supervision of and making secure the peace. The Security Council, in present circumstances, has become futile for these purposes. Is the Assembly to go the same way? It is for us to decide, and what we do on this occasion may make the decision.

We must, therefore, in any draft resolution which we are considering, such as the one before us, be sure that we are giving the Secretary-General clear and definite authority so that, in the subsequent discussions and consultations which are required, he can make the United Nations and the United Nations Emergency Force effective for the purpose of bringing about action, following withdrawal of Israeli forces. This surely means at least it seems to us to mean—that agreement should be reached under which UNEF can be used for keeping the peace along the demarcation line and in the Gaza strip, if necessary, and for preventing conflict—and that would be its only possible purpose in that area—in the Gulf of Aqaba or the Straits of Tiran.

We are asking our Secretary-General to take on great and additional responsibilities. I hope that this second draft resolution—

which is not a very long one—is not going to be the straw that will break this camel's back. But it is certainly our duty to give him as clear and precise a mandate as we can so that he can discharge these responsibilities with a minimum of confusion, controversy or delay.

I realize that it is the intention of the authors of this draft resolution to give the Secretary-General the authority necessary to discharge these new responsibilities and to perform this task that is of such vital importance to peace and the United Nations. I know something about the difficulties of the authors of these two draft resolutions in realizing this intention in words that will command the approval of the necessary majority of this Assembly which, after all, cannot act at all without such approval. I know that the representative of the United States, in particular, has made persistent and tireless efforts, which deserve our gratitude, to overcome these difficulties.

But, while the purpose of this second draft resolution deserves and receives the unqualified support of our Delegation, we have had—as I am sure other delegations have had, judging from what I have heard today—some doubts about the language of the draft resolution in one or two places being best suited to achieve this purpose. I would have preferred it to be somewhat more precise and more complete. I think that it would then have been more effective, if its meaning had been clearer, in achieving the two objectives which we all have in mind: immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces and, afterwards United Nations arrangements which, to use the language of the preamble of the second draft resolution, "would assure progress towards the creation of peaceful conditions".

I realize, of course, that it would have been impracticable to have included in this draft resolution all the details of the actions which we wish the Secretary-General and the United Nations to take. But I had hoped that the principles which we mention might have been somewhat more specific. I realize also that the Secretary-General must be given reasonable freedom of action, room to manœuvre, in an operation of this kind, which is as delicate as it is complicated and important. But we surely do not wish this freedom to include ambiguous injunctions which might invite differing interpretations and consequent confusion and frustration.

I am assured that my doubts on this score are unnecessary and that the wording of the second draft resolution makes possible the use, for instance, of the United Nations, especially the use of UNEF, for the pacification purposes mentioned by both the representative of the United States and myself in our interventions in this debate on 28 January, and to which he referred again at our meeting this morning. I hope that this can be done, and I have been strengthened in that hope by the statement which we heard from Mr. Lodge this morning.

That statement seems to me to strengthen the validity of the interpretation which we give to the words of the draft resolution, the aim of which we have wholeheartedly approved from the beginning, but the wording of which, in one or two places, has raised some doubts as to its exact meaning.

I assume, for instance, and I hope that my assumption is correct, that the scrupulous observance of the 1949 Armistice Agreement which is called for in paragraph 2 of the second draft resolution, requires the two Governments concerned to refrain from all acts of hostility, including the exercise by either party of any claim to belligerent rights, specifically in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran. My assumption on this point seems to me to be supported by the language of paragraphs 27 and 28 of the Secretary-General's report (A/3512), which refers to certain measures that should be carried out—and which, under paragraph 4 of this draft resolution, the Secretary-General is requested by this Assembly to carry out.

In regard to paragraph 3 of the second draft resolution, I take it that the word "other" in the phrase "the implementation of other measures" does not mean the exclusion of UNEF from these other measures by the fact that, under the preceding part of the paragraph, it is to be placed on the demarcation line. I also assume that the words "in the area" at the end of this paragraph include the Sharm el-Shaikh and Gaza areas as well as the area of the demarcation line.

These may seem small points, but many an important resolution—and this is a vitally important resolution—has been ruined by subsequent differences of interpretation and meaning of points which seemed to be small but turned out to be very large indeed, and very ambiguous.

#### Should Be No Doubt

I think it is especially necessary that there should be no doubt about the meaning of this resolution because if and when it is passed it becomes the Secretary-General's "Bible" as he undertakes the duties based on it.

Our attitude to resolution II, then, has been conditioned by the interpretation I have given above and we think this is a reasonable and acceptable interpretation. The actual authority given the Secretary-General to carry out the provisions of this resolution is to be found in paragraph 4 where he is requested to take steps to carry out the measures which are in his report, which has been before us for some time. In other words, he is to implement his report on the basis of this resolution. It seems to me desirable therefore to recall the measures which are to be carried out by him, because they will be his responsibility.

It seems to me that a careful reading of this report indicates that these measures some of them would perhaps appear to be conclusions rather than measures—include the following:

First, full respect for, full implementation of and a reaffirmation of the Armistice Agreement of 1949 which remains in force and the

first article of which assimilates the agreement to a non-aggression pact providing for mutual and full abstention from belligerent

Second, the restoration of the legal position of control in the Gaza strip and the recognition that any change in this position-a position which has practical and humanitarian as well as legal aspects—can only be brought about through a settlement between the parties. The Secretary-General recognizes that the deployment of the United Nations Emergency Force in Gaza on any wider basis than its deployment along the Armistice line in the Sinai Peninsula would require the consent of Egypt under the Armistice Agreement. He also points out, however, in his report-and I quote from that report-that "the development of the situation in Gaza may require special attention and may impose added responsibilities on the United Nations" in particular in regard to refugees.

The third measure from this report is the deployment of UNEF on both sides of the demarcation line, to prevent incursions and raids across that line.

Fourth, El Auja to be demilitarized in accordance with the Armistice Agreement and Israeli and Egyptian forces not to take positions in contravention of that agreement;

Fifth, the assumption by the Emergency Force of the supervisory duties of the Truce Supervisory Organization;

Sixth, formal assurance from the parties concerned to desist from raids and to take active measures to prevent incursions;

Seventh, pending determination of the legal position of these waters, innocent passage through the Straits of Iran and the Gulf of Aqaba in accordance with the recognized rules of international law, which passage is not to be interfered with by the exercise of any claim to belligerent rights;

The eighth and final measure which I have drawn from the report is that Israeli troops, on their withdrawal from the Sharm el-Shaikh area are to be followed by UNEF in the same way as in other parts of Sinai. The Force is not to be deployed there, as the Secretary-General points out, in such a way as to protect any special position on controversial questions, although, at least transitionally, it may function—or special United Nations observers may function—in support, and only in support, of mutual restraint and in maintaining quiet.

In these resolutions we are giving the United Nations Emergency Force very important functions in the pacification of the area. Perhaps it is already authorized to perform many of these functions. I agree, for instance, with the representative of Australia that in accepting the Secretary-General's second report on the establishment of the Emergency Force we have already, and with the consent of the Government of Egypt, authorized the Force to help maintain quiet after the withdrawal of non-Egyptian troops and to secure compliance with the

other terms of the resolution of 2 November 1956. Whether the new functions we are suggesting require, in whole or in part, a new resolution of the Assembly is perhaps not very important now because such a resolution is before us, which is designed to remove any doubts on this score. In so far as is necessary, new arrangements will have to be worked out by agreement with Egypt and with Israel.

#### **UNEF Can Be Effective**

In this connexion, the scope and the nature of Egypt's earlier consent was brought up yesterday by the representative of Australia and referred to by more than one speaker this afternoon. On that point the Secretary-General made, I think, an important classification yesterday when he said: "To all the extent that movements of the United Nations Force are supposed to follow from the duties of the Force in relation to the cease-fire and withdrawal, the matter . . . has been regarded as non-controversial as it is covered by Egypt's general consent while, on the other hand, as regards activities of the United Nations Force which would extend beyond what is covered by this consent, an additional consent has been considered necessary

The Secretary-General also said that whatever may be the legal situation under the Charter regarding consent, "in practice, the consent must obviously be qualified in such a way as to provide a reasonable basis for the operation of the United Nations Force".

I am satisfied myself that the United Nations Force, which has already operated effectively and non-controversially and has given us hope for the future role of the United Nations in the supervision of peace can, if it is given the opportunity and the authority, conduct these new peace supervision operations equally effectively. Absurd suspicions have been cast on this Force by the represen-tative of the Soviet Union and by the representative of Bulgaria, I think it was, this afternoon; absurd suspicions were cast on this Force as an agency for the return of colonialism in a new form to this area. All I can say in this connexion is that the Force is under the control not of any one Power, either here in this Assembly or on the spot, but it is under the control of the United Nations and that it is a Force consisting of important elements from those well-known "colonial Powers India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and Finland.

When doubts about this Force are expressed by the countries of the Middle East, I accept the honesty of their doubts although I do not believe that they are justified. I can assure them that as far as our Delegation is concerned—and I am sure that it is true of practically all other delegations that have supported this Force—we have never at any

time conceived of this Force as anything which could remotely be called an occupation force. It is not a national army or a collection of national contingents; it is an emergency force from the United Nations composed of units from countries—the smaller countries of diverse backgrounds and policies, which is not in a position to enforce its will on any country, nor has it the power to do so under the Charter if it so desired. As a member of our Delegation said last December in his statement in the General Assembly, the United Nations Emergency Force is not an instrument for enforcing a settlement but it can be an instrument to assist in establishing conditions in the area which would be of benefit to both the parties concerned and advantageous to peace and security.

Its peaceful purpose was to assist in the withdrawal of invading forces. We think it can also be used to assist in the maintenance of the Armistice on which both parties have agreed. And I do not see how this function of the United Nations Emergency Force could possibly be considered as one of occupation in any way, shape or form.

Let us not be confused and misled by semantics, either exaggerating or unduly limiting the value and the functions of this Force. Our United Nations Force is in being. It is operating effectively now under the blue flag of peace of the United Nations. It is no threat to the sovereignty of any nation and, whatever we may say here in debate, it expects—and I feel sure that it will receive—the co-operation of the peoples and the governments in the countries in which it operates for one purpose only: the prevention of conflict and the creation of an atmosphere which will make possible a peace settlement.

This Force can do a great new work for peace in the area if we give it the chance. I hope, in spite of the doubts that I have expressed about its ambiguous wording in one or two places and in spite of conflicting views about its meaning, that this draft resolution will give the United Nations and its Emergency Force that chance

Such a hope will only be realized, however, if, first, Israeli forces are withdrawn and, secondly, if we back up the Secretary-General firmly and constructively in the task we are giving him, a task which I know he will undertake with the energy, sincerity and devotion he has already shown. If we do this, then we can be sure, I think, that the Secretary-General will use the authority we are now giving him and through the Force for peace which we have created ourselves, in a way which will bring about better conditions of security in the area than have existed in the troublous and unhappy past and thereby make an indispensable contribution to the peaceful and just political settlement which must come.

Later on the same day, the two resolutions were put to the vote. The first was approved by 74 votes in favour, (including Canada), to two opposed (France and Israel) with two abstentions (Luxembourg and the Netherlands).

The second resolution was adopted by 56 votes (including Canada) to none against, with 22 abstentions ((including the Soviet and Arab blocs, Israel, France and the Netherlands). Two states—the Union of South Africa and Hungary—were absent.

Meanwhile, in Ottawa the House of Commons in Committee of Supply agreed on February 1 to a special supplementary estimate of \$1 million to provide a "loan to the United Nations Organization to help finance clearing of the Suez Canal". The Government had recommended this advance in response to the Secretary-General's request for loans to an Interim Fund to meet the immediate cash requirements of the clearing operation pending agreement on the general financing programme.

# Disarmament

On January 25 the First Committee concluded its Disarmament debate and adopted unanimously a resolution sponsored by the five members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission—Canada, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States—and by seven other countries—Australia, Brazil, El Salvador, India, Japan, Norway and Yugoslavia. The resolution requests the Disarmament Commission to reconvene its Sub-Committee at an early date and to give prompt attention to the various proposals which have been submitted, a number of which are specified, and to the various views expressed in the debate; it recommends that the Sub-Committee make a progress report by August 1, 1957; and it invites consideration of the advisability of a special session of the Assembly or a general disarmament conference when progress justifies such a meeting.

At the opening of the debate the representative of the United States outlined proposals which are to be presented to the Sub-Committee when it meets in March in London. The six points emphasized in this statement were to the following effect:

- (1) After an agreed date all future production of fissionable materials should be used or stockpiled for non-weapons purposes under international supervision.
- (2) When effective control of future production of fissionable materials exists, nuclear test explosions could be limited and ultimately eliminated. In the interim there might be advance registration and limited international observation of all tests.
- (3) Conventional arms and forces should be reduced, using as a basis of measurement for the first stage the figures of 2,500,000 for the United States and the Soviet Union and 750,000 for France and the United Kingdom, under an effective inspection system which concurrently would be established progressively.
- (4) To ensure that future developments in outer space are devoted only to peaceful purposes, the testing of such objects as intercontinental missiles and artificial satellites should be under international inspection and participation.
- (5) To provide against surprise attack there should be progressively installed inspection systems including mutual aerial reconnaissance and ground control posts.
- (6) An international agency for the regulation of armaments should be installed currently with the beginning of the programme.

The representative of the Soviet Union emphasized the importance of the Soviet proposals of November 17, 1956. He also introduced three draft resolutions. The first proposed the immediate cessation of nuclear tests; the second called for the convening of a special session of the Assembly on the question of disarmament; and the third proposed the enlargement of the Disarmament Commission to include Egypt, India, Poland and a Latin American country and of the Sub-Committee to include India and Poland.

Canada, Japan and Norway co-sponsored a draft resolution which proposed that the Sub-Committee should give particular and urgent attention to the question of establishing, as a preliminary step, a system for the registration with the United Nations of nuclear test explosions. It further proposed that the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation should co-operate with the states concerned in the operation of such a system with a view to keeping the total actual and expected radiation in the world under constant observation.

## Canadian Statement

The Canadian position was presented by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, in the Committee on January 21, in a statement reading in part as follows:

We are once again engaged in what must seem to many one of the most unrewarding activities of the United Nations, discussing ways and means of reducing arms in a climate of international fear, tension and insecurity. This climate is indeed, and the conditions which produced it, the main reason why, in spite of a rather bewildering array of proposals and counter-proposals, we are still far from our goal of agreement on the major steps of a substantial disarmament programme. I think, however, that we have made some progress to that goal....

On certain fundamentally important matters of principle the position of the major powers concerned is now less-opposed. I have in mind, for example, the fact that the Soviet Government no longer calls for unconditional preliminary banning of nuclear weapons, but recognizes that measures of nuclear disarmament must be related to measures of conventional disarmament. There has also been a lessening of the differences of view as to the levels of forces of the great powers.

On the crucial matter of adequate and effective inspection and control of disarmament measures, the absolutely indispensable condition to an acceptable disarmament agreement, there has likewise been some progress. As a result of the discussions of the past year it is now, for the first time, possible to say that there is general agreement that the international control organization should have representatives established in the territory of the states concerned before disarmament actually begins, and that these control officials should remain in place throughout the duration of such disarmament agreement. In its latest proposals, the Soviet Delegation has also apparently accepted at least the

principle of aerial inspection as one of the attributes of the control organization. While it is true that this reference to aerial inspection is by no means without limitations and conditions, we certainly welcome the fact that the Soviet Government has at least agreed, even if only in principle, to such inspection.

It is also my impression that in the last year or so there has been a growing realism in disarmament discussions. There has been considerably less tendency to advance proposals which, like the unconditional banning of the bomb, were recognized even by their advocates as quite unacceptable to other powers involved and were put forward for purposes which had little to do with disarmament or security. I think it is also increasingly recognized and accepted that disarmament measures must contribute to the security of the major powers concerned, and must not weaken the defensive position of one country relative to another. Governments must take very seriously their primary duty to defend their own people, and they must be convinced that disarmament measures are satisfactory from this point of view.

Turning now to the present discussion in the Political Committee, I should like first of all to welcome the moderately worded, businesslike and hopeful statement with which the distinguished representative of the United States opened the debate. I do not wish, at the present time, to go into the detail of the proposals of the United States, although I do wish to welcome this latest contribution to our negotiations. As Mr. Lodge pointed out, further details of these proposals will be developed in the sub-committee, and I would comment now that it seems to the

Canadian Delegation that this new presentation of United States proposals is a valuable step forward in the process of negotiation. As we understand it this is not a rigid, detailed programme of disarmament; it is, rather, a broad outline of the present United States position, realistically stated in the light of all the present conditions, and intended as a basis for further negotiation. . . .

As my Delegation indicated in the general debate at the opening of this Session of the General Assembly, we are prepared to give careful and objective consideration to the latest Soviet proposals. I have already indicated that, so far as it goes, we welcome the new Soviet position on aerial inspection, even though the particular limited application of aerial photography proposed by the U.S.S.R. may involve some serious difficulties, including the implication of the continued division of Germany. The Soviet Government also continues to propose the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons in spite of the fact that according to an explicit statement of the Soviet Delegation itself, it is not, at the present time, technically possible to devise any adequate system for inspecting such a prohibition. Incidentally in view of Soviet attacks on the pacific intentions and the good faith of Western powers, their confidence in the willingness of those powers to make effective such an unconditional, uncontrollable prohibition is as surprising as it is unconvincing. . . .

### **Nuclear Explosions**

I now wish to turn to one particular aspect of the armament question which has become a cause of considerable concern and anxiety to many people. I refer to the effects of atomic radiation and particularly to the possible consequences of nuclear test explosions. In his statement in the general debate at the beginning of this session of the Assembly, the Foreign Minister of Norway proposed that there should be established some system of United Nations registration of nuclear test explosions. In the present debate in the Political Committee we have heard with serious concern and with sympathy the moving remarks of the distinguished representative of Japan. The representative of the United Kingdom also touched on this matter. He suggested that the disarmament subcommittee investigate the possibility of agreeing on the limitation of nuclear test explosions either as part of a disarmament plan or separately. We also have before us the proposal tabled by the representative of the U.S.S.R. calling for a cessation of tests of these weapons.

The Canadian Delegation included some comments on this question in our statement in Plenary in the general debate on December 5, and our position remains as set forth in that statement. While it may not be realistic to propose an immediate ban on all such tests, nevertheless we are of the opinion, after weighing the best scientific evidence available to us—which is by no means complete or conclusive—that the United Nations must

give close and serious consideration to the whole question of nuclear tests. Last year the General Assembly established a scientific committee on the effects of atomic radiation, the duty of which is to keep under close observation the whole problem of the levels of radiation and possible effects on man and his environment. We look to this Committee, as it accumulates the data supplied to it and makes its analyses and assessments, to serve an important role. It could be the source of objective and valid scientific conclusions which could aid all concerned in avoiding decisions or action which might prove harmful.

In any agreement on nuclear tests we must be guided by two considerations: first, the necessity of securing authoritative, accurate information on the effects of such tests, scientifically and objectively determined; and second, the requirement to give reasonable satisfaction to the needs of defence in a dangerously divided world!

In our earlier statement to the Assembly, which I have mentioned, we expressed the hope that the countries concerned might be able to agree on some annual or periodic limit on the volume of radio activity to be generated by test explosions. One of the recommendations of the proposed draft resolution of which I have just spoken is that the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee give prompt attention to the whole problem of measures for cessation or limitation of nuclear test explosions.

There is, however, a further draft resolution before the Committee which deals only with the question of advance registration of nuclear test explosions, that is to say, with the proposal made in Plenary by the Foreign Minister of Norway. This resolution stands in the name of Norway as well as of Japan and Canada.

The proposal incorporated in this resolution is inspired by a belief that it may be better to do now what is possible and feasible with respect to nuclear test explosions, rather than to do nothing at all because it is not possible to take more far-reaching action. If a proposal of this kind can be worked out, we would, for the first time, have moved, if only one step, away from dead centre of this whole problem.

Our resolution recommends that urgent attention be given to establishing, as a preliminary step, a system for registration with the United Nations of nuclear test explosions. The resolution also requests the Secretary-General and the Radiation Committee to cooperate with the states concerned in this registration system with a view to keeping under constant observation the world situation regarding present and expected radiation. This would, I repeat; be only a preliminary step, but I am certain it would be an important preliminary step and I hope that it too will be given most serious consideration.

In conclusion, I hope that all the proposals that have been submitted to this Committee

will be referred for early and effective action to the United Nations Commission which has been set up for that purpose.

I do not need to emphasize to this Committee the gravity of the problem. Man has now developed weapons capable of his own complete destruction.

If he does not bring and keep them under control and, even more important, bring about a state of affairs where their use would be unthinkable and impossible, then life on this planet will indeed soon become—in the words of the English philosopher "nasty, brutish and short"

# Korea

The Korean question appeared as the first item on the agenda of the Political Committee. Two resolutions were introduced, the first dealing with the problem of re-unification of the divided nation and the second with the report of the Government of India concerning ex-prisoners of war who did not wish to be repatriated. This second resolution was sponsored by Ecuador, El Salvador and Venezuela, and expressed gratitude to the Governments of India, Argentina and Brazil "for their valuable co-operation in the settlement of the problem of ex-prisoners of the Korean War". It was adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session by a vote of 60 in favour, none against, and 10 abstentions.

The resolution on reunification was, however, more contentious. Sponsored by the United States, it reaffirmed that the "objectives of the United Nations are to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area". The resolution further urged that continuing efforts be made to achieve these objectives in accordance with the principles enunciated at the Geneva Conference of 1954 and reaffirmed by the General Assembly at its 8th and 9th sessions. The resolution then requested the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to continue its work in accordance with existing resolutions and in particular to observe and report on elections throughout Korea", and called upon all states and authorities to facilitate the Commission in its work. Finally, the Secretary-General was requested to place the Korean item on the provisional agenda for the 12th session.

The Committee, by a vote of 51 in favour (including Canada) 10 against (Soviet bloc and Syria) with 12 abstentions (including India, Ceylon, Cambodia, Burma, Finland, Yugoslavia and Indonesia) invited a representative of the Republic of Korea to participate in the discussion of the main resolution. This representative, however, did not enjoy voting privileges.

During the course of the Committee's discussions, Canada's position was outlined in a statement made by Dr. R. A. MacKay, Canadian Permanent Representative to the UN. After expressing regret that the prospect of a free and united Korea was not much closer than when the subject was last discussed, Dr. MacKay called for an approach which would be practical and flexible and an attitude which would not allow "unreasonable stubbornness to stand in the way of negotiations which might lead to a settlement". While the UN must insist on strict adherence to certain principles fundamental to unification, it need not be so inflexible with regard to methods; "It is the end result not the means of achieving it which matters". Rather than being imposed, the settlement will have to be negotiated, he continued. Although such a course of action may be prolonged and frustrating, the process of conciliation and pacification is the most honourable work of the UN and in this work a remarkable degree of success has been achieved in the past.

In seeking to repair the "shattered state of Korea" the Canadian Delegate urged that the UN should not be forever bound by formulas established in the past and that in negotiating a political settlement all those in Korea who must be a party to the settlement should participate in the negotiations even though "we remain duly sceptical of the good faith of the North Koreans". In conclusion, Dr. MacKay stated that the United States resolution seemed consistent with the principles he had outlined. "It urges us to continue looking for a means of achieving the objective of unification; it insists on those fundamental principles which, as I have stated, must be the basis of a settlement; and it does not preclude negotiations for a settlement which should satisfy the legitimate demands of all concerned".

The resolution was adopted by the Committee by a vote of 56 in favour, 8 against (Soviet bloc) and 13 abstentions (Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Syria).

During the course of the general debate which followed the resolution's adoption, the Canadian position was frequently quoted with approval and the general tenor of the discussion was one of moderation. The resolution was approved on January 11 by a vote of 57 in favour, 8 against and 9 abstentions.

The text of Dr. MacKay's speech was as follows:

It is a matter of regret to us all, I have no doubt, that the prospect of the unification of Korea into a single free and peaceful state is not much closer this year than when we last discussed the subject. As we have said before, however, we must recognize that it will take time to reduce the tensions and allay the passions which are the inevitable result of so bitter and tragic a conflict. We should not relax our efforts to promote a settlement, but we should not despair because this has not yet been achieved. We may rejoice in fact that the armistice has been maintained and that the Korean people have been able to devote their remarkable energies to the economic rehabilitation and development of their country and-in the South—to hold elections, the results of which prove that there was a vigorous exercise of the right to vote freely. We only wish that it were possible to note with satisfaction economic and political progress in the North as well or even some reflection of the restless hunger for independence which has been a notable feature of many other Communist regimes during the past year. Unfortunately, it is still very difficult to note any thing at all about North Korea, but what little information does reach the light of day is not encouraging.

Last year the Canadian representative made a plea in this Committee for a practical and flexible approach to the problem of unification of Korea. I do not wish to repeat what was said at that time in detail, but I would like to say that my Delegation is as much convinced as it was at that time that the United Nations must not allow any unreasonable stubbornness to stand in the way of negotiations which might lead to a settlement. Stubborn we must be in insisting on certain principles fundamental to unification. This must be a union freely entered into and must establish in the words of the United Nations objectives stated in Geneva, "a unified, independent, and democratic Korea under a representative form of government". The United Nations cannot under any circumstances agree to a union achieved by political subterfuge or one in which the rights of the majority were less than that of a minority. On the means of achieving such a union, however, we need not be so rigid. It is the end result not the means of achieving it which matters.

To achieve the reunification we all so devoutly wish, it seems to us that we must recognize certain inescapable factors of the situation. The United Nations, as the representative of India pointed out yesterday, did not fight in Korea to achieve unification by force; it fought there for the declared purpose of repelling aggression. We are not, therefore, faced with a situation in which we can impose a settlement. The settlement will have to be negotiated just as an armistice was negotiated. Such negotiations are inevitably prolonged and frustrating, but we have had a remarkable degree of success in hammering out under the aegis of the United Nations agreements which have provided a framework for peaceful adjustments and eventual settlements. This is the most honorable work of this United Nations, the process of conciliation and pacification, and we must not back away from it. If there is to be any hope of success, we must make it clear to all concerned that we shall seize any honorable opportunity of seeking a solution and that we are not forever bound by formulas which have been established in the past. Useful work was done at Geneva and some useful work has been done since, but we don't think we should forever stand on a position that the Geneva proposals are a final ultimatum. There are, as I said before, certain things on which we must never yield in any negotiations, the most important of which is that the government chosen for a united Korea truly represent the free choice of all citizens of Korea. However, we should not object if some one should produce new and satisfactory proposals which were not necessarily in strict accordance with what we thought to be the best procedure in 1954. It would certainly have to be a procedure acceptable to this Assembly, but we trust that this Assembly would welcome any procedure which would do the job safely and satisfactorily.

We cannot forget the crime that was committed in Korea by the Communist forces and we could not accept any implications that there is moral—or even substantial—equality between the Republic of Korea and the regime in North Korea. What we are now seeking to do, however, is not to pass an historical judgment but to repair the shattered state of Korea. This is the peacetime phase of the Korean question in which we must deal with the political realities as they exist. It was for these reasons that my Delegation did not wish to oppose the Indian proposal yesterday to admit as observers representatives of North as well as South Korea. Although we remain duly sceptical of the good faith of the North Koreans, we consider that if there is to be unification we shall have to gather into the process of negotiations all those in Korea who must be a party to the settlement.

These are our views on the general principle of achieving a settlement. It seems to us that the resolution proposed by the United States is consistent with these principles. It urges us to continue looking for a means of achieving the objective of unification; it insists on those fundamental principles which, as I have stated, must be the basis of a settlement; and it does not preclude negotiations for a settlement which should satisfy the legitimate demands of all concerned.

# South Africa

The Assembly approved two resolutions, recommended by the Special Political Committee, on racial questions relating to the Union of South Africa.

Under the terms of the first resolution, dealing with the question of the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa, the Assembly noted "with regret" that the South African Government has not yet agreed to negotiate with India and Pakistan on a solution to this problem, and urged

the parties concerned to enter into such negotiations, appealing in particular to the South-African Government to co-operate to this end.

The second resolution concerned problems of race conflict resulting from the South African Government's policies of apartheid. In this resolution, the Assembly deplored the fact that the South African Government "has not yet observed its obligations under the Charter and has pressed forward with discriminatory measures" and called upon the South African Government "to re-consider its position and revise its policies in the light of its obligations and responsibilities under the Charter and in the light of the principles subscribed to and the progress achieved in other multi-racial societies". South Africa was also invited to "co-operate in a constructive approach to this question, more particularly by its presence in the United Nations", and the Secretary-General was requested to communicate "as appropriate" with the South African Government to carry forward the purposes of the resolution.

Canada abstained on both resolutions and the Canadian attitude towards questions of race conflict was explained by Mr. Robert Ford in the Special Committee on January 16.

# Mr. Ford said in part:

I should first like to make very clear to members of the committee that we have no sympathy with policies of racial discrimination wherever they may be practised. In reference to the racial situation in South Africa, we have always endeavoured to keep in mind that the Government and people of South Africa are faced by a formidable and difficult racial problem to which there is no quick and easy solution. We in Canada, however, have grave doubts about policies and practices adopted to meet the problems of a multi-racial society which are based on notions of the racial superiority of one group within the society—notions which we believe to be false. It seems to us that discrimination is more likely to aggravate than to solve the underlying problem. We cannot ignore the fact, furthermore, that policies of racial discrimination are inconsistent with the basic principles of human rights which underlie the Charter of the United Nations.

Having said that, I must also explain that, while we have never objected to discussion of the question of race conflict in South Africa by the General Assembly, we have in the past expressed strong doubts regarding the competence and usefulness of action taken by the General Assembly in its efforts to solve this problem. As consideration of this issue continues from session to session without any progress towards the solution of the problem, my Delegation becomes more and more of the opinion that this kind of intervention by the United Nations into matters of domestic concern of a member country not only has grave constitutional implications for this organization, but has little practical value.

As far as we can see, far from bringing about a change in the attitude of the South African Government to its policy of apartheid, United Nations action over the past several years has tended only to harden the attitude of the South African Government and has led to no amelioration of the situation in South Africa, which has surely been the aim of these discussions. United Nations action has, as well, caused the South African Delegation to withdraw from our deliberations. In his statement yesterday, the distinguished representative of Japan reminded us that-to use his words-"the situation thus created is not only harmful to the prestige of the United Nations, but also is paralyzing the peaceful and friendly discussions and jeopardizing as well a sober solution of this particularly delicate problem."

We fully endorse the view of the distinguished representative of Japan, that—and again I quote—"this is certainly not conducive to the creation of international conditions propitious for the furtherance of the principle we stand for."

The moral opinion of the world may yet have some influence on the Government of the Union of South Africa to moderate its racial policies, but it is evident to us that an organization of sovereign states which does not respect the sovereignty of a member state will make little impression upon a government which chooses to attend to its own affairs without need to the advice of other governments.

# CANADA ACCEDES TO UN CONVENTION

The Canadian Delegation to the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly announced on January 29 Canada's decision to accede to the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, and the Instrument of Accession was deposited with the Secretary-General the following day.

The Convention was adopted by the General Assembly at its Seventh Session in 1952 and came into force on July 7, 1954. Canada is the twenty-sixth country to become party to the Convention. Eighteen other countries have signed but not yet ratified it.

The principle of equality of rights for men and women is embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, and the purpose of the Convention is to implement this principle in the field of political rights and public service. It provides that women shall be entitled to vote and be eligible for election, and also to hold public office and exercise all public functions established by national law on equal terms with men and without discrimination.

### STATUS OF WOMEN

The General Assembly adopted by a vote of 47 (including Canada) to 2 with 2 abstentions a Convention on the Nationality of Married Women which stipulates that marriage or divorce shall not automatically affect the nationality of the wife and provides for certain privileged naturalization procedures for alien wives. The inclusion of an appropriate territorial clause will allow metropolitan states with dependent territories to accede on behalf of those territories.

The Convention, which was signed on behalf of Canada on February 20, was prepared by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women on the initiative of Cuba and revised by the Assembly's Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee.

#### OTHER BUSINESS

The Assembly elected V. K. Wellington Koo, of China, to fill the vacancy in the International Court of Justice caused by the death of Judge Hsu Mo of China, and decided to dispatch a United Nations Commission to French Togoland to examine "the entire situation in the territory resulting from the practical application of the new statute" recently put into force there and "the conditions under which it is being applied".

# By Mr. Paul Martin Minister of National Health and Welfare

O<sub>N</sub> January 12 I returned to Ottawa from a nine weeks' goodwill tour of some 14 countries in South and South-East Asia and Australasia. From beginning to end—from Manila to Karachi—this 40,000-mile journey was an inspiring and unforgettable experience.

As I look back over the crowded and busy days I have spent in this ancient and colourful part of the world, my mind is filled with many vivid memories: of the endless variety of Asia's climate and terrain; of the ability and determination of its leaders; the friendliness and simplicity of its villagers; the nobility of its historic monuments; the splendor and wisdom of its age-old cultures; and, finally, the rich diversity of its peoples who are united as never before in an epic struggle to build a better life for themselves and for their children.

## How It Started

Early last autumn the Prime Minister and my colleagues in the Government asked me to represent Canada at the Ministerial Consultative Conference of the Colombo Plan which was to be held at Wellington, New Zealand, in the first part of December. At the same time it was suggested that I might take advantage of such a long journey to visit many of the countries in South and South-East Asia with which Canada has growing and friendly ties but with which we have not had as close contact in the past as have many other nations whose history is longer than our own. That such a trip could serve other useful purposes was apparent from the outset. It was thought that the visit of a Canadian Cabinet Minister to the Canadians serving on our delegations on the International Supervisory Commissions in Indochina would have an encouraging effect on their morale and would help in focusing considerable public attention in Canada on the useful work they are doing to stabilize the situation in this troubled area. The Canadian Government also recognized that a trip which included visits to the Asian members of the Commonwealth who are now playing a more prominent role in world affairs would provide valuable opportunities for discussion with their leaders and an occasion to inspect Canadian Colombo Plan activities in these countries. As preparations for the trip went forward during October, it gradually became clear that in the light of the strains placed upon relations between certain Commonwealth countries by the Suez crisis, such a visit to member nations of the Commonwealth in Asia and Australasia would take on a significance which could by no means have been fully appreciated at the time the trip was orginally conceived.

On a cold and bitter November 11 we set out from Ottawa, journeying westward towards the Pacific through San Francisco to Hawaii, where we inspected the large and impressive naval installations at Pearl Harbour, headquarters of the gigantic Pacific Command of the United States Navy.

Here I was able to have conversations with Rear Admiral Olsen and Rear Admiral Leahy, senior officers of this island-base, and with Governor King of Hawaii. Within a day or so we had touched down on tiny Wake Island and spent a night on Guam before arriving, delayed overnight by a typhoon, in Manila. Because we had been delayed we had to compress our programme into one day, but I was able to have discussions with the President of the Philippines, Mr. Magsaysay, the Minister and the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Health. The President impressed me as being an able and dynamic figure who is determined to encourage the development of a higher standard of living among his people. An extensive public health programme is an important part of the President's plan. One of the highlights of this all too brief visit was the elaborate marienda dance which was performed for us by workers in the Ministry of Health.

# Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos

Our next stop was Indochina where we were to visit the 150 Canadians serving with the International Supervisory Commissions which were set up in the summer of 1954 by the Geneva Conference to supervise the implementation of the Cease-Fire Agreements. The phrase "Indochina" is of course no longer an accurate descriptive term, in that the area previously known as Indochina is now divided into three countries: Vietnam, partitioned by the Geneva Agreement at the 17th parallel into zones now controlled by communist and non-communist governments, containing twenty million people; Cambodia with four million; and Laos with approximately one and a half Canada is represented on each of the three International Supervisory Commissions in these countries.

Our first stop was Saigon, the capital of the Republic of Vietnam, which has been established in the southern zone. Here we were privileged to be the official guests of the Vietnamese Government. During our two-day visit I talked with the dedicated and courageous leader of this Government, President Ngo Ninh Diem, who, in the brief space of two years, has with amazing success consolidated and strengthened the position of the Government. One of the great achievements of the Diem Government, which of course has been materially assisted by American aid, has been the re-settlement of a million refugees who fled from Communist North Vietnam in the months immediately following the partitioning of the country in July 1954 to make their homes in the South. It is not easy to appreciate fully the difficulties and problems which the Government faced with this widespread dislocation of its people, and, having visited some of the camps where many of these refugees have been resettled, I was amazed by the degree of success achieved on so large a scale. In Saigon I talked also with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and other Government leaders, as I was privileged to do in almost all of the countries I visited. One of the highlights of our visit to South Vietnam was the opportunity it afforded to meet and talk with the many Canadians serving with the International Commission in Vietnam. The Canadian Delegation is engaged in a task which, while it seldom receives public attention, is nevertheless an excellent example of the effectiveness of a para-military force in action to ensure that peace is maintained in a troubled area of the world where the peace of all of us was threatened some two and a half years ago.



AT PHNOM PENH

HRH Prince Sihanouk received Mr. Martin during his visit to Phnom Penh, capital of Cambodia. Seen above from left to right are Mr. Arthur Menzies, of the Department of External Affairs, Mr. Martin, Mr. Lorne LaVigne, Acting Canadian Commissioner in Cambodia, and HRH Prince Sihanouk.

Our next stop was at Phnom Penh, the capital of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Here I had the opportunity to call on and talk with the Prime Minister, Mr. San Yun, who holds the foreign affairs portfolio as well. I also had an audience with the King and talked with the ex-King and ex-Prime Minister, Prince Sihanouk, who is undoubtedly the most influential political figure in Cambodia. He took great pains to assure me that Cambodia wished to pursue a truly independent and neutral foreign policy.

All of the Cambodians whom I met spoke in the most cordial terms about Canada. They seemed grateful for the role we have played on the International Commission, whose work in Cambodia has been reduced to a bare minimum, in that all the main provisions of the Geneva Agreement for Cambodia have been fulfilled.

Travelling northward over seemingly endless jungles and rice paddies we arrived at Vientiane, the capital of Laos and the headquarters of the third Commission we were to visit in Indochina. Here we spent three days talking with the leading political figures and members of the Commission, and seeing something of the city and its environs. During our visit, negotiations were in progress between the Royal Government under Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma and the dissident Pathet Lao, under his half-brother, Prince Souvannavong. During our first night in Vientiane I was able to have frank discussions with the leaders of the two delegations about the negotiations then going on and the general prospects in Laos.

During our visit to Laos I decided it would be useful to see one of the Commission's teams in action in the field in order better to understand the operations of the military components of these three international bodies. Accordingly, early one Friday morning in November I took off with the Canadian Military Adviser in Laos in a small single-engine plane for Muong Peun, some seventy miles north in the mountains beyond Vientiane. After a hectic flight into perhaps the most forbidding mountain and jungle territory I have ever seen, we visited the International Supervisory Commission Team at Muong Peun, which is in a salient held by Royal Government forces in Sam Neua, a province largely controlled by the Communist-dominated Pathet Lao movement. There are Indian, Canadian and Polish members on this team and their job is to ensure the separation of the forces of the two sides. Their presence is a deterrent to direct military action. This particular military concentration is in as primitive a place as I have ever seen. I was impressed with the orderliness and good humour of our officers who, in view of their location and surroundings, can have very little in the way of comforts of civilization.

Throughout the three countries of Indochina I was able to discuss the Colombo Plan activities which Canada has sponsored, and in Vietnam I talked to the Minister who would be representing his country at the Colombo Plan Conference in Wellington at a later stage in our journey. While Canada has not undertaken any large-scale projects in Indochina under the Colombo Plan as it has on the Indian sub-continent, we have nevertheless been able to provide a useful degree of aid under the Technical Assistance Programme, particularly to the Vietnamese, and to a lesser extent to the Cambodians and Laotians, in fields where we are particularly equipped to do so. Further projects are, of course, being considered as new opportunities develop for us to assist these people. Canada has an added advantage in undertaking this sort of work in Indochina, in that French is the main European language used, and trainees coming to Canada under the Technical Assistance Programme are able to receive instruction in the Province of Quebec.

# Thailand, Indonesia and Australia

From Laos we travelled to Bangkok, the large and crowded capital of Thailand, for a brief visit. The fact that we arrived there on a Buddhist holiday necessarily limited the scope of our visit but, with the assistance of the British Ambassador, we were able to have talks with the Minister of Health and the Acting Foreign Minister. The main centre of interest in Bangkok is the Palace after which the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh seems to be modelled. The one in Bangkok includes about eight or nine pagodas, demonstrating the interest in and strength of Buddhism in Thailand.

Djakarta, the capital of Indonesia, was the next stop on our itinerary. We arrived there near the end of November and were welcomed by a number of Ministers and other officials. On the evening of our arrival Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo gave a dinner followed by a performance of native dances. I was able to have further talks in Djakarta with the Prime Minister and a brief but illuminating talk with President Sukarno whom I had met during his visit to Canada last spring. In my talks with the Prime Minister we spoke extensively of the importance of the parliamentary system in Indonesia and I was glad to be able to pay a visit to the Speaker of their Parliament and to see that body in operation during one of its sessions. Towards the close of our visit we drove up into the mountains to spend the night in the Canadian bungalow near Bogor. Formed from volcanic eruptions, the surrounding countryside is the richest looking I have ever seen, and, with efficient irrigation, vields much fruit and great fields of rice. I will never forget the ride to Bogor. There is an almost continuous settlement along the road for the sixty miles which separates Bogor from the capital. On hearing the strident noise of the siren of our police escort, people came out of their houses by the thousands to watch us pass. As I felt the occasion called for some manifestation of our friendship, I waved continually at the crowds, receiving the most friendly acknowledgments. Now and then we would stop; I would go into a house and the Protocol Officer would interpret for me. I was much impressed by the richness and general rural contentment of the countryside which we saw on our drive and which will remain, along with the incredible greenness of the surroundings and the cheerful and friendly appearance of the people, my most vivid memories of Indonesia. It seemed to me that occasions like these, and they were to be repeated later on in another context during our visits to the Indian villages, provided excellent opportunities for a Canadian to demonstrate our true feelings towards these people who may in the past have perhaps received less fortunate impressions of our real attitude towards them.

Our next stop was Australia, which we were to visit twice, before and after the Colombo Plan Conference in Wellington. Canada had taken a position different from that of Australia and New Zealand during the United Nations debate on the Anglo-French intervention in Suez. So it was particularly useful and helpful for me to visit these two valued partners in the Commonwealth at this time for the exchange of views with their governments. I had the opportunity of discussing these matters in question with Mr. Menzies, the Prime Minister, and Mr. Casey, his Minister for External Affairs, and, indeed, on one memorable afternoon with all the members of his Government. Mr. Menzies assured me that notwithstanding what may in particular instances be differences in point of view, one thing that the world could know of Canada was that it spoke as a member of the Commonwealth in the light of what it understood to be its obligations based on no consideration but the good of the Commonwealth and the good of all nations throughout the world.

During the first stage of our Australian visit I had the welcome opportunity to visit the Olympic Games then in progress at Melbourne, to talk and to have dinner on one occasion with members of the Canadian Olympic team, and to spend at least one afternoon in the huge stadium holding upwards of 100,000 people. Melbourne is one of the loveliest cities I have ever seen, and its splendid handling of the Olympic games was a fitting tribute to the organizing ability of the Australians.

In fact, I was tremendously impressed with all that I saw of Australia. Although I had read a good deal about Sydney and had seen pictures of its famous harbour, one has to visit the city fully to realize the vitality and sophistication of the life there. During my visit I was pleased and honoured to be tendered a dinner by the Canadian-Australian Committee to whom I spoke of the intimate relations our two countries enjoy as fellow members of the Commonwealth. Our visit to Canberra, where we met and talked with the Government leaders, I have already mentioned, and our two stop-overs at Darwin gave us a further opportunity to see something of the tremendous development going on in that northern territory.

#### The Colombo Plan Conference

We arrived in New Zealand on December 3, the day before the opening of the Colombo Plan Conference which was held in the Chamber formerly occupied by the Upper House of the New Zealand Parliament in Wellington. Wellington, a city of 250,000 people, is situated on a fine, well-protected, natural harbour. There are many things in New Zealand to remind one of life in the British Isles. Customs, manners, the structure and design of houses, all clearly have a very strong British character; the people are pleasant, polite, and orderly.

The Conference itself was opened on the morning of December 4 by Prime Minister Holland and its Chairman was the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. MacDonald. In its several sessions, the Conference provided an opportunity for me to state the Canadian position that our interest in this agency was predicated upon the firm belief that the Colombo Plan was one of the best ways of achieving peace through economic and social improvement. I think I can say, whether or not we all agree on the extent of the contributions made so far, that perhaps nothing is more salutary in our time than the fact that the Western nations of the Commonwealth and the United States, in association with the nations in Asia, have now joined together for the purpose of promoting the improvement of the economic and social life of the Asian peoples. It is a hopeful sign for the improvement of international relations between certain nations of the West and that section of the world that it should be possible for nations like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain and the United States to share some of their skills and some of their resources with nations whose material standards of life admittedly are not as high as their own. After my talks with many of the ministerial representatives whom I had already seen in their home countries or whom I was to see at a later stage in the tour, I am firmly of the view that to the extent we support and follow our role in the Colombo Plan activities, we will be making an important contribution to the peace of the world. Canada's role in the Plan is very much appreciated and is not suspect anywhere. Next to the United States, we are the major dollar contributor, our contribution being fixed for the present year at some \$34.5 million. From the reports given at the Conference, it is apparent that in South and South-East Asia as a whole, economic and social progress is taking place, although not at a uniform rate in each country which benefits from the plan. It is important to realize, however, that the basic job of reconstruction which is underway in Asia is largely due, and I believe must continue to be due, to the efforts of the people of Asia themselves. Wherever I went I pointed out that so far as Canada is concerned there were no strings attached to our assistance. While we have more material goods than most of the countries of Asia have, they have something which we

should hope to acquire in greater measure—the serenity, judgment and wisdom which can only come from long centuries of civilized existence.

At the close of the Conference we were able to spend a week-end driving through the North Island. In the Rotorua area I visited a village of the original Maori people. There are about 150,000 Maori out of New Zealand's total population of two million and in most parts of the country they have become well integrated into the local population, although it is still possible to find individual Maori villages something like our Indian reserves. Rotorua itself is the centre of a great area of thermal activity. Steam rises everywhere from the bowels of the earth, forming hot pools, and some of the Maori houses have their own private thermal baths. The water in the pools and geysers is two degrees above boiling and the air is thick with steam and the smell of sulphur.

## Singapore, Malaya and Burma

Our visits to Singapore and Kuala Lumpur were necessarily brief. The former is a tremendous city, crowded and teeming with people. I was very glad that I had the opportunity to see Singapore, because it is the transportation and commercial crossroads of the Far East. In addition, the projection there of the overseas Chinese problem, of which we saw something in all of the other countries in South-East Asia, gives Singapore an added interest to the Western visitor. I was able to have talks with the Minister of Education whom I had previously met in Wellington, as well as with the Acting Chief Minister, and the Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia, Sir Robert Scott. Talking to these men gave me considerable insight into the internal security problem in Singapore, and its relation to the similar problem in the Malayan Federation to the North. Our stop in Kuala Lumpur was really too brief to give us any more than a fleeting glimpse of some of the Malay Federation which is so soon to become an independent member of the Commonwealth. Because of this prospective new status for Malaya, it was undoubtedly useful to have had even a brief opportunity of meeting the Ministers who will be helping to guide her future destiny. I was glad to see on the airfield at Kuala Lumpur a Canadian aircraft which is making an aerial survey of Malaya as part of our Colombo Plan programme there.

From Malaya we flew on to Rangoon, the capital of Burma. Here I was able to have useful talks with the Prime Minister, Ba Swe, the Deputy Prime Minister, and the Foreign Minister. One has really to be right on the spot to realize the great force and the tremendous pressures that must face a nation that could be considered a kind of half-way house between India and China. A country of 18 million people dedicated to the principles of Buddhism, Burma serves as a symbol of the kind of forces that are at play all through Asia. Rangoon is an unusual city, much closer than anything we had previously seen to my preconceived notions of what I would find in Asia. Although it was considered to be one of the jewels of the Orient before the Second World War, it took tremendous poundings during this conflict and the marks of destruction are still evident throughout its streets. On the other hand, there are many modern functional buildings reminiscent of the United Nations headquarters in New York. These stand out in sharp contrast to the great Shwedagon Pagoda, whose glistening gold-leaf covered shape looms up like a polished brass school bell in the centre of Rangoon.

#### The Commonwealth in Asia

The last three weeks of my tour were spent in the three Asian members of the Commonwealth, Ceylon, India and Pakistan. I believe that it was helpful for me to be able to visit these countries at that time because of the strains that had been placed upon the Commonwealth association by the honest differences of opinion its various members expressed over the Suez crisis. In fact, everywhere I went I sought to indicate the value of the Commonwealth of Nations, and this in particular to its Asian members. I sought to impress on their government leaders and on the people too what role they could play in interpreting the attitudes of the members of the Commonwealth to other Asian nations. In India, particularly, I made a point of breaking away as much as possible from the official programmes which had been laid down for me, in order to gain an opportunity to understand the life of this great nation which has often been under-estimated and misunderstood in the West. I found the situation in my conversations with the Prime Ministers of these three countries, Mr. Bandaranaike in Ceylon, Mr. Nehru in India, and Mr. Suhrawardy in Pakistan, that there is on their part a true recognition of the value of the Commonwealth not only as a sensible grouping of nations in this interdependent world but also as an instrument which can and is being used



WITH CEYLON OFFICIALS

Mr. Martin is shown with the Hon. P. H. Wm. de Silva, Ceylonese Minister of Industries and Fisheries, right, and Mr. J. C. W. Nunasinha, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Industries and Fisheries. In the background is the fishing trawler "Canadian", built in Canada and supplied to the Ceylon Fisheries Project as Canadian Colombo Plan aid.

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to interpret Western opinion in many sections of Asia and vice versa. There may be dissident voices in some of these countries but my judgment would be that for the most part those who at the present time have to do with the conduct of government in those great countries recognize that in the consultations of Prime Ministers and of Foreign Ministers and in the collaboration that takes place in the United Nations the Commonwealth serves as a valuable instrument in a world whose power blocs need to move closer and closer together rather than to diverge on an increasing scale.

I think I can give one further reason for these somewhat optimistic conclusions which I have reached. India, Ceylon and Pakistan are deeply dedicated to the democratic form of government and to the parliamentary process. They have no disposition to accept as efficient or as possible a totalitarian form of government suppressing the kind of freedom out of which political maturity can only grow.

Cevlon, which we visited for a few days before Christmas as the guest of the Government, is a lush tropical island that seems a veritable Garden of Eden. There is, in addition, something cheerful and encouraging about the Cevlonese. I became greatly interested in what I saw of Buddhism there. My conversations with the Prime Minister and with the Governor-General were most informative, and the generous hospitality which we were shown was an indication of the real warmth of feeling which Ceylon has for Canada. I was pleased to have the opportunity to see a great many of the Colombo Plan projects sponsored by Canada in Ceylon. During my visit I turned over three diesel locomotives as part of Canada's Colombo Plan aid to that country. It seems to me that the annual \$2 million contribution which we make there is of some significance in the development of that country, perhaps because the total amounts being spent on development are necessarily of a smaller order in Ceylon than those expended by her larger neighbours. Our visit to the old capital at Kandy afforded us an opportunity to see something of the beautiful tropical countryside and we enjoyed an unusual ride on the backs of two giant elephants.

Altogether I spent ten days in India, ten days which afforded me a new measure of understanding of the Indian people and their approach to world problems. The confidence which I have come to place in India, and in her Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, was greatly strengthened by my visit. I was particularly moved by what I saw of the efforts towards community development in the villages where over eighty per cent of India's vast population lives. For two days I was privileged to visit several of these in the Punjab district, about one hundred miles from Delhi, moving among the people informally, telling them about the joint efforts which Canada and India are making toward the solution of common international problems. These two days spent in the villages were among the most impressive of my entire trip. I visited several villages but one has to remember that there are nearly half a million of these villages, many of which still continue to bear the form and the character of their, in some cases, centuries-old construction.

I spent several days in and around New Delhi, the Indian capital, where I was able to have talks with many of India's leaders. Prime Minister Nehru returned home from his North American visit during my stay, and I was on hand to greet him when he disembarked from his plane. I had a further



VISIT TO MR. NEHRU

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, received Mr. Martin at his residence in New Delhi on December 29, 1956.

opportunity to discuss mutual problems with the Prime Minister the following day, and I found that his talks with President Eisenhower and Prime Minister St. Laurent and Mr. Pearson had been most encouraging. From these and other conversations I had with members of the Indian Government, I have come to the considered conclusion that India will not embrace the communist ideology as it is projected to us from the Kremlin and other sources. I have come away satisfied that, while there may not always be political affinity, there will be what is more important, a sort of spiritual affinity between India and the basic concepts of our civilization in the West.

Other pleasant memories of my visit to India loom prominent. There was the unusual experience of watching Indian jugglers entertain two-score brightly-clad children of Indian employees in the warm sunshine on the lawn of our High Commissioner's residence. Later we had Christmas dinner there along with some seventy other Canadians in Delhi—members of our party and of the staff of the High Commissioner's office with their families. I presented the one hundred and twentieth Canadian locomotive provided to India under the Colombo Plan to the Minister of Transport and on the same day addressed the Indian Council of World Affairs. After Delhi, we flew to Agra where we saw that incomparably beautiful mausoleum, the Taj Mahal. Then we flew across to Bombay, the great westerly port of India, where I visited, among other things, the Canada-India Atomic Reactor Project. The advanced scientific research which is centered in Bombay is most impressive and undoubtedly put India in the forefront of Asian nations in the matter of nuclear research and development.

Pakistan was to be the last country on our official itinerary and we visited both of its provinces, separated as they are by nearly one thousand miles of

Indian territory. In East Pakistan we touched down in Chittagong, where a number of Canadian missionaries have made their home for several years, and stopped a day and two nights in Dacca, the provincial capital, where I signed an agreement providing for Canadian-Pakistani co-operation in the erection of a steam-generating plant at Khulna. Flying from East to West Pakistan we had the unforgettable experience of seeing Mount Everest and other snow-capped peaks in the mighty Himalayan Range. As we were flying above the clouds we had an unobstructed view of the peaks.

Our next stop was Peshawar, on the colourful northwest frontier of Pakistan, where the Canadian Government is engaged on the construction of a tremendous hydro-electric power development, the Warsak Dam project, which is Canada's largest Colombo Plan undertaking to date. There are about one hundred Canadians working on the project who live nearby with their families in a housing development provided especially for them, and I was able to meet and talk with many of them. The following day we drove up the Khyber Pass to the Afghan frontier, and I ventured across the border into the latter country for a few minutes' friendly chat with the Afghan border guards. In Karachi we were warmly received by the President and the new Prime Minister, Mr. Suhrawardy, with whom I was able to have extensive and worthwhile talks in spite of the fact that our visit to Karachi coincided with that of the President of Syria.



ACCEPTS TRIBAL GIFT

Tribal Maliks in Pakistan are shown making the traditional gift of sheep to Mr. Martin when the Canadian Minister visited them during his tour of South and South-East Asia.

#### Homeward Bound

Our homeward journey took us through Beirut, Malta, Gibraltar and Lajez in the Azores where we made only brief stops. In retrospect, it is difficult to credit the tremendous amount of travelling and visiting with the people we were able to undertake in between our more formal and official engagements. Whatever I was doing, wherever I went in Asia, I spoke of Canada's

friendship with these nations, of the importance we attach to their social and economic reconstruction and to their attempts to improve the health and living standards of their people. I spoke of our belief in the United Nations as an essential instrument for the public discussion of the differences which divide nations and as one which we trust will ultimately resolve in a peaceful way the major problems which divide the world at this time. I made clear our attachment to the Commonwealth and all it stands for. Behind my simple observations was based the pattern which comes from a belief in spiritual values. in individual freedom, as opposed to totalitarian power. I emphasized that the Colombo Plan represents the sort of helpful association we wish to have with the countries of South and South-East Asia. No one can tell whether this mission has had the kind of useful effect which, in moments of deep sincerity, I would like to think possible, but in every instance I did my best to put forward not only the point of view of the Canadian Government but that of all the Canadian people. I have come back not as an expert but more humble than ever in the face of the great problems that stagger mankind in Asia today. I return confident in the belief that if we observe the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, if we employ the media of adjudication and conciliation instead of force, if we bear in mind at the same time that every country has its own problems and its own way of dealing with them, then, assuming the necessary conditions of good faith, we shall, as mankind has done in the past, surmount the tremendous issues that confront us all.

### PAKISTAN POWER STATION

An agreement between Canada and Pakistan by which Canada will contribute \$2,000,000 under the Colombo Plan toward construction of the Goalpara Steam Generating Station near Khulna in East Pakistan was concluded at Dacca, Pakistan, on January 5, 1957.

The agreement was signed for their respective countries by Mr. Paul Martin, Canadian Minister of National Health and Welfare, and Mr. Abdul Kaleque, Pakistan Minister of Labour and Works.

Designed to generate more than 16,000 kw. of electricity which will be used for existing and projected industry in the Khulna area of East Pakistan, the Goalpara Station is expected to be in operation by June 1957. The Canadian aid will be mostly in the form of equipment and will include four generating units and a powerhouse crane. Part of the Canadian equipment has arrived at the site and construction work will commence in the near future.

Other Colombo Plan projects being carried out in East Pakistan with Canadian assistance are the Ganges-Kobadak Power Plant now nearing completion, and the Cacca-Chittagong interconnector and electrical transmission line on which preliminary work is now in progress.

# **Notes Exchanged on Seaway Project**

 $T_{\rm HE}$  Department of External Affairs has made public the texts of Notes dated November 7 and December 4 which were exchanged by the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the United States Ambassador in Ottawa regarding the dredging to be done in the St. Lawrence River north and South of Cornwall Island.

The following is the text of the press release issued by the Department in conjunction with the texts of the Notes:

## Notes Exchanged

The need for dredging in the channels around Cornwall Island arises from the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Projects, construction of which is now proceeding. Twenty-seven foot dredging is required south of Cornwall Island to complete the deepened navigation channel between Lake St. Francis and the new Grass River Lock near Massena, N.Y. The United States plans for this south channel dredging called for additional dredging in the north channel, because of the provisions in the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 regarding dredging on one side of the boundary which affects the level and flow of the river on the other side. As the north channel lies wholly in Canadian territory, however, the Canadian Government has examined the United States plans for dredging there in relation to the current and possible future requirements for that channel.

In the first place, it is necessary to deepen the north channel to permit deep-draft ships to dock at Cornwall. Historically, that city has been available to all shipping using the St. Lawrence system, and unless the north channel is deepened to twenty-seven feet the deeper draft vessels making use of the new seaway will be unable to serve this growing community.

Secondly, it was considered that any dredging done in the north channel should be designed to fit in with long-term plans for possible Canadian navigation works in this area. It has for some years been the Canadian Government's intention to complete twenty-seven foot navigation works on the Canadian side at Cornwall, if and when it considered that the United States navigation works should be duplicated. This intention was clearly expressed in the Exchange of Notes of August 17, 1954 when the Government also agreed to consult the United States Government before undertaking these works. This position is maintained in the present note, as a twenty-seven foot channel north of Cornwall Island would be an essential part of such Canadian navigation works. It is more economical to dredge a twenty-seven foot north channel now when some dredging must be done, than to wait until the decision to build a Canadian canal and locks at Cornwall is taken. Although the Canadian Government has no intention of building this canal and locks at an early date, it considers it important to maintain the same freedom of action to duplicate that the United States has, subject to the same obligation to consult.

For these reasons, the Canadian Government has decided that the north channel dredging should take the form of a twenty-seven foot navigation channel, rather than the form suggested in the United States plans,

which would have met treaty requirements but served no other useful purpose. The Canadian St. Lawrence Seaway authority will accordingly proceed with the north channel dredging concurrently with that being undertaken in the south channel.

With respect to the south channel, there has been some question as to which entity was to do the various parts of the work, because the division of responsibility had not been clearly defined in previous agreements and arrangements. Because a considerable part of the south channel dredging is in Canadian territory, the Canadian Government has authorized the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority to undertake the dredging of a part of the south channel upstream from the International Boundary.

The engineering arrangements of July 18 mentioned in the Canadian Note provide for an allocation between the two seaway entities of the work to be done in both channels. A substantial contribution to the dredging costs will be made by the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission and the New York State Power Authority. The power entities will themselves do additional dredging in the tailrace immediately below the Barnhart Island powerhouses, and this, together with the channel dredging north and south of Cornwall Island, will lower the tailwater level and increase the head of water which can be developed for power. The benefit from channel dredging is sufficient to justify a substantial payment by the power entities towards the cost of the dredging covered by the July 18 arrangements.

With the allocation of dredging north and south of Cornwall Island, work on the navigation channels in this area may proceed at the start of the next dredging season.

The text of the Note of November 7, 1956 to the Secretary of State for External Affairs from the Ambassador of the United States is as follows:

I have the honor to refer to the Department of State's aide memoire of April 21, 1956, concerning the excavations in connection with the St. Lawrence Seaway in the Cornwall Island channels, and also to discussions which have recently taken place between representatives of our two governments in which it was stated that your government had decided to dredge the channel north of Cornwall Island to a depth suitable for deep-water navigation at the same time that the seaway is dredged in the south channel.

The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to the situation which will exist if the Government of Canada proceeds to carry out its announced plan. While it believes that the proposed Canadian action is not in accord with the agreement which this Government entered into as a result of the enactment of PL-358, 83rd Congress (2nd Session) and with the other arrangements which have been made between our two governments with respect to the St. Lawrence Seaway, the Government of the United States does not wish to delay the construction of the joint Seaway project, in which both governments are mutually interested, and consequently it is bound by events to take cognizance of the *de facto* situation which is created by the decision of Canada to proceed with deep-water dredging in the channel north of Cornwall Island.

In the circumstances, the Government of the United States deems it important to record that the United States reserves all its rights to protect its interests in this matter.

The following is the text of the note dated December 4, 1956 to the Ambassador of the United States from the Secretary of State for External Affairs:

I have the honour to refer to your Note No. 126 of November 7, 1956, and to recent consultations between representatives of our two Governments regarding excavations in the St. Lawrence River north and south of Cornwall Island.

The Canadian Government cannot accept the opinion of the United States Government that the Canadian decision to undertake twenty-seven foot excavations in the Cornwall north channel is not in accord with the exchange of notes of August 17, 1954, or other arrangements between the two countries. In its note of August 17, 1954, the Canadian Government declared its intention to complete twenty-seven foot navigation works on the Canadian side of the International Rapids Section, if and when it considered, after consulting your Government, that parallel facilities were required. The Canadian Government does not propose to complete parallel navigation facilities at Cornwall at an early date. However, it considers that the Canadian right to build such facilities, including twenty-seven foot excavations north of Cornwall Island, was reserved in the 1954 exchange of notes and in the other exchanges of notes and letters on the St. Lawrence projects, whereas these exchanges of notes and letters cover only by implication the navigation excavations in the south channel. Moreover, the north channel excavations will compensate for the south channel excavations and thus serve the purposes of the Boundary Waters Treaty.

Engineers of the two seaway entities met on July 18, 1956, and evolved plans for the excavations in both channels and for the apportionment between the two seaway entities of responsibility for the different parts of the work. The Canadian Government finds that these plans meet the requirements of the Boundary Waters Treaty, and accepts responsibility for the excavations in the north channel and a part of those in the south. The Government has accordingly directed that, as the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation proceeds with its excavations in the south channel, the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority should concurrently undertake the excavations assigned to it in the July 18 arrangements. It is understood that the two power entities will make a contribution to the costs of these excavations. As the plans envisage that each entity will undertake excavations in the territory of both countries, the Canadian Government is prepared to grant customs and immigration waivers on a reciprocal basis.

# **FAO Head Visits Ottawa**

Mr. B. R. Sen, who was elected Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization in September 1956 following a distinguished career in the diplomatic and government service of India, was in Ottawa from the evening of Thursday, January 24 until the afternoon of Tuesday, January 29.

While in Ottawa he called on the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture and on Ministers or Deputy Ministers of Departments whose interests are associated with the work of FAO: National Health and Welfare, Northern Affairs and National Resources, Fisheries and Trade and Commerce. Mr. Sen also attended meetings of the Interdepartmental FAO Committee.

During his visit, Mr. Sen held a press conference and addressed an open meeting sponsored by the Ottawa branches of the Agricultural Institute of Canada, the United Nations Society, Canadian Political Science Association, the Institute of Public Administration, and the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.



FAO CHIEF VISITS CANADA

During his recent visit to Ottawa, Mr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, paid a visit to Friendship House, a club for students from other lands who are in Canada on Colombo Plan and United Nations scholarships. Mr. Sen is seated, centre, with Mr. H. L. Trueman, head of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture, and president of the Overseas Friendship Society of Ottawa. From left to right, standing, are Mr. M. Battiah, of India; Mr. E. Sasson, of Israel; Mr. A. M. Joesdet, of Indonesia, and Miss Anjali Sarkar, of India.

## NATO AND WESTERN UNITY

An address by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the American Council on NATO, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, January 29, 1957.

Lately the world's attention has been centred upon the United Nations, and in this past week or so I personally have been much more involved in United Nations affairs than I have in those of NATO. This, of course, is because we have been trying, through the United Nations, to ease the critical situation in the Middle East. That is an area that may not technically be within the NATO Treaty limits, but what happens there is certainly of vital concern to NATO.

The United Nations is important. very important. I don't think we could do without it. But as long as it remains an imperfect instrument for peace—especially as long as there is a "double standard" in its membership with respect to compliance with its resolutions—NATO is essential as a deterrent and a shield against aggression. I am very glad, therefore, to have this opportunity to meet and talk with a group concerned with the Atlantic Alliance, which remains the effective basis of our policy of collective security, and will remain so until the United Nations can discharge that responsibility on a wider basis.

I'm sure it would be profitable neither to you nor to me, or to enlightenment on the subject, if I were to try to talk about NATO from the military point of view. There is someone here much better qualified than I to do that—in fact, the one person most qualified to do so. So I will confine myself to the non-military aspect of the Alliance, which, if not so immediately important, is basic to the success of NATO.

As a son of the parsonage, I find the tradition of speaking to a text a useful one, and the text I should like to offer tonight is from the Report of the Committee of Three on Non-Military Co-operation in NATO, which was published last December. The passage appears in the introductory section of the Report, and reads as follows:

The fundamental historical fact...is that the nation state, by itself and relying exclusively on national policy and national power, is inadequate for progress or even for survival in the nuclear age. As the founders of the North Atlantic Treaty foresaw, the growing inter-dependence of states, politically and economically as well as militarily, calls for an ever-increasing measure of international cohesion and cooperation. Some states may be able to enjoy a degree of political and economic independence when things are going well. No state, however powerful, can guarantee its security and its welfare by national action alone.

#### NATO's First Task

If I may be pardoned a certain pride of co-authorship, I believe that passage expresses pretty clearly the basis of NATO and the principles upon which it must live and grow. It leads inevitably to the conclusion that the first task of NATO is to look to its internal strength—military and diplomatic—and to its unity. I would like to go on from there to some more particular thoughts, particularly about unity, without which our strength will not be sufficient. That unity, moreover, must be based on something deeper than defence co-operation alone if it is to survive. As we wrote in our report, "there cannot be unity in defence and disunity in foreign policy. That seems to me to be obvious, but some years of participation in international affairs have led me to the somewhat cynical conclusion that the obvious is often more difficult to implement than the obscure.

#### Triangular Relationship

The unity of NATO, its cohesion and strength, depend primarily upon the closest possible co-operation between the United States, the United Kingdom and France. They are the heart and soul—and much of the muscle—of the Atlantic Community and it ought to be the task of all of us to work for the maintenance and strengthening of the good relationship between them. There is nothing that I know of in contemporary international affairs which is more important.

The efforts which we continue to make—and rightly—to settle problems in the United Nations are no substitute for, though I hope they will always be complementary to, this other and closer co-operation.

Perhaps a Canadian may be pardoned for showing a special interest in this triangular relationship for we are, in a sense, a part of every side of the triangle.

The United States shares with us the North American Continent. We are linked with her by ties of friendship and neighbourliness, of geography and trade and self-interest. We could not break these links even if we desired, and we would be very foolish if we tried.

Our ties with Great Britain and France have a very special character, evolving from history and tradition and race. We have with them a family relationship of a kind which is easy to feel but hard to describe. It has been driven deep into our national consciousness, into our peoples' feelings. We Canadians have stood side by side with the people of our two mother countries in dark and dangerous days,

in 1914 and 1915; in 1939 and 1940; days when, if they had failed or faltered, freedom throughout the world would have fallen.

We may differ with them—as we have recently in the Suez crisis—not on principles and objectives, but on their methods in trying to solve a particular problem of foreign policy. But our distress when we feel we must so differ makes us all the more conscious of the necessity of keeping those differences to the irreducible minimum.

Canadians feel almost the same distress when there are difficulties and divisions between London and Paris, on the one hand, and Washington on the other; the more so because we know that this kind of difference can have far-reaching consequences from which only the enemies of peace can benefit.

You will realize, then, how strongly we in Canada feel about co-operation between the three great Western powers, in and out of NATO.

Fortunately, such a structure of co-operation does not have to be built from bare ground. There are strong ties between these three countries that existed long before NATO—ties of culture, of blood, and of partnership in war—which we must work hard to strengthen.

This work of building Atlantic unity, however, is not for Governments alone, but for every citizen of all the Atlantic nations. It lays a duty on each of us to try our best to understand the national attitudes, the national problems, and even the national prejudices of our NATO partners. and to keep constantly in mind the over-riding compelling need for working together.

We have had recently in the Middle East an unhappy, indeed an alarming demonstration of what may occur when co-operation breaks down among the three major members of the Atlantic Alliance. I have no intention of going into the record of the divergence of policy that occurred there, but it would be pointless, even harmful, to pretend that it did not happen. We have to face the fact that despite all hopeful progress toward closer unity in recent years, NATO was badly shaken by an important disagreement among certain of its members on the best way of dealing with a critical situation. It is, however, a mistake to brood over the past. It is better to draw the necessary conclusion from this experience so that it will not recur.

#### **Effective Consultation Needed**

An obvious lesson is that there needs to be much more effective consultation in NATO on foreign policies in advance of national decisions regarding those policies. I am not suggesting that more effective consultation of this kind will rule out all possibility of divergent policies, any more than it rules out the necessity of a government acting on its own quickly and effectively in a genuine emergency. There will always be some difference of national approach to particular problems in a democratic coalition such as ours, and

there will always be domestic considerations impinging on the requirements for consultation with allies. But if we are to preserve NATO, we cannot afford to let such differences of approach or our pre-occupations with domestic considerations lead to deep division of policy on important matters.

North Atlantic consultation and co-operation, however, leading to the maximum unity of policy—if I may venture to quote again from the Report of the Committee of Three, "will not be brought about in a day or by a declaration, but by creating over the years and through a whole series of national acts and policies, the habits and traditions and precedents for such co-operation and unity. The process will be a slow and gradual one at best, slower than we might wish. We can be satisfied if it is steady and sure. This will not be the case, however, unless the member governments—especially the more powerful ones—are willing to work, to a much greater extent than hitherto, with and through NATO for more than purposes of collective military defence".

It is easy, of course, to profess devotion to the principle of political consultation in NATO. It is difficult, almost impossible, if the necessary conviction is lacking, to convert the profession into practice. Consultation within an alliance means more than exchange of information, though that is necessary. It means more than letting the NATO Council know about national decisions that have already been taken or trying to enlist support for those decisions. It means the discussion of problems collectively, in the early stages of policy formation, and before na-tional positions become fixed. At best, this will result in collective decisions on matters of common interest affecting the alliance. At the least, and this minimum is essential if a coalition is to be maintained, it will ensure that no action is taken by one member without a knowledge of the views of the others. We must keep pressing for the maximum, but I confess there have been occasions recently when I would have been glad to settle for the

Another lesson we might profitably draw from the Middle East crisis is that events outside the strict geographical area of the North Atlantic Treaty can be of very vital concern to the members of NATO and ought, therefore, to be discussed in a NATO context. Geographical limits cannot be placed upon the process of consultation on national policies. We certainly have had cause to learn this recently if we never knew it before; just as we also know that the NATO circle of consultation and co-operation will not be large enough for many of these questions, and that our NATO circle can never be exclusive.

I have said earlier that the cohesion and strength of NATO depend primarily upon the closest possible co-operation between the United States, the United Kingdom and France, and in what I have just said about consultation, I have been thinking particularly of consultation among these three. They

are the members of NATO with the most to contribute to the Atlantic Community, in both a material and political sense. carry the heaviest responsibilities and upon them mainly rests the obligation to work together. This is particularly true of the United States because it is the strongest member of the Alliance. In fact, it has been said recently that the United States is the only member that has any substantial freedom to choose its course of action for itself. I think I understand what the author of that remark meant, but I am inclined to doubt if even the United States has very much freedom to choose its own course of action in this narrowing world and in the face of apparently limitless Soviet ambitions. I am fully aware, however, of the crushing weight of responsibility carried by the United States and the other major members of NATO, and I realize how easy it is for those who do not have such great responsibilities to preach about consultation. Let me, however, add just one further point. While the bigger members of NATO may have far more to contribute, militarily and otherwise, than the smaller ones, there is no member we could easily do without. We need them all and we want them all, freely and enthusiastically doing their part to build up Atlantic unity. It is very important, therefore, that the smaller members of NATO have a sense of full participation in the councils of the Alliance and that they are taken into the confidence of the other members to the greatest possible extent. The result, I am sure, will be better than that suggested by a Princeton Professor in the Times this morning when he wrote:

Do not coalitions of this sort (asked the professor) always end by the weaker members of the group trying to cash in on their nuisance value at the expense of the stronger and richer members?

We have good machinery in the NATO Council for this close consultation. We have, I think, made recommendations in our Committee Report by which this machinery can be improved. NATO has an efficient and devoted Secretariat, at the head of which is a man, Lord Ismay, who has provided unselfish, experienced and international leadership of a very exceptional kind which has left us all greatly in his debt. As he leaves NATO, we are indeed fortunate in securing as his successor a dynamic and brilliant statesman, that great European and believer, as well, in Atlantic unity, Paul Henri Spaak.

It is not, however, the machinery which matters so much. It is the will of governments to use that machinery to bring about close co-operation and harmony in the formulation and execution of policy.

If we do not display that will, with something of the determination and desire—and even passion—that we show in national affairs, then NATO will weaken and eventually die for it will be solely a military alliance held together only by a common fear and disappearing when that fear disappears or, perhaps, seems to disappear.

#### A Supreme Test

The Atlantic nations are now facing a supreme test of their capacity to unite. If they fail in this, they may find it difficult to prosper and even survive as free nations. This test is the inescapable result of the tragic experiences of the recent past. Success in meeting it is made the more essential by the awful necessities of a thermo-nuclear future. Can we combine our national strengths, merge our national policies, and modify our national prides and prejudices to meet this test; or will we relax into that anarchical and jealous independence which seems unfortunately to have been the characteristic and dominating feature of sovereign states in modern times, except when they are confronted with great and pressing peril.

Mutual understanding is, I believe, the quality that will help us most in finding the right answer through the greater strength and unity of NATO members—understanding, patience and tolerance, as we try to meet collectively a destiny which in any case will be collective.

This essential understanding between us is hindered by many things; including the differences within the NATO states of power and historical development and tradition. May I mention one way in which these differences reflect themselves and create misunderstanding. Our own two countries, the United States and Canada, have emerged although by different roads, from colonial status; yours by the one which led to battle, ours by the one which led to conference. As two states, covering a great continent, we have no need for living and working space for our people outside our boundaries; therefore, no temptation to absorb other areas for their riches or resources, of which we have an abundance at home. Both historical and practical considerations, therefore, enable us to indulge to the utmost our North American desire for moral satisfaction by sympathizing with and supporting peoples who have just won or are seeking to win national independence from other powers. This is a worthy instinct and one for which we have no reason to apologize. But we should not let it obscure the truth that whatever the defects of colonial policies and practices over the last two centuries may have been (and these defects have undoubtedly existed and sowed the seeds of bitter feelings), the principal powers in Western Europe, "colonial" because of pressures and circumstances that we have not experienced, have contributed very largely to the fact that so large a part of the world has today either attained sovereign power or is about to attain it. Independence movements, whether in Africa or in Asia, have all received much from those European sources of personal and national freedom. We are perhaps too much inclined to associate the word "colonialism" with "exploitation", and too little to recognize the treasures of law and government, of administrative knowledge and of technical skill, which flowed from the

Western European powers to their colonial possessions and which provided the essential foundation and indeed the framework upon which the edifice of sovereign independence could be erected. It may be true that "good government is no substitute for self-government". but it is equally true that only good government can make self-government tolerable, except on the basis of despotism, which does not become freedom merely because the word "National" comes before it.

In regard to this and many other problems arising out of the differing circumstances of

the NATO partners, we should show that understanding which is as important, if not more important in strengthening our coalition than developing techniques of co-operation, certainly than writing reports or making speeches about such co-operation.

The need, then, for NATO, in the military and non-military aspects of co-operation, is as great as ever. Our determination to satisfy that need by our national policies and attitudes should be as great as ever. The difficulties ahead are great. Our resolve to overcome them must be greater.

## FURTHER AID TO HUNGARIANS

The Department of External Affairs announced January 31 that the second \$500,000 of the \$1,000,000 voted for Hungarian relief by Parliament in its special session in November will be distributed through the facilities of the Canadian Red Cross Society and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The Canadian Red Cross will receive \$100,000 for use in its international assistance programme for Hungarian relief which, among other things, covers the provision of aid to refugees in various camps throughout Europe including those in the Netherlands where immigrants to Canada are now located.

The High Commissioner for Refugees, who has been designated by the United Nations Secretary-General to co-ordinate United Nations activities in the field of Hungarian relief, will receive \$400,000.

Of the \$400,000 which will be turned over to the High Commissioner for Refugees, \$250,000 is intended for the use of the Austrian Government to help provide for Hungarian refugees in Austria who are not now covered by the terms of the United Nations-International Red Cross Agreement under which the Red Cross acts as administrator for the United Nations in certain of the refugee camps in Austria.

# APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. W. A. Irwin, Canadian Commissioner to Australia, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Brazil. Proceeded to Brazil January 2, 1957.
- Mr. H. Allard, Permanent Representative of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Proceeded to Havana January 17, 1957.
- Mr. J. Fast posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective January 2, 1957.
- Mr. A. Gotlieb appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective January 2, 1957.
- Mr. C. E. Bourbonnière posted from temporary duty at the Delegation of Canada to the United Nations General Assembly, New York, to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, effective January 4, 1957.
- Mr. G. J. L. Choquette posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective January 10, 1957.
- Mr. J. G. Maranda posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective January 12, 1957.
- Mr. F. C. Finnie transferred from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective January 12, 1957.
- Mr. G. E. Cox transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Vienna, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective January 22, 1957.
- Mr. L. Couillard posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective January 23, 1957.
- Mr. K. J. Burbridge posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to Ottawa, effective January 23, 1957.
- Mr. G. Ignatieff posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective January 29, 1957.
- Mr. G. R. Harman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Prague, effective January 29, 1957.
- Mr. P. A. Bridle posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective December 23, 1956.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\* A Selected List

#### a) Printed documents:

Index to proceedings of the General Assembly. Tenth session, 20 Sept. to 20 Dec. 1955. ST/LIB/-SER.B/A.6; Bibliographical Series No. A.6. N.Y., 1956. 95 p. Sales No.: 1956. I.21. \$1.00.

Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during its First Emergency Special Session from 1 to 10 November 1956. A/3354. N.Y., 1956. 3 p. G.A.O.R.: First Emergency Special Session, Supplement No. 1.

Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during its Second Emergency Special Session from 4 to 10 November 1956. A/3355. N.Y., 1956. 3 p. G.A.O.R.: Second Emergency Special Session, Supplement No. 1.

<sup>\*</sup> Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications. The Ryerson Press. 299 Queen Street West. Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau. Montreal or from their sub-agents. Book Room Limited Chronicle Building Halifax: McGill University Book Store Montreal; University of British Columbia Book Store Montreal; University of British Columbia Book Store Vancouver: University of Montreal Book Store. Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section. United Nations. New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

- United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. Accounts for the financial year ended 30 June 1956 and report of the board of auditors. A/3211. 18 p. N.Y., 1956. G.A.O.R.: Eleventh session, Supplement No. 6B.
- United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration, 1955. Special report on the Togoland unification problem and the future of the trust territory of Togoland under British administration; together with related documents. T/1288. N.Y., 1≥56. 66 p. Trusteeship Council Official Records: Fifth special session (24 Oct. 14 Dec. 1955), Supplement No. 2.
- United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under British Administration and the Cameroons under French Administration, 1955. Report on the Cameroons under French Administration; together with related documents. T/1240. N.Y., 1956. 52 p. Trusteeship Council Official Records: Seventeenth session (7 Feb. 6 April 1956), Supplement Nb. 4.
- Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. (Conference on the Statute held at Head-quarters of the U.N., 20 Sept. to 26 Oct. 1956). IAEA/CS/13. N.Y., Nov. 1956. 45 p.
- United Nations Conference on Maintenance Obligations, New York, 29 May 20 June 1956.
  Final Act and Convention on the Recovery Abroad of Maintenance. E/CONF.21/7. N.Y.,
  July 1956. 7 p. Sales No: 1956. V. 4.
- Yearbook; of the International Law Commission, 1956. Volume 1: Summary records of the eighth session, 23 April 4 July 1956. N.Y., 1956. 291 p. Sales No: 1956.V.3, Vol. 1. \$3.00.
- Transport of dangerous goods. Classification—listing—labelling—shipping documents. E/CN.2/170; ST/ECA/43. N.Y., Oct. 1956. 62 p. Sales No: 1956.VIII.1.
- International action in Asia and the Far East. Housing, Building and Planning No. 9. ST/SOA/SER./C/9. N.Y., Sept. 1955. 131 p. Sales No. 1955.IV.19.
- Records of the First Conference of European National Commissions for Unesco, Aix-en-Provence, 29 May to 2 June 1956. Issued by the French National Commission for Unesco after the close of the Aix-en-Provence Conference. 35 p.
- Unesco source book for science teaching. Paris, 1956. 220 p.
- Human and Animal Ecology. (Review of research). Arid Zone Research VII. Paris, 1957. 244 p.
- Annual report of the director of the United Nations Relief Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East covering the period 1 July 1955 to 30 June 1956. A/3212. N.Y., 1956. 42 p. GAOR: Eleventh session, Supplement No. 14.
- First United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders; Geneva, 22 August-3 September 1955. Report prepared by the Secretariat. A/CONF.6/1. N.Y., Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, 1956. 103 p. Sales No: 1956.IV.4.
- Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1955. ST/STAT/SER.G/6. N.Y., September 1956. Prepared by the Statistical Office of the U.N., Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs. 720 p. Sales No: 1956.XVII.4.
- International classification of hard coals by type. Prepared by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Europe. E/ECE/247; E/ECE/COAL/110. Geneva, August 1956. 52 p. Sales No: 1956.II.E.4
- Locomotive boiler water treatment. Report presented to railway sub-committee of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Third session, Tokyo, October 1954. E/CN.11/436. Bangkok, 1956. 78 p. Sales No: 1956.II.F.6.

#### ILO

Co-operation. A workers education manual. Geneva, 1956. 157 p.

### UNESCO

- *Index translationum*. International bibliography of translations. Paris, 1957. 663 p. Price: \$14.00.
- XIXth International Conference on Public Education 1956. Paris, Unesco, and Geneva, International Bureau of Education, 1956. Publication No. 176. 158 p.

- Ninth World Health Assembly, Geneva, 8-25 May 1956. Resolutions and Decisions. Plenary Meetings (Verbatim Records). Committees (Minutes and reports). Annexes. Geneva, December 1956. Official Records of the WHO, No. 71. 463 p. Price: \$3.25.
- Official Records of the WHO, No. 74. Proposed programme and budget estimates for the financial year 1 Jan.-31 Dec. 1958, with the proposed programme and estimated expenditure for technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries. Palais des Nations, WHO, Geneva, December 1956. 440 p. Price: \$3.25.
- Financial report of the director and report of the external auditor, 1 Jan. 31 Dec. 1955. Pan American Sanitary Organization, Official Documents No. 15. Washington, May 1956. 54 p.

IC!

International Court of Justice yearbook 1955 - 1956. N.Y., 1956. 270 p. Sales No: 154.

- Admissibility of hearings of petitioners by the Committee on South West Africa. (Advisory Opinion of June 1, 1956). ICJ Pleadings. N.Y., 1956. 93 p. Sales No: 152.
- Right of passage over Indian Territory. (Portugal v. India). Order of November 27, 1956. 5 p. (bil.). Sales No: 157.
- Judgments of the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labour Organisation upon complaints made against the Unesco. Advisory opinion of October 23, 1956. N.Y., 1956. 168 p. Sales No: 156.
- b) Mimeographed documents:

Development of international travel, its present increasing volume and future prospects. E/2933. 23 November 1956, 157 p.

#### TREATY INFORMATION

#### Current Action

#### Bilateral

#### India

Agreement on the Canada-India Colombo Plan, Kundah Hydro-Electric Power Project.

Signed at New Delhi December 29, 1956.

Entered into force December 29, 1956.

#### Ceylon

Exchange of Notes supplementary to the Exchange of Notes of July 11, 1952 for the Co-operative Economic Development of Ceylon.

Signed at Colombo December 21, 1956. Entered into force, December 21, 1956.

#### United States of America

Exchange of Notes concerning the use of the Haines Cut-off Road by the United States Army for the winter maintenance of the Haines-Fairbanks Pipeline.

Signed at Ottawa January 16, 17, 1957. Entered into force January 17, 1957.

#### Pakistan

Exchange of Notes concerning the joint financing and construction by Canada and Pakistan of the Goalpara Steam Generating Plant under the Colombo Plan.

Signed at Dacca January 5, 1957. Entered into Force January 5, 1957.

#### Multilateral

Protocol amending the International Sugar Agreement opened for signature at London on October 1, 1953.

Signed by Canada December 17, 1956.

Convention on the Political Rights of Women Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Seventh Session.

Canada's Instrument of Accession deposited January 30, 1957.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



March 1957 Vol. 9 No. 3

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# Mr. Mollet Visits Canada

At the invitation of the Government His Excellency Guy Mollet, Prime Minister of France, visited Canada from March 2 to March 4.

Upon his arrival in Ottawa Mr. Mollet laid a wreath at the National War Memorial and signed the Visitor's Book at Government House, after which he was entertained at luncheon by Prime Minister St. Laurent. In the evening Mr. Mollet was guest of honour at a dinner and a reception given by His Excellency Francis Lacoste, Ambassador of France, and Mrs. Lacoste at the French Embassy.

On March 3 Mr. Mollet flew to Quebec City where he was welcomed by the Premier of the Province, by the Mayor, and by the representative of the Lieutenant-Governor. In addition to visiting points of interest in and around the city he attended a reception at Laval University and gave press interviews at the Consulate General of France. Mr. Mollet was also entertained at a dinner in his honour given by the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Fauteux at Bois de Coulonge.

On the last day of his visit Mr. Mollet held a press conference after which he addressed a special joint sitting of Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons in the House of Commons Chamber. Following a luncheon given by His Excellency the Governor General, Mr. Mollet left for Montreal where he attended a civic reception and gave further press interviews before departing for Paris.



During the time spent in Ottawa, Mr. Mollet and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Christian Pineau, had discussions with Prime Minister St. Laurent and Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs. In giving a report of these discussions to the House of Commons on March 6 Mr. St. Laurent said:

Let me say at once that no formal or informal agreements were concluded between France and Canada during this visit. Mr. Mollet and Mr. Pineau did not come to Ottawa for that purpose. They were paying us an official visit for the purpose of exchanging views on a wide range of topics of importance to both governments. In the course of these discussions Mr. Mollet expressed his point of view and I expressed mine, but we found ourselves in a very wide measure of agreement and I can assure the House that from our point of view the discussions we had with our distinguished visitors were not only very timely but highly satisfactory.

Mr. Mollet has already given the House a general indication of the topics which our discussions covered and these will be found in the transcript of the address he made to the House. I do not think it is necessary that I repeat them. He reported to the House his discussions and even expressed his view about the advantages of this solid basis of the new Franco-German relations; the European atomic energy community, Euratom; common European marketing; the Atlantic Alliance in its political, military and economic aspects; the Algerian problem; the Middle East situation; the future of the Suez Canal; and the prevention of subversive Soviet infiltration into the Arab world. I agree fully with the summary he expressed to the House, which will be found in French on page 1872 of Hansard of March 4 and on page 2 of the translation of those remarks. I quote in part:

"The problems of which I have been speaking to you have been-"

I am reluctant to go into any greater detail than Mr. Mollet did because the conversations were of a confidential character and covered the matters which he enumerated. I can assure the House that we both felt we had had a very useful exchange of views. I think I said in opening my remarks that no agreements or understandings had been reached. The discussions formed the basis, however, of certain things the French Government would be glad if we found it possible to do and to which we promised to give careful and sympathetic consideration.

On the other hand I was informed that the French Government hoped to be placing with my colleague, the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Howe), in the near future very substantial orders for Canadian wheat.

#### Mr. Mollet's Address

The text of Mr. Mollet's address in the Commons Chamber is as follows:

Mr. Prime Minister, the words, which you have addressed with so much sincerity and sympathy, to my country, have touched me profoundly and they will go right to the heart of the French people. You have expressed in these words, on such an elevated plane of thought, the significance of my visit here and the nature of the relations, so intimate and direct, which have never ceased to exist between France and Canada since the beginning of your country's history. For all this I should like to offer my warmest thanks, and also for the remarks, so full of friendship, which you have devoted to me personally.

No token of esteem could be more precious to me.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the Houses of Parliament, it is a very great honour for me to be able to transmit, today, to the Honourable Members of the Parliament of Canada the message of warm friendship which my country has asked me to deliver. I should like to do it at this time with all my heart and all my conviction. During these much too brief days which I have spent in your country, I have felt, profoundly, the rare quality of the Franco-Canadian friendship,

the strength of the bonds between us tightened by the battles we have fought side by side during two world wars. In the invitation which you addressed to me I saw a new manifestation of this friendship and I was proud to accept.

In recalling some of the great tasks undertaken by France, Mr. St. Laurent himself prompted me to tell you, in a few words, something of the achievements of French policy, something of our worries and concerns which, I know, are often much the same as your own.

#### European Union

To achieve the unification of Europe is one of our main objectives. I have striven to establish it upon a solid Franco-German entente, and I have felt a similar determination in Chancellor Adenauer and in the German Government. We were thus able to reach an equitable solution of the problems which had long made relations so difficult between our two countries. Today Franco-German rivalry no longer exists; there is instead a confident co-operation which permits the establishment of ever closer ties.

With the way thus open to a needed European Union, we have been able to make decisive progress in the economic integration of the continent, in bringing to successful conclusion the treaties which will establish the European Atomic Community—EURA-TOM—and the Common European Market. Their signing will take place within a few weeks.

By EURATOM, the six countries of the European Continent will pool their atomic destinies. Their atomic industry, the expansion of this is already very promising, will be founded immediately on a European basis and may look forward to launching programmes on a scale to which none of them, by itself, could have aspired. As for the Common European Market, it is designed to abolish customs barriers, harmonize social legislation and co-ordinate economic policies in a way that will constitute a vast market of 160 million consumers where the wealth, the merchandise and the people will circulate freely.

You can well imagine that the drawing up of these treaties, which will bind the future of our countries for generations, has been particularly delicate. I am not unaware that your country has expressed certain reservations about some of the clauses of the Treaty of the Common Market. This would not be the place to discuss the details. But the point I should like to stress in particular is that, within a few months, a living and ever developing and expanding reality will have been created, the European Economic Community, the presence of which will profoundly modify present basic conditions. The prospects of commercial exchanges with a united Europe, in full development, will be radically different from those with our isolated countries and, no doubt, will be greatly

expanded. So I beg you to have confidence in the dynamism of the new organizations, so that in its very working and operation, the imperfections you criticize may be corrected.

Europe is the only way for the countries of that continent to recover true independence. It is the only way to guarantee a solid and enduring Atlantic Alliance. The relations between the European and American continents can then develop on the basis of true equality. There is nothing durable in the world, when it is not founded on equality and on free co-operation.

Beyond the iron curtain, the union of the European peoples will also be a symbol of hope for all men, living under oppression, who have not lost their will to liberty.

Two weeks ago, six European prime ministers met in Paris, on the invitation of France, to take a major decision, that of associating with Europe the African territories today linked with Belgium and France.

As soon as it was formed, the European Community decided to play the card of Africa. The industrial power of the whole of Europe will be mobilized to assure the technical equipment and social progress of Africa. I shall not hide that this historic step is largely due to the tenacious insistence of France.

#### Policy in Africa

The decision which I have just recalled is in line with the new policy that my Government is applying in Africa—a policy which is, I fear, too little known outside my own country. Will you permit me to outline it briefly?

We are making almost revolutionary transformations in our overseas territories. The peoples are receiving the right to manage their own affairs democratically within the framework of union with France, to which they have freely consented. On March 31 next, this very month, single college elections will permit the populations of all French Africa to choose their own representatives—in full liberty—in the territorial assemblies which will appoint, in turn, the ministers in charge of administering the territories.

Similar reforms recently led to the creation of the autonomous Republic of Togo, and long discussions in the United Nations on this question have revealed their work and their democratic nature.

France has refused to make a "closed preserve" of the African territories. That is why she has opened their doors to Europe, which will give them their greatest chance. Over the next five years, the European effort in aid of Africa will exceed five hundred million dollars, in addition to a French effort which will, no doubt, exceed two billion dollars.

These figures speak for themselves. They show our resolve to apply in Africa the only possible remedy to those accomplices, blind nationalism and communism; to build a

Eurafrican group, a vast union of free peoples, efficiently helping one another, to their mutual benefit and their common prosperity.

#### Atlantic Alliance

I reminded you a little earlier that a European union would guarantee the consolidation of the Atlantic Alliance. This consideration weighed heavily in our decision to construct Europe. The Atlantic Alliance is one of the corner-stones of French policy, as it is of the policy of Canada. I should like here to pay homage to the eminent role that the Secretary of State of External Affairs of Canada, Mr. Lester B. Pearson, has not ceased to play in all the work of the Atlantic organization.

Besides its important contribution to the defence of the American Continent, your country—and it is not one of the lesser reasons for our gratitude—has accepted an active part in the defence of the European Continent. To help balance the enormous mass of Soviet divisions, Canada, like the United States and Great Britain, has stationed a part of her armed forces on the European peninsula. The presence of your soldiers on our soil imposes a sacrifice upon you for which I wish to thank you in the name of France. It is of exceptional importance to us.

In fact, in 1914, as in 1939, if there had been some thousands of British, American and Canadian soldiers in Europe, neither William II nor Hitler would have gone to war. They would have known that, from the very first moment, an immense coalition would be raised against them. Today, because of the physical presence of your soldiers, and the British and American soldiers, the Soviet Union cannot have the slightest doubt about the consequences to herself of any aggression. The presence of these soldiers is a type of "deterrent" policy of the Atlantic pact.

The Atlantic Alliance seems to me even more important today than it was eight years ago at the moment of its creation. Also, it imposes, perhaps more than ever, a perfect entente among the allied nations on the strategic and tactical planes. It is necessary that these decisions be taken in common when it comes to effectives and armaments, and if technical developments raise new problems in this domain, they must be resolved in common. I insist upon solemnly recalling these requirements before you.

#### Algerian Problem

I shall say a few words to you now on a purely French problem but which is such a grave one for us that I want to tell you about it personally. It has to do with Algeria. Your Government in the course of the debate in the United Nations has accorded us the loyal and unfailing support which we have asked of it, and I should like to express to it here the thanks of France.

The Algerian problem, unhappily, is too little known outside of France. In completely good faith, many of our friends think that our policy is nothing more than a manifestation of obsolete colonialism. I shall speak to you quite frankly and quite directly. In my eyes, what is most essential in the Algerian affair is not to maintain the links between Algeria and France. That is far too much in the interests of Algeria to be seriously questioned. The aid which France has given to Algeria since the Second World War, to cite only one figure, represents twice the sum of all the moneys France herself received under the Marshall Plan.

The fundamental element in the Algerian problem is the presence in the country of two groups, each distinct from the other, both important and each indispensable to the life of the other—1,200,000 Algerians of European origin on one side and eight million Moslems on the other.

The Algerians of European origin began to settle there in 1830. They have their families in Algeria and they have their dead. Algeria is their country—their patrie—and, for the most part, it is their toil which has developed its resources. They feel like pioneers, and that is what they are. It is not acceptable that they be oppressed or chased out today by the mass of the Moslems, any more than it is acceptable that they profit by temporary economic advantages to oppress the Moslems. The key to the Algerian problem is to obtain, at one and the same time, full equality of rights for all the inhabitants of Algeriaeconomic as well as political rights—and the co-existence of the group of European origin and of Moslem origin, without either being able to oppress the other. The first step toward any settlement is that violence cease. Also, France has proposed a "cease-fire" without any political "strings". To settle the general conditions, the French Government is ready to make direct and official contact with those who are fighting.

Within three months of a return to peace free, single college elections will be organized. Each will be able to vote according to his conscience. We invite the democratic nations to send their representatives to Algeria so they may observe the proper procedure of the vote.

It is with these elected representatives of Algeria, whatever their political opinions, that we would discuss the future organization of Algeria. It will result in the agreement of all the interested parties, that is to say, the populations of Algeria and the populations of France.

This is the content of the French program for Algeria. You will agree with me that it conforms to the principles of democracy. The play is now to our adversaries. We offer them a cease-fire. Are they ready to renounce violence? We propose free elections, held under the eyes of representatives of the democratic countries, and immediate discussion

with the elected representatives of the Algerian populations. Why have they refused up to now? France is not discouraged. She will multiply, tirelessly, the efforts to convince all the inhabitants of Algeria of her will to peace and justice.

#### Middle East

You may be surprised that I have not taken advantage of this political survey to say a few words to you about another problem, namely the situation in the Middle East. Whatever may have been our disagreements at one moment, I must underline the positive character and the extreme usefulness of the initiatives taken by the Canadian Government, how its interventions, always animated by the most friendly spirit, have often been decisive.

An important step has been taken in the Middle East, towards the restoration of an enduring peace, founded on justice and respect for international law, which is the common aim of our countries. France has not been a stranger to the agreements which have been made, and I have the right to say that she has considerably aided in their conclusion.

The retreat of Israel from Gaza and the straits of Sharm-el-Shaik does not constitute an end. The intervention of the United Nations Emergency Force makes it possible to avoid a return, pure and simple, to the original situation. It is indispensable that we profit by its presence to conclude a general peace settlement. A partial or provisional settlement in the Middle East will always be a bad solution. Our peoples will not permit us to allow the situation to deteriorate again as it did in the past eight years when, under the cover of an armistice, the disorders were perpetuated and a state of masked warfare was finally established while, at the same time, the resolutions passed by the United Nations were constantly being violated.

We must attack the basic causes of the tensions in the Middle East. I should like to enumerate for you some of those which seem to me to be the principal ones. Some of them are "geographic" and others are purely "political".

The first of the "geographic" causes is the frontiers of Israel and, in fact, the existence of the state of Israel itself. The conclusion of a peace treaty between Israel and her Arab neighbours, fixing her frontiers and guaranteeing the integrity of her territory, is an absolute necessity. I am very happy that the representatives of the great countries expressed their determination in the General Assembly of the United Nations that this treaty will be interposed as soon as possible. I am happy that the big nations have declared their insistence that free passage of ships in the international waters of the Gulf of Aqaba shall be respected.

The Suez Canal is also one of the "geographic" causes of tension. Its sabotage by Egypt without any military motive to justify it, and the blackmail exercised since then

over the pace of clearing and opening the Canal, shows the little confidence merited by the Government of Egypt. As was stipulated before Security Council, the Suez Canal must be "withdrawn from the political policies of every country and, in particular from that of Egypt. The economic equilibrium of Europe and the countries of South-East Asia cannot depend solely on the goodwill of a commonplace Egyptian dictator.

Still more vital are the causes which I have called "political", and it is upon the attitude which will be taken about them, that will depend the definite settlement of other problems. I am speaking of the pan-Arab manœuvres of Egypt and the Soviet infiltration of the Middle East.

The pan-Arab dreams of Colonel Nasser are defined with brutal clarity in his book, "The Philosophy of Revolution". He himself has declared his determination to organize around a "hero"—that is the way in which he speaks of himself—a united Arab world "from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf", in order to achieve it, to utilize as a means of pressure on the West, the oil of the Middle East and the geographic position of his own country—that is to say, the Suez Canal. We now know that they were not idle threats.

To denounce pan-Arabism does not signify an attack on the Arab world. Pan-Arabism is not the expression of a people's national feeling. It is, as pan-Germanism and pan-Slavism have been in the past, a myth in whose name a people's independence is attacked.

It is the duty of the free nations to oppose a united front to the subversive actions of pan-Arabism, to see that provocation does not pay, and that there can be no transactions whatsoever which do not respect international obligations. Such an attitude is even more necessary since pan-Arabism is the best vehicle for communist infiltration. Faithful to Lenin's directives, the Soviet leaders are systematically supporting ultra-nationalism. Cairo and Damascus, the sources of pan-Arabism, have thus become the strongest bridgeheads of the U.S.S.R.

From this point of view the declaration of President Eisenhower assumes great importance. The Soviet Union has been, in the past, attentive to such warnings. I shall add that any split in the united front of the free nations, in the Middle East, will be exploited by the Soviet Union. It is therefore our duty to put into effect in this part of the world a concerted, long-range policy.

That is what I have expressed to the Canadian Government, as to the President of the United States, and I believe—let me say I am sure—that my visits will have favoured the first steps.

The problems of which I have been speaking to you have been, as you may imagine, the object of thorough discussions with the

Prime Minister of Canada. I was pleased to note the large area of agreement between us. I am certain that in these next weeks France and Canada will find themselves side by side in the international meetings, in common defence of the same causes and in seeking solutions in harmony with law and justice.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Prime Minister, Members of the Houses of Parliament. In a few hours my friend Mr. Pineau, our assistants and myself will be leaving your magnificent country. The memory of the hours we have spent in it, the memory of the simplicity and fraternal warmth of your welcome, will remain with us. I shall take testimony of it to

the French people. I shall tell them that, in dark days and fair, they can rely on the friendship and the support of this great people in full expansion.

To you, also, I should like to say that you may rely on the French people, and on the youth of France. By their labour they have overcome the destruction of the war, they are confident in the future of their country, they are ready to face the challenging tasks which lie before them—the construction of Europe, the development of the Sahara, the building of Eurafrica. Yes, at your side, in all just and generous undertakings, you will always find "la France éternelle".



Capital Press Service

#### "EURATOM" COMMITTEE

Shown with several Canadian Government officials in the East Block of Canada's Parliament Buildings are the members of the three-man committee recently set up by the six Western European powers negotiating a nuclear energy pool ("Euratom"). Left to right: Professor Francesco Giordani, President of Italy's National Research Council; Mr. W. J. Bennett, President of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited; Herr Franz Etzel, Senior Vice-President of the High Aushority of the European Coal and Steel Community; Monsieur Louis Armand, Director General of the French State Railways and President of the Industrial Equipment Committee of the French Atomic Energy Commission; Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Canada's Deputy Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; and Mr. R. B. Bryce, Secretary of the Canadian Cabinet.

# **Canada and the United Nations**

# Middle East Crisis

# Background (1)

Throughout the month of February, the efforts of the United Nations in connection with Middle East problems continued to be concentrated upon efforts to secure Israeli withdrawal from the Sharm al-Shaikh area on the west coast of the Gulf of Aqaba and from the Gaza strip in circumstances which would be conducive to the creation and maintenance of peaceful conditions in the Middle East. These efforts were premised mainly upon two related resolutions which had been adopted by the General Assembly on February 2. The first called upon Israel to complete its withdrawal behind the armistice demarcation line without further delay. The second recognized the view, of which the Canadian Delegation has been a leading proponent, that withdrawal by Israel should be followed by "action which would assure progress toward the creation of peaceful conditions"; called upon Egypt and Israel to observe scrupulously the provisions of the 1949 armistice agreement; and envisaged the deployment of the United Nations Emergency Force on the Egyptian-Israeli armistice demarcation line, and "the implementation of other measures" as proposed in the Secretary-General's report of January 24.

The reference in this second resolution to "other measures" was explicitly interpreted by the Canadian Delegation as including the stationing of the United Nations Emergency Force on both sides of the armistice demarcation line to prevent incursions and raids across the line and maintain peaceful conditions. It was also suggested by Canada that, pending determination of the legal position in the Gulf of Aqaba, the parties should be asked to give assurances that they would not assert or exercise any belligerent rights or interfere with navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran; that a UNEF unit should be stationed near the Straits to assist in maintaining peaceful conditions; and that the Emergency Force should not only be deployed in the Gaza strip but should also be associated with steps to replace the existing civilian administration and to ensure that in future the area would be used neither as a base nor as a target for raids or retaliations.

# The Israeli Response

The two resolutions were formally transmitted to the representatives of Egypt and Israel by the Secretary-General on February 3, and the Israeli delegate was asked to report, if possible on the following day, concerning the position of his Government on the resolution calling for completion of Israeli withdrawal. In reply the representative of Israel on February 4 presented to Mr. Hammarskjold an aide-mémoire in which the Israeli Government (a) requested the Secretary General "to ask the Government of Egypt whether Egypt agrees to a full and mutual abstention from belligerent acts, by land,

<sup>(1)</sup> See "External Affairs" for February 1957

air and sea, on withdrawal of Israeli troops", and (b) sought clarification as to whether "immediately on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sharm al-Shaikh area, units of the United Nations Emergency Force will be stationed along the western shore of the Gulf of Aqaba in order to act as a restraint against hostile acts, and will remain so deployed until another effective means is agreed upon between the parties concerned for ensuring permanent freedom of navigation and the absence of belligerent acts in the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba".

The Secretary-General interpreted the first point raised by the Israeli Government as a request for action by the UN in implementation of the second of the two related resolutions of February 2. Such a request, he argued, could not be entertained until after the withdrawal of Israeli forces in compliance with the first resolution of February 2. Regarding the second point raised in the Israeli aide mémoire, Mr. Hammarskjold held that "the stationing of the Force at Sharm al-Shaikh under such terms as those mentioned in the question posed by Israel would require Egyptian consent". He maintained that to seek such consent while Israeli forces were still in occupation of Egyptian territory would amount to negotiation under duress.

In conveying his views to the Israeli Delegation, the Secretary-General in turn raised two questions of his own, which he argued should be satisfactorily answered before there could be further consideration of the Israeli aide mémoire. He asked whether it was understood by the Government of Israel that the withdrawal from the Gaza strip must include "elements of administration" as well as military forces, and whether Israel would consent in principle to the stationing of UNEF units on its territory as part of the recommended deployment of forces "on the Egyptian-Israeli armistice demarcation line".

Summing up these and further related exchanges with the Israeli Delegation, the Secretary-General said in a report of February 11 to the General Assembly:

stances, accepts full implementation of resolution I, which, as pointed out above, requires withdrawal from the Gaza strip of Israel's civil administration and police as well as of its armed forces. Further, it is still an open question whether Israel accepts the stationing of units of the United Nations Emergency Force on its side of the armistice demarcation line under resolution II, concerning which, in a similar respect, Israel has raised a question which requires clarification of the Egyptian stand. In case Israel were to receive the assurance from Egypt, which it has requested the Secretary-General to ask for as an action in implementation of resolution II, the representative of Israel in his latest communication has stated only that his Government 'would formulate its position on all outstanding questions in the light of Egypt's response'.

The fact that the Government of Israel has not found it possible to clarify elements decisive for the consideration of their requests, has complicated the efforts to achieve implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly. . . .

The Secretary-General concluded his report of February 11 by asking the Assembly "as a matter of priority" to indicate how it desired him to proceed with further steps to carry out the decisions reflected in its resolutions of February 2.

## United States-Israeli Negotiations

While the inconclusive negotiations between the Secretary-General and Israel were taking place, there were intermittent demands from Arab delegations for consideration by the General Assembly of further steps to secure Israeli compliance with the resolution on withdrawal. This pressure was intensified after the report of February 11 was issued; but at this stage a new series of negotiations, this time outside the United Nations, aroused hope that an Israeli decision to withdraw might emerge without further action by the Assembly. On February 11 the State Department formally conveyed to the Israeli Ambassador in Washington, in the form of an aide-mémoire, certain understandings and assurances (which were subsequently made public) regarding the major issues raised by Israel in connection with the United Nations requests for withdrawal from the Gaza strip and the Sharm al-Shaikh area. The aide-mémoire said it was the view of the United States that "the UN General Assembly has no authority to require of either Egypt or Israel a substantial modification of the Armistice Agreement, which . . . now gives Egypt the right and responsibility of occupation". Therefore, it continued, the United States believed "that Israeli withdrawal from Gaza should be prompt and unconditional, leaving the future of the Gaza strip to be worked out through the efforts and good offices of the United Nations". The United States would use its "best efforts" to help to ensure that UNEF moved into the Gaza strip following Israeli withdrawal, and was deployed on the boundary between Israel and the Gaza strip. The aide-mémoire asserted that "the US believes that the Gulf (of Agaba) constitutes international waters and that no nation has the right forcibly to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the Straits giving access thereto". It further declared that, in the absence of some overriding decision to the contrary, the United States, on behalf of vessels of US registry, "was prepared to exercise the right of free and innocent passage and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right". The enjoyment of this right by Israel, the aide-mémoire added, would depend upon its prior withdrawal in accordance with UN resolutions. The view was expressed that "as a precautionary measure" UNEF should move into the Straits area as Israeli forces were withdrawn.

There followed protracted discussions aimed at securing acceptance of the United States assurances as the basis for Israeli agreement to withdraw. Resumption of General Assembly debate on the withdrawal issue was repeatedly postponed in order to await the outcome of the Israeli-United States exchanges.

On February 22 the Secretary-General made a brief statement in the Assembly, outlining arrangements which the United Nations might make to ensure not only security but also efficient administration in the Gaza area after Israeli withdrawal. He said in part:

For example, the arrangement for the use of the United Nations Emergency Force in the area should insure its deployment, on the armistice line at the Gaza Strip and the effective interposition of the Force between the armed forces of Egypt and Israel.

Similarly, the assistance of the United Nations and its appropriate auxiliary bodies would be enrolled toward putting a definite end to all incursions and raids across the border from either side. Furthermore, with reference to the period of transition, such other arrangements with the

United Nations may be made as will contribute toward safeguarding life and property in the area by providing efficient and effective police protection; as will guarantee good civilian administration; as will assure maximum assistance to the United Nations refugee program; and as will protect and foster the economic development of the territory and its people.

#### **Demand for Sanctions**

A draft resolution sponsored by Afghanistan, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, and the Sudan was introduced in the General Assembly on February 23. It condemned Israel for non-compliance with Assembly resolutions calling for withdrawal of Israeli forces, and called upon all states "to deny all military, economic, or financial assistance and facilities to Israel in view of its continued defiance" of those resolutions.

Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, spoke on this six-power sanctions resolution in the General Assembly on February 26. He summed up the situation facing the Assembly as follows:

... we are confronted with the need to strike a ... balance between the immediate and primary objective of securing the completion of Israel's withdrawal; and that of achieving this in such a way that withdrawal will be accompanied by helpful and fruitful results. I repeat that we refuse to consider these as unrelated objectives, even though priority in time must be given to the first, withdrawal. We still refuse to believe that they cannot be achieved without adopting proposals for forms of pressure which would be an admission by the Assembly of complete and final failure to solve this problem constructively. Our Delegation does not believe that we should yet admit any such failure. We think that there is still a way of bringing about withdrawal by spelling out the detailed arrangements which would follow, and which would strengthen security and prepare the way for pacification. In its resolution 461 of February 2, the Assembly indicated in general terms the necessity for such arrangements. We should now, before deciding on other measures, follow up that indication with something more concrete and specific.

We think that both parties should be willing to accept any recommendations to this end which are satisfactory to the majority of the members of the Assembly. If Israel refused to withdraw its forces immediately on the passing of such a resolution, she would be taking on a very heavy responsibility indeed and would forfeit our support and invite other measures by the Assembly.

# Canadian Suggestions

Mr. Pearson then went on to outline arrangements which he suggested the Assembly should prescribe to follow Israeli withdrawal:

First there should be a firm pledge by the Governments of Israel and Egypt to observe scrupulously the provisions of the 1949 Armistice Agreement. But when we talk about scrupulous observance of the Armistice Agreement, we should mean, not some of its provisions, but all of them. What are they?

First, the establishment of an armistice demarcation line, which is not a political or territorial boundary, but which cannot be changed except by agreement between the two parties. Also the agreement prohibits any form of aggressive action, warlike or hostile acts, if you like, belligerent acts, or resort to force by the land, sea or air forces of either side. They

establish the rights of each side to security and freedom from fear of attack. They do not prejudge or confirm any political or territorial rights or claim or boundary, but they do establish Egypt's administrative control over the Gaza strip without giving her any rights of territorial sovereignty there. They provide for the deployment in certain areas on both sides of the demarcation line of defensive forces only, and they define what "defensive" means for this purpose, They provide for the total exclusion of Israeli and Egyptian armed forces from the El Auja demilitarized zone.

Second, the Secretary-General and the Commander of UNEF should make arrangements with the Governments concerned for the deployment of UNEF on the armistice demarcation line. This deployment, which should be made effective with the minimum of interference with civilian life or activity, would be for the sole purpose of putting the force in a position:

- To assume certain duties of the Truce Supervision Organization under the Armistice Agreement between the two states;
- (b) To assist in the prevention of incursions, raids and retaliatory attacks across the armistice line in either direction;
- (c) Generally to maintain peaceful conditions along both sides of the

Third, regarding the Gulf of Aqaba and Straits of Tiran, it should be agreed and affirmed that there should be no interference with innocent passage through or any assertion of belligerent rights in the Straits. Israeli troops, on their withdrawal from the Sharm al-Shaikh area, should, as the Secretary-General puts it in his report of January 24, 'be followed by UNEF in the same way as in other parts of Sinai', in order to assist in maintaining quiet in the area and in preventing conflict. This would be in accordance with the purposes already laid down by this Assembly for the Force."

# The Gaza Strip

Mr. Pearson then referred at length to "perhaps the most complicated and difficult of the arrangements to be decided", concerning the Gaza strip. After analysing the special problems of this area, he offered the following proposals for its future:

First in priority and essential to all other steps, Israel should withdraw from the Gaza strip. This action would be in accordance with the previous decisions of the Assembly, and implicit in a return to the scrupulous observance of the Armistice Agreement.

At the same time, the Assembly should now provide for effective UN action to ensure that the area would not be used as a base for raids and incursions against Israel after its withdrawal.

I have just spoken about the deployment of UNEF along the demarcation line. In the Gaza strip, this deployment would serve not only as an effective interposition of UNEF between the armed forces of Egypt and Israel, but as a screen against incursions, raids and retaliatory attacks across the line from either side. Furthermore, in a transitional period, UNEF and other appropriate agencies of the UN would be given functions within the Gaza strip which would contribute towards safeguarding life and property, would guarantee good civilian administration, would assure the maximum assistance to the Palestine refugees there, and would protect and foster the economic development of the Gaza strip and its people. . . .

We have here an extremely explosive situation which could very easily get out of control. In this tiny area are crowded over two hundred thousand refugees and a much smaller native population. They are bitter and frustrated, administered by strangers; rebellious, riven by frictions, and in a mood, I have no doubt, to erupt in violence and bloodshed once firm control is removed.

There has already been more than enough murder in the Gaza strip, and the UN cannot be indirectly responsible for more. We owe protection to the refugees and we certainly owe protection to the servants of the UN Relief and Works Agency who have been carrying on so heroically in the face of such obstacles, difficulties and dangers in the Gaza strip. Provision, therefore, must be made for a peaceful transition from the administration of Israel to something no less strong and effective and at the same time more generally acceptable. Such a transition can be effected only by negotiation, and such negotiation, which should be both speedy and thorough, can only be conducted by direct agents of the UN. There is no sense in pretending that, under present circumstances, it could be undertaken between Egyptians and Israelis alone. The good offices of a third party must be interposed, and this can only be the UN.

This is all the more desirable because after Israel's withdrawal, the UN should, in our view and by agreement with Egypt, accept responsibility to the maximum possible extent for establishing and maintaining effective civil administration in the territory; in fostering economic development and social welfare, in maintaining law and order. UNRWA is already there, with an experienced and efficient administrative nucleus. The UN could also provide other help through the UN technical assistance machinery, the resources of its Secretariat, and expert consultants recruited for specific purposes. In this way there would be built up in Gaza, in co-operation with Egypt and with Israel, a UN civil administration.

To co-ordinate and make effective arrangements to this end the Secretary-General might decide to appoint a UN Commissioner for Gaza. Working with the Commander of UNEF and the Director of UNRWA, and after consultation with Egyptian and Israeli representatives as well as with refugee and other local Arab leaders, he could arrange to bring about with all possible speed the replacement of the present Israeli civil administration of the area. In this way, and perhaps in this way only, we should be able to effect the withdrawal of Israel, with order and speed, and in such a manner as to protect the interests of the inhabitants, and of both Egypt and Israel as well.

After the replacement had been completed, this UN Commissioner should, in my view, remain in Gaza where he would have chief responsibility for all UN activities there, including those of UNEF inside the strip. He would be concerned with the supervision of the Armistice Agreement, including maintenance of the cease-fire observers' functions, checking and reporting on alleged incidents of violation. In discharging these responsibilities he would work through UNEF rather than UNTSO, though this would be without prejudice, of course, to the role of UNTSO in the other three armistice agreements.

In view of the status of the Gaza strip, however, as an area not belonging to the sovereign territory of any neighbouring state, any arrangement for the administration of the territory such as that outlined above must be considered as an interim measure pending final agreement as to the proper disposition of the territory. That final agreement is the responsibility of the UN and it should be met and discharged after these interim arrangements have been completed.

In concluding his statement, Mr. Pearson said:

I venture to submit these proposals to the Assembly because I believe they will provide a basis not only for the essential and prior withdrawal of Israeli forces, but for a better and more peaceful state of affairs than that which has existed previously. They may not be perfect proposals, and I realize they will not fully meet the wishes of the two parties to this conflict. This programme is admittedly a compromise, as any resolution based on it would be a compromise. But it is meant to be a constructive compromise, which may lead to further steps that will make for lasting peace. That is the spirit in which it is submitted.

#### Withdrawal

On March 1, following successive adjournments of the General Assembly debate on the sanctions resolution and further intensive discussions with the United States, the Israeli delegate told the Assembly that the Government of Israel "is now in a position to announce its plans for full and prompt withdrawal from the Sharm al-Shaikh area and the Gaza strip, in compliance with Resolution I of February 2, 1957". The Israeli statement went on to outline certain assumptions on which this decision to withdraw was predicated. Immediately afterward the Secretary-General instructed the Chief of Staff of UNEF, Major General E. L. M. Burns, to make arrangements with General Moshe Dayan, Chief of Staff of the Israeli Army, concerning the measures necessary to effect withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sharm al-Shaikh and Gaza areas. On March 4 Israel's Foreign Minister informed the General Assembly that full agreement had been reached. The Israeli withdrawal began on March 6 and was completed within a few days.

Commenting on the Israeli decision to withdraw, Mr. Pearson said on March 4 in the General Assembly:

... The dangers and the risks which were inherent in the continued occupation of non-Israeli territory by the armed forces of Israel should now disappear, provided the Israeli withdrawal is followed by appropriate United Nations action. It was in the full recognition of these dangers that Canada joined others in this Assembly in efforts to bring about complete withdrawal of Israel from those areas, but in circumstances that would avoid, and not provide the seeds for, future conflict. We warmly welcome Israel's decision as a right and wise one, and as showing a sense of international responsibility. We feel that certain assumptions and expectations that Israel has mentioned in connection with the completion of her withdrawal are reasonable ones, as we understand them.

After reviewing again his earlier proposals for United Nations action to follow upon completion of the Israeli withdrawal, the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation added:

We have then made progress—encouraging progress—in the solution of this problem. But much remains to be done, and goodwill and understanding will have to be shown by all of us before we can be confident that a final result will be achieved and will bring peace and security to this troubled part of the world.

The island of Cyprus, half as large again as Prince Edward Island, occupies a strategic position in the Eastern Mediterranean, 40 miles south of the Turkish coast and 480 miles from the Greek mainland. Its population of 500,000 is four-fifths Greek, one-fifth Turkish in origin. The island has been administered by the United Kingdom since 1878 and was formally annexed in 1914. In 1923 its status was confirmed by the Treaty of Lausanne to which the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey are parties.

As early as 1931 there were disturbances on Cyprus in favour of ENOSIS or union with Greece. After the Second World War the United Kingdom drew up a new constitution providing for a large measure of self-government but this proposal was rejected by the supporters of ENOSIS, as were similar proposals in 1954. The EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) then emerged as an organization seeking to enforce its demands by violent means. Against it the United Kingdom authorities took stern counter-measures. Tripartite talks (United Kingdom, Greece, Turkey) were held in London in 1955 to consider new constitutional formulae but subsequent discussions with Archbishop Makarios, head of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus, broke down, and in March, 1956 the Archbishop was exiled to the Seychelles Islands for alleged complicity in terrorist activities.

The question of Cyprus was raised at the United Nations in 1954 and again in 1955. On the former occasion the Assembly voted not to consider the question further and on the second occasion decided not to include the item on its agenda.

When the eleventh session of the General Assembly was convened last November a two-part item on the "Cyprus question" was inscribed on the agenda. The Greek Delegation sought UN approval for self-determination for Cyprus; the United Kingdom Delegation charged that terrorism in Cyprus was being supported from Greece.

Meanwhile the British jurist Lord Radcliffe submitted to the United Kingdom Government his constitutional proposals for partial self-government, protection of minority rights, and maintenance of British strategic interests in Cyprus. On December 19, 1956 these proposals were presented to the House of Commons. They were shortly afterwards accepted as a basis for negotiation by the Turkish Government, but were summarily rejected by the Greek Government. It was therefore against a background of stalemate and continued terrorist activity on the part of EOKA that the Cyprus question came up for debate in the First Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on February 18, 1957.

Three resolutions were tabled, one by the United Kingdom calling on the Government of Greece "to take effective measures to prevent support or encouragement from Greece for terrorism in Cyprus"; one by the Greek Delegation expressing the wish that "the people of Cyprus be given the opportunity to determine their own future by the application of their right to self-determination"; and a second Greek resolution which would have established a seven-member UN fact-finding committee to investigate the British complaint.

The debate began with three strongly-worded statements by the delegates of Greece, the United Kingdom and Turkey. Speaking for the Greek Delegation, Foreign Minister Averoff held the United Kingdom Government responsible for failing to respect the UN Charter in the case of Cyprus. He denied that the Greek Government was abetting terrorism or seeking to claim Cyprus and he spoke of liberation from the colonial yoke. Commander Noble of the United Kindgom Delegation regretted the quarrel between Greece and the United Kingdom and the weakening of free world defences in South Eastern Europe which he attributed to the Greek ambition for ENOSIS. In his statement Commander Noble charged that terrorism in Cyprus had been officially encouraged by Athens radio and that arms and money had also been provided to EOKA from Greek sources. He pointed out that the United Kingdom has continued to work towards self-government in Cyprus and cited the constitutional proposals of Lord Radcliffe. Mr. Sarper of the Turkish Delegation stated that the inscription of the Cyprus item on the agenda in no way implied the competence of the UN to intervene in Cyprus. He accused Greece of annexationist ambitions, condemned terrorism, and called for a renewal of negotiations among the parties directly concerned.

At an early stage of the debate, Mr. R. A. MacKay, Canada's Permanent Representative to the UN, made a moderate statement supporting the United Kingdom position and hoping for an amicable solution. The text is as follows:

Mr. Chairman, I am reluctant, as I am sure are all of the friends and allies of the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey, to intervene in the debate on this unfortunate subject. But after hearing the speeches made by the distinguished representatives of those three countries in this Committee, and after long study of the problem I feel it necessary to make a few points.

The first, which seems to me obvious, is that the problem of Cyprus is highly complex from the point of view of international law, geography, and ethnic, linguistic, religious and strategic considerations. It is not a question to which any one of us could give a quick and facile answer. Cyprus, in ancient, medieval and modern history, has proved a bone of contention. We must be cautious about suggesting solutions which might stir up further strife, even if this Committee really felt it had the competence to do so.

The second point which stands out in our examination of this question is the inescapable conclusion that the Cypriots would have best served their own good by accepting constitutional development in Cyprus along the lines offered by the United Kingdom Government. In particular, it does seem to us that the off-hand dismissal by the Greek Government of the proposals made by that eminent jurist, Lord Radcliffe, without any serious study, was not an act which could conceivably be described as intended to help towards a solution of the question.

I was sorry to hear some of the charges levelled at the United Kingdom Government by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Greece. We in Canada who know so well the history of the development of the British Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations, find it difficult to believe that any people under British rule would not be able gradually and peacefully to work out their own destinies. We recognize that the Radcliffe constitution and previous offers did not immediately give complete self-government to Cyprus. Indeed in the present circumstances that would be highly unrealistic. But it did give a very great measure of self-government to the people of Cyprus and if this constitution were the point of departure I

think it would direct the peoples of Cyprus, no matter what their origins, towards a better, more peaceful and prosperous existence. And I ask the people of Cyprus to study carefully the history of the development of the Commonwealth of Nations to see if the United Kingdom, having in good faith on both sides started a people on the path to self-government, has ever thwarted it in its subsequent development.

My Government has believed in the past, and continues to do so, that a solution to the problem of Cyprus must be worked out by the parties principally concerned. I do not think the airing of the dispute in this body is likely to help. In addition, we do not think that the continuance of the near state of civil war in Cyprus, and its encouragement from abroad, nor the stirring up of animosity and hatred on racial lines in this small island is the way to solve the problem. It is of the greatest importance for the sincere friends of all three of the disputants in this question that it be settled as quickly as possible with the minimum of public contention. Above all any further deterioration in the relations between Greece and Turkey on the one hand and between Greece and the United Kingdom on the other can only add to the unsettled conditions in the Middle East.

As regards the charges and counter-charges about terrorism in Cyprus, it is clearly difficult to decide when such activity is criminal and when it is heroic. But no matter how one labels it, the end result is misery for the people, and under no circumstances can we condone the aid and encouragement given to these activities from the mainland of Greece. This again surely is a question which can and should be settled amicably by the powers concerned and my Delegation cannot believe that the United Nations can play a useful role in this issue.

Of the other delegates who spoke, Australia, New Zealand, France and Norway were among those supporting the United Kingdom; Syria, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia and Roumania were among those favouring self-determination and many delegations, notably the United States, Pakistan, Ceylon, Iran and Iraq, adopted moderate positions regretting the disagreement over Cyprus and favouring a resumption of negotiations among the principals.

# Compromise Resolution

On February 22 Mr. Krishna Menon, the Chairman of the Indian Delegation, introduced and ably supported a compromise resolution that proved to be generally acceptable. The text was as follows:

The General Assembly

Having considered the question of Cyprus,

Believing that the solution of this problem requires an atmosphere of peace and freedom of expression,

Expresses the earnest desire that a peaceful, democratic and just solution will be found in accord with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and the hope that negotiations will be resumed and continued to this end.

The Indian resolution was adopted in the Political Committee by a vote of 76-0, Afghanistan and Panama abstaining. The United Kingdom and Greece then agreed to withdraw their resolutions and Panama also withdrew a draft resolution which had been advanced as a possible compromise.

The resolution on Cyprus, as presented by the First Committee, was adopted by the General Assembly on Feb. 26 by a vote of 55-0. Friends of both Greece and the United Kingdom have welcomed this relatively mild conclusion to the Cyprus debate, which has left the way open for further negotiations and, in the words of the United States delegate, for "quiet diplomacy".

### Kashmir

The long-standing Kashmir dispute was brought before the Security Council this year for the first time since 1951.

Despite the work of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) and the efforts of various mediators from 1948 to 1953, India and Pakistan have not been able to reach agreement on the disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir since 1948, when a cease-fire was established between their forces by the United Nations. (1)

On January 2, 1957 Pakistan submitted a letter to the Security Council requesting early consideration of the Kashmir question. This document referred to Dr. Graham's report of March 27, 1953 and to the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 which called for: (a) a cease-fire; (b) the demilitarization of the state; (c) an impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. The document stated that India had refused, "on one pretext or another", to honour the commitments it had accepted under the two UNCIP resolutions. It also mentioned Pakistan's concern about the Constitution adopted by the so-called Constituent Assembly at Srinigar on October 29, 1956 which, it pointed out, declared Kashmir "an integral part of the Indian Union" and thus contravened the Security Council resolution of March 30, 1951. (The relevant part of this resolution affirms: "that the convening of a Constituent Assembly recommended by the General Council of the all Jammu and Kashmir Conference, and any action that the Assembly might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire state or any part thereof, would not constitute a disposition of the state in accordance with the above principle"—the principle is that referring to the plebiscite). The letter concluded by asking the Security Council to take "firm and timely action" and by calling for the implementation of the UNCIP resolutions.

On January 16 Malik Firoz Khan Noon, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, presented the case for Pakistan before the Security Council. He urged that the Kashmir area be demilitarized, and that internal security be entrusted to a UN force "which should be introduced into the area at once", prior to the holding of a plebiscite. On January 23 and 24, Mr. Krishna Menon put forward the India side of the case, arguing that the only question the Security Council had to consider was the original complaint against Pakistani aggression brought by India to the Council on January 1, 1948 and that India was under no commitment to allow a plebiscite in Kashmir.

<sup>(1)</sup> For background see "Canada and the United Nations", 1949.

The United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and Colombia then put forward a resolution reminding the two disputants of UNCIP's recommendation for a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. The resolution, which also reaffirmed the Security Council resolution of March 30, 1951, was carried on January 24 with ten votes in favour, none opposed, and one abstention (the Soviet Union).

On India's Republic Day, January 26, Prime Minister Nehru announced the formal accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union.

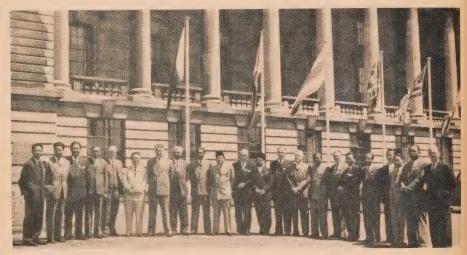
The next development came on February 14 when the United Kingdom, the United States, Cuba and Australia presented a new joint draft resolution to the Security Council. This resolution recalled that of January 24, and the UNCIP resolutions, noted that the demilitarization prior to the holding of a plebiscite had not been achieved, and recommended further consideration of the Pakistan proposal for the use of a temporary UN force in Kashmir. The operative portion of the resolution requested Mr. Gunnar Jarring of Sweden, President of the Security Council, "to examine with the Governments of India and Pakistan proposals which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute to the achievement of demilitarization, or to the establishment of other conditions for progress toward the settlement of the dispute, having regard to the previous resolutions of the Security Council and of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and bearing in mind the statements of the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan and the proposal for the use of a temporary UN force". The resolution also authorized Mr. Jarring to visit the sub-continent for this purpose and requested him to report back to the Security Council as soon as possible, but not later than April 15, 1957. It concluded by inviting the Governments of India and Pakistan to co-operate with Mr. Jarring.

On February 20 this resolution was vetoed in the Security Council by the Soviet Union. Sweden abstained and the other nine members of the Council voted in favour.

Immediately after the vote the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia introduced a resolution which recalled the previous resolutions of the Security Council and UNCIP. The preamble and operative portion of the new resolution remained the same as those of its predecessor, except for the deletion of the references to the use of a UN force. This new draft resolution was adopted by the Security Council on February 21, by ten votes to none, with the Soviet Union abstaining.

# Colombo Plan Conference

Operations of the Colombo Plan during 1956 were reviewed and problems of development in member countries in South and South-East Asia studied at the eighth annual meeting of the Colombo Plan's Consultative Committee held in Wellington, New Zealand, December 4 to 8, 1956. The Consultative Committee, which exercises general supervision over the Plan, is composed of Ministers from member countries who meet each year to exchange views on policy matters and to survey the economic position of the countries of South and South-East Asia, and of the region as a whole.



AT COLOMBO PLAN MEETING

Delegation leaders to the Consultative Committee Meeting of the Colombo Plan are seen outside the Parliament House at Wellington, New Zealand. Mr. Paul Martin, Canada's Minister of National Health and Welfare, is seventh from the right.

The Canadian Delegation to the Wellington conference was led by Mr. Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare, and included Mr. Nik Cavell, Director of the Colombo Plan Administration in the Department of Trade and Commerce, Mr. A. R. Menzies and Mr. R. Y. Grey, of the Department of External Affairs, Mr. M. P. Carson, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner in Singapore, and Mr. George Carty, of the Department of National Health and Welfare. During the meeting Mr. Martin announced that, subject to Parliamentary approval, a Canadian contribution of \$34,400,000 would be made in the fiscal year of 1957-58 to the Colombo Plan, bringing to more than \$196 million the total of Canada's contribution to the Plan since its establishment in 1950.

In reviewing the workings of the Colombo Plan the Ministers approved the text of the Consultative Committee's fifth annual report which had been considered by officials at meetings held between November 19 and December 1.

The discussions at Wellington were full, frank and cordial and not the least value of the meeting lay in the friendly personal association among the

representatives of the member governments. The communiqué issued at the close of the Consultative Committee meeting noted that in the Colombo Plan region as a whole several significant advances were made in both the planning and execution of economic development programmes during the fifth year of the Colombo Plan.

# The communiqué continued:

In 1955-56, there was progress in the development of the area as a whole, although this progress was not uniform. National income continued to rise at a rate slightly in excess of population growth. Most of the Colombo Plan countries in 1955-56 contributed to and benefited from the continued expansion in world industrial production and trade. Agricultural production, on balance showed a little improvement over the previous year; there was an increase in mining output, particularly in petroleum production in the area. Significant progress was made in industrial production as a result of greater utilization of existing equipment and expanded facilities resulting from new investment.

The past year has been, in a measure, a turning point in the progress of the Asian members of the Colombo Plan. Many countries have recently formulated new or renewed national plans and others have given continuing attention to improving the planning and execution of their public investment projects. For 1955-56, the aim was to expend an estimated £791 million on development in the public sector in countries of the area and for 1956-57 it is the intention to raise the level of expenditure by over a quarter. The greater part of this cost of development in the public sector is being provided through the efforts of the people of the area. In addition to governmental development projects, private investment is making an important contribution especially in agriculture and small-scale industries.

In 1955-56 assistance from contributing member governments of the Plan, from international institutions and from other agencies, was greater than in previous years and the rate at which it was used on specific projects was accelerated. External capital assistance in addition to supplementing the countries' own resources has a value of generating further domestic investment. It was recognised that there is an important place for private external investment as a means of obtaining capital inflow, particularly because of the technical knowledge it brings with it and its flexibility.

One of the main obstacles to balanced economic development in the Colombo Plan area is the lack of skilled personnel. Much can be done through capital projects to raise productivity, but without adequate technical skills the fullest use may not be made of new possibilities opened up by higher soil fertility, electric power and new machinery. The main emphasis in improving social services such as health and education, too, must lie with trained staff, helped by modern equipment. For these reasons, successive meetings of the Consultative Committee have stressed the need for the training of students of the area in the more developed countries and the sending of experts to the area. The committee found this year that one of the fruits of the Colombo Plan has been the ability of some countries of the area to send experts to, and receive trainees from their neighbours, and noted that additional opportunities for such intra regional assistance will increase, as development progresses and more experience is obtained.

Since 1950, technical assistance has been extended to approximately 11,000 trainees, while about 4,000 experts have been provided.

The committee took note of the progress reported by the United States on a proposal for a regional nuclear center to be located in Manila. The

United States informed the committee of the future steps to be taken in consultation with the members of the Colombo Plan; it was also indicated that the United States was prepared to contribute approximately \$20 million to the establishment of the Center subject to mutually satisfactory arrangements being worked out with other participating countries. Canada reported on progress in the construction of the Canada-India Reactor. This Reactor is being established at the Indian Atomic Energy Research Centre near Bombay.

Two major aspects of development during the period under review were noted: first, the endeavours of countries to attain higher rates of economic growth while preserving the economic and social stability required to make that growth continuous and its results enduring; and second, the need for flexibility in the execution of plans. In some countries, post-war rehabilitation is still to be completed or other difficulties are still to be overcome, and it is only now that they are beginning to find themselves in a position to formulate development plans. For others, the task is now to move forward from the economic and social basis already provided by their own efforts and by co-operation within the Colombo Plan.

These and other problems in the tasks ahead have been discussed in the Annual Report for 1956, Part I, Chapter II of which is attached. Member governments of the Colombo Plan are confident that their friendly and willing co-operation will continue in facing the difficulties and challenges that lie ahead in the building of a new life for the countries of South and South-East Asia.

### SOME TASKS AHEAD

- I. The Annual Reports of the Consultative Committee review the general economic situation and development progress and prospects of South and South-East Asia. Such reviews of the past and assessments of the future focus attention on certain problems relating to the future development of the countries of the area which warrant consideration.
- 2. The 1955 Annual Report, for instance, found wide differences in the economic situation of the countries of the area, that much development work remained to be done, that while the need for external resources remained, the problem of mobilising domestic resources was of paramount importance, and that certain economic problems, common to the region, had been thrown into sharper focus. These issues were broadly stated and drawn out in a necessarily tentative way; only the passage of time would permit more definite conclusions.
- 3. Another year of experience makes it possible to delineate issues further and draw provisional conclusions regarding some of the problems common to the area. These may be summarized as follows:
  - (a) While further progress in the economic growth of the region has been made in the past year countries have become aware of the increasing need for maintaining flexibility in furthering their development programmes, while consolidating existing gains.
  - (b) In spite of considerable economic growth in past years, the problem of developing sufficient opportunities for productively employing the ever increasing human resources of the area remains.
  - (c) Varying stages and forms of development and the wide range of experience within the region provide new opportunities for cooperation among the countries of South and South-East Asia.

- (d) Future development will tend to require more complex and difficult decisions in such matters as the extent to which the fruits of development can and should be devoted to consumption rather than investment, the pattern of investment, and the impact of a country's development programme upon its external situation and the economic life, of other countries.
- (e) The task ahead will require the mobilization of additional developmental energies in both the public and the private sectors.
- (f) While the flow of external resources to the countries in the region has so far been largely in forms of grants, increased oportunities may develop for drawing on foreign private investment and on public and private loans as sources of external capital.
- 4. The years ahead will require increasing attention to the problems of maintaining flexibility in development programmes while consolidating existing advances and continuing development. For many countries in South and South-East Asia, the economic growth process has involved the planning and programming of resources over long periods of time. The implementation of programmes, however, is dependent upon the availability of requisite resources at the right time, in the right place, and in the right combination. Sometimes these resources are not available because of crop failures, foreign exchange stringencies, and unforeseen shortages of equipment and skilled personnel. Under these circumstances, there is a need for flexibility in programmes. Plans provide a broad framework of overall objectives as flexible guides to future policies and action. Constant vigilance will be required to ensure that appropriate adjustments are made to meet changed conditions. It is also necessary in this connection to refer to the possibility of taking steps towards the building of defences within the economies of the countries of the region to enable them to sustain their development despite short-term upsets like drought, floods etc.
- 5. Countries in the region may find it necessary to give increasing attention not only to flexibility in the implementation of programmes, but also to the more general problem of consolidating existing achievements while continuing to move forward.
- Countries of the area also find it necessary to devote increasing attention to creating new opportunities for employing their expanding labour force. Available information tends to indicate that development progress may not be providing employment opportunities commensurate with the growth of the labour force. On the other hand, employment opportunities provided by development may not be fully utilized because of the limited availability of necessary skills and talents in the labour force. Future programmes, recognizing both the social and economic exigencies of the situation, are seeking to devote increased attention to creating additional work facilities for the presently unemployed or under-employed, as well as providing needed training for an expanding labour force. Some countries may seek a partial solution to this current and long-term problem through increased emphasis upon industrialisation and greater labour mobility; others may concentrate on additional work opportunities for under-employed agricultural workers; others may devote a portion of their development efforts to projects employing a great deal of labour. The means and varied possible approaches to resolve this difficult situation will, in the years ahead, provide an additional body of common experience upon which all countries may be able to draw.
- 7. Development progress in South and South-East Asia provides a wide range of experience differing from country to country. Some countries, for

example, are well advanced in the implementation of long-range development programmes. Others are still engaged in the initial task of assessing resources and determining programme priorities. Continued developmental efforts and progress under differing situations in the countries of the area have produced, in a number of ways, opportunities for interchanges of mutual interest. Some countries have successfully utilised a particular approach or overcome an important obstacle which other countries are about to encounter in some phase of their development. Beginnings have already been made in exchanging experiences in the resolution of particular problems. It is noted, for instance, that one country of the area which has pioneered in community development projects is now responding to the request of another member for assistance in initiating such a programme.

- 8. Another beginning in the interchange of experience within the area is in the field of training and education. Countries of the area are developing skills and training of interest to each other. This experience is, in many instances, already being shared with others in the area. In some cases, the various experience or techniques developed within the area may have greater applicability and effectiveness than similar experience obtained elsewhere. Out of these opportunities provided by a growing body of economic experience within the area, it may be found that assistance for many of South and South-East Asia's development problems can come from the region itself.
- o. The informal consultation which has been pursued for many years in Consultative Committee meetings can further assist in this process. Continuing progress in all countries will provide further ideas and problems which can be exchanged profitably with other member countries. Increasingly, aid-recipient countries of the area are also becoming aid-donor countries, particularly in the field of technical assistance. No clear pattern has emerged as to the ultimate extent or intensity of such mutual co-operation but it appears that an opportunity is present in which all could participate and from which all could gain. It is clear that there is considerable scope for greater regional co-operation in South and South-East Asia.
- 10. The experience of the past year has confirmed once again the importance of viewing the process of development and implementation of programmes in the broadest possible context. Programmes for expanding economic growth are generally conceived in terms of stated objectives relating to the internal economic situation, such as percentage increases in national income, production targets, employment opportunities, and export availabilities. While in many instances the validity of these objectives is derived from important domestic considerations, their realization is often dependent upon external factors beyond the control of the developing country. Many countries of the area find that effective development therefore requires consideration of the proposed programme in a broad setting. On the one hand, there is the genuine desire on the part of many countries to undertake industrialization in order to utilize locally available material resources and to create new employment opportunities. There is a natural and laudable desire on the part of countries to diversify in order to achieve a balanced economy. On the other hand, there is the problem of equating internal programmes with external resource availabilities in such a way as to achieve objectives without engendering critical balance of payments difficulties. It should be borne in mind that any development programmes which lead to an impairment of the export earnings of a country or the prosperity of its trading partners are likely to be self-defeating in the long run. The past decade has witnessed an increasingly discernible movement towards higher levels of world trade. Development can aid this movement and profit from it. In the years ahead, as the Colombo Plan countries of

South and South-East Asia, with more than one-fourth of the world's population, undertake larger development programmes, the task of considering programmes from the standpoint of both the internal and external impact will become more necessary and, in some instances, more difficult. It is, however, a consideration essential to sound development progress.

- II. The review of the past year has focused attention on the all-important relationship between consumption and investment. In the future, as development outlays increase, the maintenance of a balanced relationship between consumption and investment will have greater importance and become increasingly difficult to achieve. Increased consumption is one of the tangible benefits of development and indeed, in a region with very low levels of living, it may be regarded as an important factor in increasing productivity. Too great an increase in investment without a corresponding increase in consumption tends to create strains and stresses which threaten financial stability, particularly in view of the continuing increase in the population of the region. On the other hand, a point can be reached when too great a consumption increase threatens to curtail investment and the future rate of growth. This problem of devising appropriate fiscal and other measures to permit a reasonable increase in both consumption and investment constitutes one of the most difficult tasks for the Governments of the countries of the region.
- 12. There is no simple solution for resolving the problem posed by the respective roles of consumption and investment. Many countries, as part of the initial phase of development, have encouraged investments which, in one way or another, in agriculture or industry, result in the availability of more consumer goods in the short term. With a relatively sound base they have undertaken expenditure on larger, slower-yielding investment projects with a view to promoting a faster pace of development in the future. This emphasis, however, is not adequate in itself and has to be supplemented by corresponding fiscal and other measures. Such measures have an important bearing on the mobilisation and allocation of resources in a developing country.
- 13. The task of mobilising resources is a continuing one. Past experience in the area indicates that early emphasis is on mobilising resources for those projects which the government plans and directs, such as roads and other basic facilities. At the same time, it becomes necessary and desirable to maximise the efforts and productivity of all parts of the economy. It is essential, therefore, to bring forth, through training, administrative and financial measures, a more widespread initiative throughout the economy. This kind of initiative can be stimulated by a variety of means, including effective policies on the part of governments. Establishment or installation of basic facilities will support the economic efforts of individuals, groups and communities. Farm-to-market roads, for instance, will provide increased outlets for greater output by the individual producer. The assured availability of power can result in the establishment of industrial facilities by private resources. The availability of adequate financial facilities, or programmes of land reform, can provide incentives for the release of new energies in the agricultural and industrial sectors.
- 14. Development requires a variety of resources, the greater part of which has necessarily to be mobilized internally by the developing country itself. External capital has, however, made a significant contribution to development by supplying goods and services not available for mobilization domestically in the countries of South and South-East Asia. Capital to the Colombo Plan area has taken the form principally of grants and loans by governments, private foreign investment and loans from international financial

institutions. As economic advances are made in the area, opportunities arise for greater resort to private investment and to private and public lending agencies as sources of external capital.

15. This assessment of the problems and issues of the future which arises out of a review of the past tends to underscore the value of the Consultative Committee as a forum for an annual exchange of views. Experience this year indicates that the desirability of such consultation increases rather than diminishes as development progress is made in South and South-East Asia. The Committee clearly affords increasing opportunities for an increased interchange of experiences on common problems. As the Colombo Plan enters its sixth year, there is renewed courage, confidence and determination to move ahead in the economic betterment of South and South-East Asia. The record of achievement set forth in this Report gives reason to believe that, however great may be the difficulties ahead, they will be overcome.



VISITS IN MEXICO

Mr. D. S. Cole, Canadian Ambassador to Mexico, paid a recent visit to the States of Senalos and Sonora in Mexico's Pacific northwest and to the Mexican territory of Lower California. Seen above from left to right are Mr. C. O. R. Rousseau, Commercial Secretary at the Canadian Embassy; Mr. Cole; Mr. René Goudara, Mayor of Ciudad Obregon, and Mr. S. A. Freifeld, Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy.

# Canada in Indochina\*

On July 21, 1954, the Government of Canada was invited by the Geneva Conference on Indochina to designate representatives to serve with those of India and Poland as members of three Commissions to supervise the implementation of the armistice agreements that had been concluded for Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The Canadian Government accepted this unexpected invitation on July 27. Early in August a meeting of Canadian, Indian and Polish representatives in New Delhi led to the formal establishment of the Commissions in Hanoi, Vientiane and Phnom Penh respectively on August 11.

The Canadian Government did not accept its new responsibilities lightly. It was emphasized in public statements that membership on the three Commissions did not mean that Canada had been called upon to "guarantee or enforce" the cease-fire in Indochina nor did it involve any "military or collective security commitments" not previously undertaken by Canada as a member of the United Nations. The Government was under no illusions about the "magnitude and complexity of the task" but it was asserted,

"We know from experience . . . that just as local conflicts can become general war, so conditions of security and stability in any part of the world will serve the cause of peace everywhere. If, therefore, by participating in the work of these Indochina Commissions, Canada can assist in establishing such security and stability in Southeast Asia, we will be serving our country as well as the cause of peace."

The provision of about 160 carefully selected persons to staff the three Canadian Delegations in the field and a significant number to carry "Operation Indochina" in Ottawa has proved a real and continuing difficulty for both the Department of External Affairs and the Department of National Defence. At every level the military and non-military components of the three Canadian Delegations have had to build up a rather unique pattern of relations which could be maintained only by a high degree of good humour and tolerance for differing traditions and procedures. Relations with the other delegations have not always been easy with persons in each representing different national backgrounds as well as three different foreign policies sometimes labelled neutralism, communism and anti-communism. Not only has involvement in Indochina projected many Canadians into an area of direct conflict between Communists and non-Communists but also one in which the policies of major friendly nations, India, France and the United States, are often divergent and sometimes contradictory. Despite these and other difficulties most of the nearly four hundred Canadians who have served in Indochina have conducted themselves under trying climatic conditions and among strange and often hostile people (Under normal circumstances, nearly half of the Canadians in Indochina are serving in communist-controlled territories of North Vietnam and Northern Laos.) so as to enhance the international prestige of our nation and to provide positive evidence of its increasing maturity in world politics.

<sup>\*</sup>Reprinted from the "International Journal", Vol. XI, No. 4.

# Three Major Objectives

Within the framework of the Geneva Agreements, Canadian policy in Indochina has had three major objectives. First, there has been an overriding desire to prevent the resumption of hostilities in the region. In the second place. Canada has attempted to confine her responsibilities in Indochina to a reasonably restrictive reading of the Geneva Agreements. Our representatives have had no desire to play a general good-offices role in the area nor to urge on any of the four Indochinese states any particular measures not explicitly provided for in the various Agreements. In particular, the Canadian position has been that the Vietnam Commission has not within its present terms of reference any responsibilities in connection with the elections to unite the two zones of Vietnam as stipulated in the Final Declaration made by seven of the nine Powers participating in the Geneva Conference. Similarly, Canada has used its influence to prevent the Commissions becoming involved in the border disputes between Cambodia and South Vietnam which have arisen in recent months. Thirdly, Canada has attempted to carry out her obligations in Indochina in such a way as to complicate as little as possible her relations with major friendly powers with interests in the region, notably the United States, France and India. Although our policy has on several occasions diverged from each of these nations, there has been no time at which such disagreements have prevented full and frank discussions of Indochinese problems with the representatives of these powers in Indochina, in Ottawa and in their national capitals.

The "judicial, supervisory and mediatory" work of the three Commissions is often somewhat impeded by the fact that the delegations come from nations with different foreign policy orientations. In a sense, it seems clear from the composition of the Commissions that Canada is expected to "represent" Western and anti-communist interests and our representatives in the field quite naturally do not divest themselves of their cultural background as citizens of a Western democracy. On the other hand the Canadian Government has not interpreted its role in Indochina as requiring it to pursue a course of slavish advocacy of the actions of non-communist powers in the region or an automatic condemnation of all communist actions.

Cambodia has been called the "success story of the Geneva Conference." Unlike South Vietnam and Laos, on whose behalf the respective Agreements were signed by France, the Cambodian Government wielded a significant amount of influence at Geneva and was successful in gaining fairly favourable terms. In particular, the Cambodian Agreement provided that the indigenous communist elements—the Khmer Resistance Forces—should be demobilized on the spot and the political settlement was to consist of these persons being accorded by the Government a full amnesty for their conduct in the past and the opportunity to be accepted into the national community on the same terms as other citizens. In its Fourth Interim Report to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference in October, 1955, the Cambodian Commission declared that by giving the ex-resistants equal rights in the recent national elections the Cambodian Government had discharged its political responsibilities under the Agreement. The Commission is now limited in its functions to the routine duties of checking the passage of war materials and military personnel to and from Cambodia and since December, 1955, has, progressively reduced its strength by the dissolution of inspection teams.

# **Explosive Situation**

The situation in Laos, the most isolated and least-populated of the Indochina states, has remained explosive and a stable armistice has never been attained throughout the nation. Article 14 of the Agreement for the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos provided inter alia that "pending a political settlement" the indigenous Communist forces—The Fighting Units of Pathet Lao—should be regrouped in the nation's two northern provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua. Article 19 of the Agreement provided that during this transition period each of the parties was to respect the territory under the military control of the other. The Pathet Lao have claimed from the first that the Agreement has given them rights to exclusive control of the whole of the two provinces prior to a political settlement. The Royal Laotian Government has advanced the counter-claim that it has the right to maintain and reinforce the military positions it held at the time the Agreement was signed so long as it does not attack the Pathet Lao. Because of disagreements within the Commission, the Canadian and Polish representatives supporting the broad Royal Laotian Government's and Pathet Lao viewpoints respectively and the Indians unwilling to come down on either side of the dispute, the Commission itself has not given an authoritative interpretation of the rights of the parties under the Agreement. Since August, 1954, Pathet Lao and Royal Laotian Government troops have been in close proximity at several positions in the northern provinces and sporadic fighting has been almost inevitable.

The attempt to attain a stable armistice in northern Laos has been bedevilled from the start by the failure of the parties to progress toward a political settlement which would restore the effective control of the Royal Laotian Government throughout the northern provinces. In a series of political conferences between representatives of the Pathet Lao and Royal Laotian Government which lasted through most of 1955 the Communists made it abundantly clear that they had no real intention of accepting conditions which would result in the demobilization of their forces in Phong Saly and Sam Neua and the subsequent reintegration of ex-members of the resistance into the Laotian national community. The failure of the Pathet Lao to take steps to liquidate the status which under the Geneva Agreements was meant to be a transitional one has embittered relations between the parties and has been the key factor in frustrating the attainment of a stable armistice in Laos. The Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao have entered into a whole series of general and local cease-fire agreements with varying degrees of Commission assistance but each of these arrangements has been based on the assumption that an early political settlement would take place. As prospects for a negotiated political settlement have dimmed, the Royal Laotian Government has become progressively less interested in considering measures providing for an effective separation of the opposing forces which might well lead to a permanent partition of the nation in contravention of the Geneva Agreement.

Canadian policy in Laos for the past year has been based on the recognition that a stable cease-fire in the north was improbable unless and until steps were taken to restore the effective control of the Royal Laotian Government over the northern provinces and that on the basis of past performance the two parties were unlikely to reach such a settlement without decisive Commission action. On May 24, 1955, the then Canadian Commissioner in

Laos, Mr. Léon Mayrand, introduced a draft resolution in the Commission calling for the immediate re-establishment of the Royal Administration in Phong Saly and Sam Neua. Unfortunately, neither the Indian nor the Polish Delegations was willing to support such decisive Commission action. On January 7, 1956, the present Canadian Commissioner, Mr. Paul Bridle, supported a Resolution passed by the Commission with Polish abstention calling upon the parties to enter into negotiations within twenty-eight days with the object of reaching the political settlement envisaged in the Geneva Agreement, including the immediate restoration of Royal Government authority in the northern provinces. The Royal Laotian Government promptly accepted the terms of the resolution and the representatives of the Pathet Lao rejected it.

Officers of the Canadian Army serving in the two northern provinces of Laos have had perhaps a more difficult and frustrating assignment than any of their compatriots in Indochina. This part of the country is rugged and primitive and particularly in the monsoon season, which lasts from June to October, supply by air from Vientiane is uncertain. The major cause of frustration, however, has come from the campaign of harrassment, obstruction and violence against Commission teams by the Pathet Lao. At best, freedom of movement of Commission personnel in Pathet Lao-controlled areas is narrowly restricted and in several recent instances the Communist troops have resorted to physical humiliation and intimidation of team members. Canadian frustration stems also from the fact that while it has proved possible for the Commission to check the passage of war materials to and from parts of the nation under control of the Royal Laotian Government (and the Government has established a commendable pattern of co-operation with the Commission in this respect), there have never been procedures devised to investigate charges that the Pathet Lao in contravention of the Geneva Agreement received substantial military assistance from neighboring Communist North Vietnam.

#### Vietnam Commission

The purely military phases of the Geneva Agreement for the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam have been implemented in a relatively satisfactory manner and it has been those parts of the settlement which can be classed broadly-speaking as "political" which have most exercised the Vietnam Commission. During the three hundred day period ending on May 18, 1955, the French and Communist troops regrouped on their respective sides of the seventeenth parallel. The fact that the normal administrative fixtures and services were transferred by the outgoing to the incoming military forces in cases where this was necessary with relatively little dislocation was due in large part to the mediation of the International Commission. The supervision of the demilitarized area dividing North and South Vietnam and of war materials and military personnel passing into and out of each zone have proved continuing tasks of the Vietnam Commission. In the latter connection, the problems encountered in North and South Vietnam are very different: whereas almost all men and materials coming into the South do so through a small number of sea-bases and airports at which it has proved possible to establish supervision by Commission teams, military aid coming to North Vietnam will naturally come by land from China and the Commission has never been able to devise a satisfactory system of control of the China-North Vietnam border. An effective cease-fire has been attained in Vietnam, although in the long run the maintenance of the Armistice may well depend on the reaching of more satisfactory solutions to outstanding political problems between the two Vietnamese regimes than has hitherto been attained.

Some of the most troublesome work of the Vietnam Commission has revolved around the so-called "14(c) cases." Article 14(c) of the Agreement for the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam provided: "Each party undertakes to refrain from any reprisals or discrimination against persons or organizations on account of their activities during the hostilities and to guarantee their democratic liberties." The fact that the Commission has no authority over the legal procedures of either zone, the difficulties inherent in trying to determine whether measures taken against individuals were solely a result of their political activities prior to the cease-fire and the limited resources of the Commission to investigate the very large number of complaints under the Article have made the supervision of its implementation far from satisfactory. The task of the Commission in this regard has been further complicated by the refusal of the Government of South Vietnam, the administration in control of the territory south of the seventeenth parallel, to assume formal legal responsibilities under the Agreement.

One of the persistent concerns of the Vietnam Commission up to July 20, 1955, was supervision of the implementation of that part of the Cease-Fire Agreement which provided that on the three hundred day period after the cease-fire each Vietnamese citizen had the right to decide whether he wished to live in North or South Vietnam. The Communist Government of North Vietnam in its attempt to frustrate this aspect of the Agreement resorted to an apparently co-ordinated campaign of obstruction against persons wishing to move to the South and against the Commission itself. By devising a cumbersome system for exit permits, by failing to provide adequate transport for refugees wishing to leave the North and by resort to physical intimidation of those who wished to change their zone of residence, an atmosphere of "suspicion, fear and rumour" was maintained in which the free movement of persons as provided for under the Agreement was severely hampered. The Communists also denied Commission teams access to refugees in North Vietnam and effective Commission investigation of complaints that persons were being denied the right to choose their zone of residence was impossible. Communist obstructionism also included the presentation to the Commission of about 320,000 petitions from individuals in the North charging that friends and relatives had moved to South Vietnam under pressure. Commission investigation of this kind of charge in which some twenty-five thousand refugees in the South were contacted proved the allegations of pressure to be groundless. In spite of Communist intimidation, 892,876 Vietnamese moved from North to South Vietnam in the period ending July 20, 1955, most of them by means other than those provided by the Communist authorities. The Canadian Delegation deserves great credit for their resolute stand on behalf of those Vietnamese wishing to exercise their right to change their zone of residence. In the Commission's Third Interim Report, a minority Canadian note called special attention to the non-fulfilment of this phase of the Agreement. In the Fourth Interim Report was contained a lengthy and well-documented Canadian minority statement recording Communist obstruction and intimidation of refugees wishing to move to the South and of the obstruction of Commission teams attempting to investigate alleged denials of the right to freedom of movement. Partly as a consequence of the minority Canadian note in the

Third Interim Report the period in which citizens of one zone could opt to move to the other was extended from May 18 to July 20, 1955.

# Major Difficulty

One of the major difficulties faced by the Vietnam Commission from the first has revolved around the failure of the Government of South Vietnam to assume formal legal obligations under the Cease-Fire Agreement. The Diem Government did not sign the Agreement and since the time of the Geneva Conference has been openly hostile to the settlement that was concluded by France. The Commission has thus been faced with an anomalous situation in which the French High Command has had legal responsibilities for the implementation of the Agreement in the area south of the 17th Parallel which has been under the control of the Ngo Dinh Diem Administration. The problem became particularly acute in the spring of 1956 when the French Government announced that at the request of the South Vietnam Government the French High Command, the agency through which the Commander-in-Chief of the French Union Forces had discharged his obligations under the Agreement, was to be withdrawn from the South on April 28. Although the Diem Government has offered certain forms of de facto co-operation with the Commission, a public statement by Diem on April 6, 1956, made clear that the Government was not at that time willing to assume formal legal obligations under the Agreement. The statement declared that, although South Vietnam was not bound by the Agreement, it would co-operate with the Commission "As an organization working for peace." Diem asserted that he himself was working for the peaceful unification of Vietnam and was prepared to see his country participate in free general elections for that purpose when conditions of real liberty existed in the North. However, the Premier did not retreat from his previous position that his Government would refuse to participate with the Communists in the Joint Commission, which under the Agreement has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of the cease-fire. Although the Canadian Government has long recognized the unsatisfactory and anomalous situation arising from the failure of the Government of South Vietnam to assume formal legal responsibilities under the Geneva Agreement, it has been the Canadian hope that some ad hoc solution could be devised so that the cease-fire in Vietnam will be maintained.

# **Important Evolution**

As this is written it is impossible to foresee when the onerous responsibilities assumed by Canada in the summer of 1954 will end. The history of other recent truce commissions in Korea, Israel and Kashmir shows the difficulty of terminating the work of such bodies when the areas in which they operate are still troubled and the Geneva Agreements do not provide any explicit procedure for the dissolution of the Indochina Commissions. Whatever the duration of Canadian responsibilities in Indochina, the spirit in which these responsibilities were accepted and carried out marks an important evolution in the nation's increasing maturity in world politics. It must not be forgotten that only two decades ago most Canadians felt that they lived, internationally-speaking, in a "fireproof house." Today with almost no dissenting voices heard we have moved to a frank recognition that instability anywhere menaces our own interests and have been willing to accept the burdens and frustrations of an onerous assignment in an area of the world as remote as any other from our previous interests and concern.

# APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. F. Charpentier, MBE, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, to Ottawa, effective February 2, 1957.
- Mr. G. R. Harman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Prague, effective February 8, 1957.
- Mr. J. R. Sharpe posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective February 8, 1957.
- Mr. A. R. Kilgour, MBE, posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective February 13, 1957.
- Mr. S. M. Scott posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, to Ottawa, effective February 13, 1957.
- Mr. B. M. Williams, Canadian Commissioner, posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective February 16, 1957.
- Mr. D. L. Dolan appointed Canadian Consul General at Los Angeles. Proceeded to Los Angeles February 18, 1957.
- Mr. S. Grey appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective February 18, 1957.
- Mr. T. Le M. Carter, MC, appointed Canadian Commissioner to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina. Proceeded to Indochina February 22, 1957.
- Mr. E. T. Galpin posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to Ottawa, effective February 22, 1957.
- Mr. R. M. Middleton posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, effective February 28, 1957.
- Mr. J. B. Seaborn posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective February 28, 1957.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\* A Selected List

- a) Printed documents:
- Special report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, covering the period 1 Nov. 1956 to mid-Dec. 1956. A/3212/Add.1. N.Y., 1956. 5 p. GAOR: Eleventh session, Supplement No. 14A.
- United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1956. Report on Nauru; together with related documents. T/1279. N.Y., 1956. 32 p. Trusteeship Council Official Records: Eighteenth session (7 June-14 August 1956), Supplement No. 4.
- Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1954. Papers: Vol. III. E/CONF/13/415. 906 p. (Eng.-Fr.-Spanish). Sales No: 1955. XIII.8 (Vol. 111). Price: \$1.50.
- Ibid. Papers: Vol. IV. E/CONF.13/416. 1073 p. (Eng.-Fr.-Spanish). Sales No. 1955.XIII.8 (Vol.IV). Price: \$1.50.
- Glossary of hydrologic terms used in Asia and the Far East. Flood Control Series No. 10. Bangkok, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, 1956. ST/ECAFE/SER.F/10. 38 p. Sales No. 1956. IIF.7. Price: \$1.40.
- \* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications. The Ryerson Press. 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax, McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto: University of British Columbia Book Store, Van-couver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec, Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents, University of Toronto Press. Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

Housing, Building, Planning: an international film catalogue. ST/SOA/SER.H/5. N.Y., U.N. Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, 1956. 246 p. Sales No. 1956.IV.8. Price: \$2.50.

TTO

Year Book of Labour Statistics 1956. Sixteenth edition. 503 p. (Eng.-Fr.-Spanish). Geneva, 1956. Price: \$5.00.

#### b) Mimeographed documents:

GATT

Draft sixth protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. 344 p. (Eng.-Fr.) Geneva, March 1957.

#### TREATY INFORMATION

**Current Action** 

#### Multilateral

Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals. Signed by Canada February 9, 1957.

Convention on the Nationality of Married Women. Signed by Canada February 20, 1957.

#### Publication

#### Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 17.

Exchange of Notes (February 7, August 2 and 15, 1955) between Canada and Israel respecting the waiving on a reciprocal basis of non-immigrant visa fees.

#### Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 18.

Exchange of Notes (September 22, 1955) between Canada and the United States of America regarding a proposal by the United States Government to construct a petroleum products pipeline between the United States Air Force Dock at St-John's and Pepperrell Air Force Base in Newfoundland.

# CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina	Ambassador	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
	Acting High Commissioner	
	.Commercial Counsellor	Melbourne (83 William St.)
4.6	.Commercial Counsellor	Sydney ("Berger House", 82 Elizabeth
Austria	.Ambassador	Vienna 1 (Kärntnerring 5)
Belgian Congo	Trade Commissioner	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium	.Ambassador	Brussels 4 (35, rue de la Science)
		Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
	Consul and Trade Commissioner	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon	High Commissioner	Abril, 252) Colombo (6 Gregory's Rd., Cinnamon Gardens)
Chile	Ambassador	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia	Ambassador	Bogota (Edificio Henry Faux, Avenida
		Limonaz da Quasada No. 7 25)
		Havana (Edificio Ambar Motors, Avenida Menocal No. 16)
Czechoslovakia	.Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Prague 2 (Krakovská 22)
Denmark	.Ambassador	Prague 2 (Krakovská 22) Copenhagen (Trondhjems Plads No. 4)
Dominican Republic	Ambassador (Absent)	Ciudad Truiillo (Edificio Copello 410
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Calle El Conde)Cairo (6 Sharia Rustom, Garden City)
		Cairo (6 Sharia Rustom, Garden City)
	.Trade Commissioner	Salisbury (Central Africa Bldg., First
Finland	Minister (Absent)	Street and Gordon Ave.)Helsinki (Borgmastarbrinken 3-C. 32)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
	Ambassador	
Germany	Ambassador	Bonn (Zitelmannstrasse, 22) Berlin (Perthshire Block, Olympic
		Stadium (British Sector) R A O R 2)
"	.Consul	Hamburg 1 (Ferdinandstrasse 69)
Greece	.Ambassador	Athens (31 avenue Vassilissis Sofias)
		Guatemala City (5a Avenida Sud 10-68)
Haiti	.Ambassador (Absent)	Port-au-Prince (Route du Canapé Vert,
T'T TE	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	St. Louis de Turgeau)  Victoria (Hong Kong and Shanghai
		Banking Corporation Bldg.)
		Oslo, Norway (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India	.High Commissioner	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
		Bombay (Gresham Assurance House, Mint Road)
Indonesia	.Ambassador	Djakarta (Djalan Budi Kemuliaan 6)
Ireland	.Ambassador	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Israel	.Ambassador (Absent)	Tel Aviv (Farmers' Bldg., 8 Rehov
Itala	Chargé d'Affaires a.i. Ambassador	Hakirya)
Jamaica	Trade Commissioner	Kome (Via G.B. de Rossi, 27) Kingston (Barclays Bank Bldg., King
Japan	.Ambassador	St.)Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3-Chome,
		Akasaka Minato-ku) Beirut (Immeuble Alpha, rue Clemen-
	Charge d'Affaires a i	60311)
Luxembourg	Minister.	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
		Mexico I, D.F. (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands	.Ambassador	The Hague (Sophialaan 5 and 7)
New Zealand	High Commissioner	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg., Custom House Quay) Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Norway	.Ambassador	Oslo (Fridtjot Nansens Plass 5)
rakistan	High Commissioner	Karachi (Hotel Metropole, Victoria Road)

Peru	Ambassador	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
	Consul General and	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)
Poland	Chargé d'Affaires	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska
1 Oittiid	onarge a riman community	Kepa) Lisbon (Rua Marques da Fronteira
Portugal	Ambassador	Lisbon (Rua Marques da Fronteira
		No. 8)
Singapore	Trade Commissioner	Singapore (Rocm E-3, Union Building)
		Madrid (Èdificio España, Place de
Swadon	Ambassador	España 2) Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland	Ambassador	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad	Trade Commissioner	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse) Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg., 72 South
		Onav)
Turkey	Ambassador	Ankara (Müdafaai Huduk Caddesi,
		No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Afric	a.High Commissioner	Pretoria (Suite 65, Kerry Bldg., 238
11 11 11	Tue de Commissiones	Vermeulen St.)Cape Town (Norwich House Heeren-
		ama aht)
	Trade Commissioner	Johannesburg (Mutual Bldg., 39
	71440 0011111100101101	Harrison St.)
Union of Soviet		,
Socialist Republic	sAmbassador	Moscow (23 Starokonyushenny
	*** 1 0	Pereulok)
United Kingdom	High Commissioner	London (Canada House)
	Trade Commissioner	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)  Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of	I rade Commissioner	Belfast (30 Victoria Square)
America	Ambassador	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Ave
America		Washington (1746 Massachusetts Ave. N W)
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America	Consul General	N.W.)Boston (532 Little Bldg.)Chicago (Suite 1412, Garland Bldg.,
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<sup>\*</sup>Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



April 1957 Vol. 9 No. 4

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



Egerton Herbert Norman, Ph.D. 1909-1957

Died in Cairo April 4, 1957.

Entering the Department of External Affairs in 1939, Mr. Norman served Canada with distinction in a number of important posts. Appointed Canadian Ambassador to Egypt in September 1956, he immediately became directly concerned in the Middle East events of last autumn. Before going to Cairo Mr. Norman had served from 1953 as High Commissioner to New Zealand. Mr. Norman had also been Acting Canadian Permanent Delegate to the United Nations, and Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission in Tokyo. Born in Japan, Mr. Norman was educated at the Universities of Toronto, Cambridge and Harvard. He is survived by his wife, the former Irene Clark.

Paying tribute to Mr. Norman in the House of Commons April 4, Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, said, in part: "For 18 years Mr. Herbert Norman served his country as an official of the Department of External Affairs with loyalty, devotion and ability. During that time all his actions served only to confirm and strengthen my faith in and my admiration for him".

# The Birth of Ghana

# By G. C. McInnes

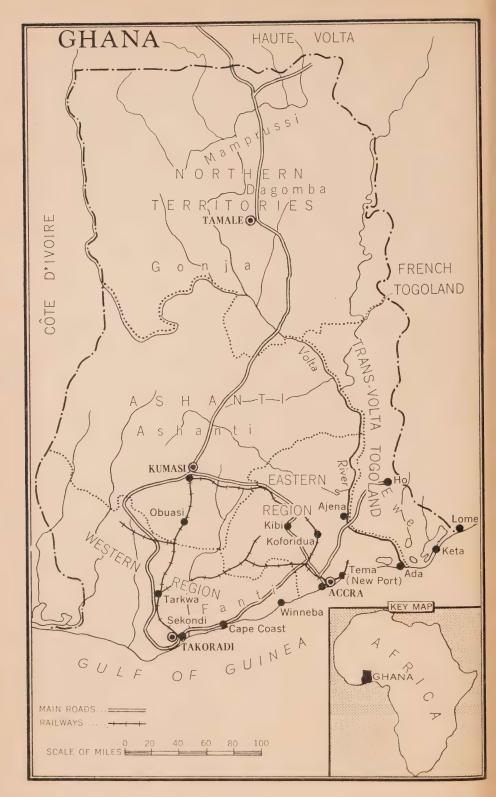
(Head of the Commonwealth Division, Department of External Affairs, and political advisor to the Special Envoy from Canada to the Ghana Independence Celebrations)

At midnight on March 5-6, 1957 the former United Kingdom colony of the Gold Coast became a free and independent member of the Commonwealth under the name of Ghana.\* The proclamation from the Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, announcing the dissolution of the National Assembly of the Gold Coast had been read with grave imperturbability by the Speaker, Sir Emmanuel Quist, against a mounting roar from outside of turbulent cheering voices, popping fire-crackers, beating drums and twanging automobile horns. The House, with equal imperturbability, remained seated. The members looked, in their magnificent robes of brilliantly woven kente cloth, like nothing so much as black Roman Senators. But as soon as the Speaker had finished the members rose and in a great wave of enthusiasm chaired the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwane Nkrumah, and carried him on their shoulders out into a great public square. Here in the hushed and breathless night he addressed a crowd of more than fifty thousand Ghanaians and told them that their struggle for freedom was ended and that from now on how they conducted themselves would affect not only Ghana but the whole of Africa.

This mixture of gay and vivid enthusiasm and of responsible sobriety marked all the Independence ceremonies which lasted from March 2 to 10, principally in Accra the capital, but also in other cities and villages throughout the country. They marked the end of colonial rule and the establishment of Ghana as a free and independent nation within the Commonwealth. Less than a week later Ghana was admitted, under the sponsorship of its sister Commonwealth countries, into the United Nations. It was extraordinary to recall that six years prior to this date Dr. Nkrumah had been in jail together with some of the principal members of the present cabinet of Ghana. Equally extraordinary was it to recall that as recently as six months ago serious doubts had been entertained as to whether it would be possible for Dr. Nkrumah's Convention Peoples' Party to compose sufficiently its differences with regional separatist elements in time to make Ghana an independent nation that would be both politically stable and economically viable.

Both the swift but orderly and constitutional march to Independence, and the problems of reconciling separatist tendencies which still remain, are symbolic of the new Ghana. Equally symbolic was the part played by the Governor (now the Governor-General) Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, in supervising the United Kingdom's act of withdrawal which, in the best and greatest traditions of metropolitan tutelage, paved the way for the emergence of a new democratic nation.

<sup>\*</sup>The name of an ancient West African Kingdom on the central Niger. Its flag is three bands of red, saffron and green, with the lodestar of African independence on the saffron field.



### Canada Represented

A group of Canadians was privileged to witness these ceremonies as members of the party accompanying Mr. George Prudham, Minister of Mines and Technical Surveys, who had been designated Special Envoy from Canada to the Ghana Independence Celebrations and who, with his wife, represented Canada upon this occasion. The Minister and Mrs. Prudham were accompanied by their elder daughter, Catherine, by the writer, and by three members of Mr. Prudham's secretarial staff, Mr. D. W. Thomson, Mr. Bruce Powe, and Mrs. Kaye Adams. Also present were a party of pressmen which included Mr. Robert Taylor, Toronto Daily Star; Mr. Arthur Holland, Toronto Telegram; Mr. James McCook, Ottawa Journal; Mr. Pierre Chaloult, Le Droit, Ottawa; Mr. Michael Maclear and Mr. Robert Crone of the CBC Television Service. The party flew to Accra and back in an RCAF North Star aircraft, following a route Ottawa-Gander-Lajes (Azores)-Dakar (French West Africa)-Accra-Dakar - Gibraltar - London - Keflavik (Iceland) - Goose Bay - Ottawa. Upon arrival in Accra, the party was met by Dr. O. E. Ault, Director of Planning of the Civil Service Commission of Canada, who was in Ghana on a United Nations Technical Mission on manpower requirements; by Sir Robert Jackson, Chairman of the Volta River Preparatory Commission; and by Dr. R. Grimes-Graeme, representing the Aluminum Company of Canada. The hospitality arrangements by the Ghana authorities were both generous and efficient.

The proceedings in Accra had been superbly planned with much foresight by British and Ghanaians combined, and they centred on the presence of HRH the Duchess of Kent, representing The Queen. Other distinguished visitors from over ninety nations and dependent territories included the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon; the Lord Privy Seal of the United Kingdom, the Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler; the Minister of State Farms for the U.S.S.R., Mr. Benediktov; the Minister of Defence for Australia, Mr. Osborne; the Prime Minister of Tunis, Mr. Bourguiba; Dr. Ralph Bunche representing the Secretary-General of the United Nations; and many others.

#### Sense of Exhilaration

Even a full enumeration of the many brilliant functions does not begin to do justice to the sense of exhilaration pervading Accra. Among the high points were a festival of drums and dancing by tribal dancers of the Northern Territories, Togoland and Ashanti, and a regatta featuring surf-boats manned by porters of the local lighterage companies. These stalwart manhandled 160pound bags of cocoa into the boats which then went plunging into the surf powered by eight oarsmen, each wielding three-pronged oars, in a mad race to get to the cargo vessels moored in Accra Roads. There was a convocation at the University of Ghana where the Duchess of Kent was presented with an honorary degree. There were receptions and a garden party given by the Governor-General, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, and his wife at Christiansborg Castle. This is a stately battlemented building erected by the Danes in the late seventeenth century. The surf breaks at the foot of its whitewashed stone walls and cocoanut palms wave in the gardens. There was a magnificent State Banquet in the new Ambassador Hotel, which had been especially built for the occasion; and on the morning of March 6, a State Opening by the Duchess of Kent of the first Parliament of Ghana. This was followed the

same evening by a ball at the new State House, which reached its climax when the Prime Minister of Ghana in his *kente* cloth danced a *pas-de-deux* with the Duchess of Kent in diamonds and a superb white ball gown. Nor could one ever forget the memorable moment when the new Freedom Monument was officially illuminated for the first time and a great sigh of delight and approval surged through the expectant African crowd.

The city of Accra, with a normal population of about 135,000, was swollen to over a quarter of a million by the influx of visitors, but the traffic was expertly handled by the militia and the Ghana police. Enormous grandstands had been erected from "Dexion" meccano-type detachable steel bars which, after dismantling, will be used to erect schools, community centres and houses through Ghana. The streets were festooned with scores of yards of bunting, and in the smaller centres the same spirit of festivity was in evidence. The United Kingdom provided three *Valiant* jet bombers and two cruisers, the Australians three *Neptune* bombers, and the Governor of Portuguese Guinea a gunboat.



PRIME MINISTER HONOURED

Mr. George Prudham, Canada's Special Envoy to Ghana Independence Celebrations, presents silver cigarette box to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana. Honourable Kojo Botsio, Minister of Trade and Labour, looks on. In background, Graham McInnes, Department of External Affairs, Canada;

A. L. Adu, Department of External Affairs, Ghana.

Occasion was dinner given by Mr. Prudham to Prime Minister of Ghana.

# Canadian Envoy Host

The Canadian Special Envoy and Mrs. Prudham attended all the main functions and, in addition, the Minister entertained at two dinners and a reception on behalf of the Canadian Government. On March 7 he gave a reception at the Government Hospitality Bungalow for 140 guests, including cabinet ministers, senior civil servants, members of the business community, church, law, and local Canadians. On March 10 he gave a private male dinner in honour of Dr. Nkrumah and his two senior cabinet ministers, Mr. Kojo Botsio and Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, At this dinner a contemporary Canadian painting\* was presented to Dr. Nkrumah on behalf of the Canadian Government and people, while the Prime Minister and his two colleagues received engraved silver cigarette boxes and smaller boxes were given to senior civil servants. Gifts of Canadian maps and sets of Canadian books were also made to the Department of Education and to a number of local hospitals and technical institutes. On March 11 Mr. Prudham gave a small dinner for the Ghanaian aides who had been assigned to the party and presented them with personal gifts in appreciation of their services.

On March 4 Mr. Prudham paid a personal call on Dr. Nkrumah. He presented a letter of introduction from Mr. St. Laurent couched in terms of warm friendship which was reciprocated with equal warmth. Dr. Nkrumah expressed great goodwill towards Canada and voiced the hope that its trade with Ghana would increase. Mr. Prudham also had a brief interview with the Minister of Communications, Mr. Casely-Hayford, who suggested that Canada might be able to help toward improving Ghana's agricultural methods.

On March 8 and 9 the Minister and the male members of his party visited Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti. In contrast to the open Accra plain, the journey was now through hilly, thickly forested country where trees with great buttresses rose two hundred feet into the humid sky, trailing liana vines and giving shelter to the cocoa trees which provide the chief wealth of Ghana. The principal purpose of the call was to pay the respects of the party to the Asantehene, the paramount Chief of the region, Otumfuo Sir Agyeman Prempeh II. He received Mr. Prudham in his palace—a modest whitewashed villa—and was presented with a silver engraved cigarette box. During the visit to Kumasi the party also inspected a sawmill and a gold mine and attended a garden party given by the Chief Regional Officer and a reception by the Kumasi Chamber of Commerce. During their absence Mrs. Prudham officially opened the annual fair of the Accra Women's Institute.

Mr. Prudham and certain members of his party also visited the site of the proposed Volta River Power Project at Ajena, about 75 miles north-east of Accra. The visit was arranged through the courtesy of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Aluminium Limited, and the engineers, Sir William Halcrow and Partners, and was under the guidance of Sir Robert Jackson. The party inspected the new single arch bridge over the Volta River at Kpong and made a brief excursion to Togoland. One member of the party, Mr. Pierre Chaloult, accompanied some members of the Canadian order of the White Fathers up to Tamale, the capital of the Northern Territories, and crossed the border into the French Territory of Haute Volta.

<sup>\*</sup>Fall Colours, Mount Royal by Stanley Cosgrove.

# Fitting Climax

The general impression of the Canadian party was that the celebrations themselves were a fitting and indeed an exhilarating climax to the swift years of hard-fought negotiation. Undoubtedly political and economic difficulties lie ahead of the new nation. These are principally the necessity to arrive at some reasonable compromise with regional separatists, and to provide for an economy which will be less cripplingly dependent on the vagaries of the world cocoa market. Nevertheless, the impression gained was that the parting between Ghana and the United Kingdom had been made with the greatest goodwill on both sides; that Ghana was very friendly to the West and was likely to remain so, particularly if the West were prepared to recognise and give substance to a reciprocal relationship; and that under the leadership of Dr. Nkrumah, the new nation is likely to follow a policy in which the pursuit of African nationalist ideals will be combined with a responsible regard for the economic well-being of Ghana.



GIFT TO GHANA

Mr. George Prudham, Minister of Mines and Technical Surveys, Canada's envoy to the ceremonies marking Ghana's acquisition of independent status within the Commonwealth, presents a Canadian painting to the Prime Minister of Ghana, Hon. Kwame Nkrumah.

The painting, "Fall Colours Mount Royal", by Stanley Cosgrove, is a gift from Canada to the Government and people of Ghana.

# **Bermuda Conference**

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Harold Macmillan, conferred with Mr. Eisenhower and with Mr. St. Laurent at meetings held in Bermuda during the latter half of March. Following are the texts of the communiqués which were issued after each meeting:

I

# Meeting in Bermuda of the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

March 21 to March 23, 1957

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, assisted by the United States Secretary of State and the British Foreign Secretary and other advisers, have exchanged views during the past three days on many subjects of mutual concern.

They have conducted their discussions with the freedom and frankness permitted to old friends in a world of growing interdependence. They recognize their responsibility to seek to co-ordinate their foreign policies in the interests of peace and justice.

Among the subjects discussed in detail were common problems concerning the Middle East, Far East, NATO, European co-operation, the reunification of Germany, and defense.

The President and the Prime Minister are well satisfied with the results of this conference, at which a number of decisions have been taken. They intend to continue the exchange of views so well begun.

The agreements and conclusions reached on the main subjects discussed at the conference are annexed.

#### Annex I

1

Recognition of the value of collective security pacts within the framework of the United Nations and the special importance of NATO for both countries as the corner-stone of their policy in the West.

2

Reaffirmation of common interest in the development of European unity within the Atlantic community.

3

Agreement on the importance of closer association of the United Kingdom with Europe.

4

Agreement on the benefits likely to accrue for European and world trade from the plans for the common market and the free trade area, provided they do not lead to a high tariff bloc, and on the desirability that all countries should pursue liberal trade policies.

5

Willingness of the United States under authority of the recent Middle East joint resolution to participate actively in the work of the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact.

Reaffirmation of intention to support the right of the German people to early reunification in peace and freedom.

7

Sympathy for the people of Hungary, condemnation of repressive Soviet policies towards the peoples of Eastern Europe, and of Soviet defiance of relevant United Nations resolutions.

8

Agreement on the need for the speedy implementation of recent resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly dealing with the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba.

9

Agreement on the importance of compliance both in letter and in spirit with the Security Council resolution of Oct. 13 concerning the Suez Canal and on support for the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a settlement in accordance with its provisions.

10

Joint declaration on policy regarding nuclear tests (see Annex II).

11

Agreement in principle that in the interest of mutual defense and mutual economy certain guided missiles will be made available by the United States for use by British forces.

### Annex II

1

For a long time our two Governments have been attempting to negotiate with the Soviet Union under the auspices of the United Nations Disarmament Commission an effective agreement for comprehensive disarmament. We are continuing to seek such an agreement in the current disarmament discussions in London. In the absence of such an agreement, the security of the free world must continue to depend to a marked degree upon the nuclear deterrent. To maintain this, effectively continued nuclear testing is required, certainly for the present.

2

We recognize, however, that there is sincere concern that continued nuclear testing may increase world radiation to levels which might be harmful. Studies by independent scientific organizations confirm our belief that this will not happen so long as testing is continued with due restraint. Moreover, the testing program has demonstrated the feasibility of greatly reducing world-wide fall-out from large nuclear explosions.

3

Over the past months our Governments have considered various proposed methods of limiting tests. We have now concluded together that, in the absence of more general nuclear control agreements of the kind which we have been and are seeking, a test limitation agreement could not today be effectively enforced for technical reasons, nor could breaches of it be surely detected. We believe, nevertheless, that even before a general agreement is reached self-imposed restraint can and should be exercised by nations which conduct tests.

4

Therefore, on behalf of our two Governments we declare our intention to continue to conduct nuclear tests only in such manner as will keep world radiation from rising to more than a small fraction of the levels that might be hazardous. We look to the Soviet Union to exercise a similar restraint.

5

We shall continue our general practice of publicly announcing our test series well in advance of their occurrence, with information as to their location and general timing. We would be willing to register with the United Nations advance notice of our intention to conduct future nuclear tests and to permit limited international observation of such tests if the Soviet Union would do the same.

# Meeting in Bermuda of the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and Canada

March 25 and 26, 1957



The Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and of Canada met in Bermuda on 25th-26th March. Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. Mr. St. Laurent was accompanied by Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

In the course of their talks the Canadian Ministers noted with satisfaction the results of the Anglo-American meeting of 21st to 23rd March. They welcomed, in particular, the joint declaration on nuclear tests as a contribution towards an international solution of this problem.

The Ministers discussed the steps which might be taken to secure acceptable settlements of the short-term problems in the Middle East. They also reviewed a number of less immediate political and economic questions in this area.

Views were exchanged on a number of questions concerning Europe and the North Atlantic Alliance. Canadian Ministers expressed their interest in proposals for the closer association of the United Kingdom with Europe. A discussion was held on the consequences for Canadian trade of the plans for a common market and a free trade area in Europe and on other trade and financial questions of common concern to the United Kingdom and Canada.

The Ministers recognised the need to strengthen and improve the working of the United Nations as an instrument for preserving peace with justice.

A contract was approved (see Annex) which will assure over a period of years the supply of uranium needed for the expanded nuclear power programme recently announced by the United Kingdom Government.

A restricted session was held on defence questions.

This meeting has again demonstrated the value of the family relationship between the peoples of the Commonwealth, and the close and continuous co-operation between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Canada. While there may from time to time appear to be differences in their approach or reaction to international developments, the two Governments are confident that their special relationship will always enable them to work together effectively with a constructive purpose.

#### Annex

During the meeting approval was given to a large-scale contract for the purchase of uranium which will greatly assist in carrying out the expanded nuclear power programme of the United Kingdom. Under this contract the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority will purchase, during the next five years, uranium to the value of about \$115,000,000 from the Canadian Government agency (Eldorado Mining and Refining Limited) which in turn has entered into purchase contracts with Canadian mining companies. This contract has been worked out with the co-operation of the United States Atomic Energy Commission and is similar in terms to the contracts by which that Commission purchases uranium from the same agency.

The Ministers also discussed arrangements to supply United Kingdom requirements of uranium fuel after this five-year period and agreed that further discussions on this matter should proceed between the agencies concerned.

# NATO's 8th Anniversary

The following is a statement made April 4 by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty:

Today is the eighth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, establishing that Atlantic organization on which, through collective association and co-operation, the free world relies for defence. It is good to recall that since NATO's inception in 1949 we have, in partnership with our NATO allies, not only held back the spread of Soviet oppression but also we have built the nucleus of a more permanent and stronger Atlantic community.

The year just terminated has been a busy one for NATO. Studies have been made and measures are now being undertaken to adapt Western defence planning to shifting Soviet tactics, and to the new situation created by the advent of thermo-nuclear weapons. We have again emphasized our determination to make NATO something more than just a mere military alliance, and we have taken positive steps in this direction. Canada has played an important part in NATO's defence organization, and in this connection I would like to express our special appreciation for the loyalty and devotion of our Canadian troops serving in Europe under NATO command. It is they, along with their fellow NATO allies, who bear the immediate burden of holding back aggression and preserving world peace.

I should also like on this occasion to pay tribute to NATO's first Secretary-General, Lord Ismay, who will be retiring this year. The guiding inspiration and the stimulus provided by Lord Ismay during the early and often difficult formative years of the Organization were a symbol and a guarantee of its security and solidarity. Without his devoted service and wise counsel NATO and the defence of the free world would be much less secure.

# **External Affairs in Parliament**

## The Middle East

The following statement was made in the House of Commons March 15 by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs:

... This Middle East problem has been almost continuously before the United Nations Assembly since I spoke to this House on external affairs last November and that consideration by the United Nations I think has helped not only to bring the fighting to an end in that area but to prevent the conflict breaking out again or even worse spreading. . . The United Nations Assembly of course has its limitations as I have already shown and will try to show again in this discussion. There is no use asking it to do things it cannot do or for which it has no mandate under the Charter. Therefore there is no use blaming it if it does not do the impossible. It is also wrong, as I have said before, to use the United Nations as an excuse for national shortcomings and hesitations or as an escape from national responsibilities even though these should be discussed and when possible discharged through the United Nations.

The United Nations is no substitute for wise national policy or for close co-operation between friends and allies. It supplements, and essentially supplements, but it cannot replace these necessities. There is no particular value therefore in saying, "Let the United Nations do it", unless we accept the obligation to do our best to make that possible by wise national decisions inside and outside the United Nations.

#### Background of the Crisis

Mr. Speaker, before dealing with some of the details of this problem I would like for a moment to endeavour to put it in perspective.

The problem we have been discussing and trying to solve in New York is merely one aspect of the whole problem of the Middle East. That general problem would be with us if there never had been any trouble over the Suez or over Palestine last October. It comes from the rise of nationalism in the Middle East and from what seems at times to be a morbid preoccupation and suspicion of the people in that area, a suspicion they have of the people who once ruled them; it comes also from the impatience of these people in the Middle East to convert political freedom into economic and social progress and more fundamentally it comes from the pressure especially in Egypt of a rapidly growing population on the productive resources of the country which cannot keep pace with that increased population

There is also, and we are now getting closer to the immediate difficulties, the bitter and at times seemingly insoluble problem of the relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours which came to a head in the explosion of last October.

Since that time the United Nations has brought about a cease-fire and has established an agency for securing and supervising that cease-fire. How that was done was discussed in the House last November. Since that time the United Nations has been considering the withdrawal of Israel from Egypt. There has been agreement from the beginning in New York with this withdrawal in principle, but it has been difficult to convert that agreement in principle into one of practice, whether the agreement should be unconditional or whether it should be conditional.

The House will remember that after the withdrawal of United Kingdom and French forces from Port Said last December the forces of Israel also withdrew from all Egypt or Egyptian administered territories except the points Sharm al-Shaikh on the Straits of Tiran and the Gaza strip. Israel for some time was unable to withdraw her forces from those two places without assurances, first, about navigation in the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba and, second, that Gaza was not to be returned to a situation where it could be used as it had been used previously as a base for attack on Israel.

Egypt and the other Arab and a great many Asian states refused to consider at the Assembly any arrangement on these matters, or even at times to discuss them, until a complete withdrawal of Israeli forces had been effected. They refused to agree that the United Nations Emergency Force could be used in any sense as an occupation force. In particular India and Yugoslavia, which were supplying strong and effective contingents to this force, held strong views on that pointand their views are important. The Arab-Asian group also refused to accept at the United Nations Assembly any change in the armistice arrangements of some years ago between Egypt and Israel concerning the Gaza strip while permitting Israel to benefit from other provisions of those armistice arrangements. As for the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran the Arab-Asian group, or most of them, felt that freedom of navigation there would depend on the legal status of the Gulf and the Straits, the waters of which some of them considered to be not international but territorial.

Those two positions were far apart and it would have been difficult for the United Nations to reconcile them even if there had

been a maximum of good will or mutual understanding between the conflicting sides, and it is an understatement to say that there was no such good will.

#### The Canadian Position

The Canadian position has, I think, been consistent from the beginning. From our very first statement at the United Nations Assembly last November we took the position then and we have maintained it since that the withdrawal of Israeli forces and arrangements following that withdrawal were related and that one could not be discussed or decided without taking into consideration the other.

For us it was not a question of rewarding Israel for something she might have done by force last October; it was not a question of allowing her to lay down formal conditions governing her withdrawal. It was a question of whether we should not take action in our own interest, and in the interest of the United Nations and of peace, to see that the former conditions in that area—conditions of fear, insecurity and conflict—were not restored.

Our Delegation preferred a single resolution to bring this about, with provisions first, for withdrawal and, later in the same resolution, for arrangements to follow withdrawal. We were trying to do that, to draft a programme, and a resolution based on that programme which in our opinion would have been fair to both sides, but we were told it would not be possible to secure the necessary two-thirds majority of the Assembly for any such resolution. The United States was particularly hesitant about the prospects of securing agreement with regard to a resolution of that kind, and we were warned that if we put forward such a resolution, and it failed to secure two-thirds of the votes of the Assembly, the net result would be bad. We did not entirely accept that position, but we did agree that there was no possibility of securing a two-thirds majority for a resolution of that nature if the United States did not actively support it. And in the result, as hon, members know, on February 2 a second resolution, short and not too specific, was passed on arrangements to follow withdrawal.

Israel hestitated to withdraw her forces from Sharm al-Shaikh and the Gaza strip on these vague and somewhat ambiguous assurances which could be and, indeed, were interpreted in different ways by different members of the Assembly.

That delay after February 2 on the part of Israel to withdraw her forces, occasioned by the causes I have indicated, was met by the tabling of an Arab resolution for sanctions, that is, for force to bring about withdrawal. Sanctions can be economic; they can be financial; and, indeed, they can be military. And we ought to know now from the lesson of the League of Nations in the thirties, in connection with the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, that unless there is strong and general agreement to see sanctions through to the end,

even if that end might be military action, and if there is not the necessary willingness to take national action to enforce sanctions, then it is idle, even worse than idle, to consider applying them.

Our position when the sanctions resolution was tabled at the United Nations Assembly was that we were opposed to sanctions as being unjustified, as impracticable, as unlikely to accomplish the purposes which they had in mind, and as a recognition of the failure of negotiations which we thought were premature.

And so we—our Delegation—put forward our own proposals on February 26—certain positive proposals which we thought would accomplish the purpose we had in mind. I will come back to them later; what I am trying to give now is the chronological story of what happened in New York.

After this sanctions resolution was tabled, with no agreement on a resolution of the kind I have indicated with regard to arrangements to follow withdrawal, the matter was moved to Washington for discussions through diplomatic channels between representatives of Israel, the United States and France. As a result of those discussions, Israel was persuaded to withdraw her forces both civil and military from Sharm-al-Shaikh and the Gaza area—not on assurances contained in any Assembly resolution, except that of February 2, but on certain assumptions and expectations which the Government of Israel made at that time and which were announced to the General Assembly.

# Israel's "Assumptions and Expectations"

What were these? They are very important in attempting to understand what is going on there now. They were put to the Assembly in a statement by the Foreign Minister of Israel on March 1-these assumptions and expectations. One was that the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran would be considered as international waters, and that there would be free and innocent passage for all shipping through them, and that the United States Government would support this proposition. Second, that the United Nations Emergency Force would move into the Sharm al-Shaikh area and not be moved out of that area until the matter had been considered by the Assembly Advisory Committee of seven. Then in respect of Gaza which was the danger point at the moment, Mrs. Meir laid down these assumptions:

 (a) That on its withdrawal the United Nations forces will be deployed—
 That is the withdrawal of the Israeli force.

—in Gaza and that the take over— And I emphasize the words "take over".

—of Gaza from the military and civilian control of Israel will be exclusively by the United Nations Emergency Force.

(b) It is further Israel's expectation that the United Nations will be the agency to be utilized for carrying out the func-

tions enumerated by the Secretary-General, namely:-

They were enumerated in one of his earlier reports and he outlined them as follows:

safeguarding life and property in the area by providing efficient and effective police protection; as will guarantee good civilian administration; as will assure maximum assistance to the United Nations refugee programme; and as will protect and foster the economic development of the territory and its people.

And then said Mrs. Meir:
(c) It is further Israel's expectation that the aforementioned responsibility of the United Nations in the administration of Gaza-

Not for the administration of Gaza but in the

administrations of Gaza.

-will be maintained for a transitory period from the take-over until there is a peace settlement, to be sought as rapidly as possible, or a definitive agreement in the future of the Gaza strip.

And she concluded by saying this:

It is the position of Israel-

And this is important in the context of the

present situation

-that if conditions are created in the Gaza strip which indicate a return to the conditions of deterioration which existed previously Israel would reserve its freedom to act to defend its rights.

These were the assumptions and expectations laid down by the Government of Israel on the basis of which they withdrew, and withdrew very quickly, all their forces, civil and military, from the Gaza strip. When I say they withdrew very quickly I mean that they withdrew with great speed after the decision was made.

The Canadian position with regard to this statement of Mrs. Meir was that, as we understood them, her assumptions and expectations were reasonable. The United States position, as stated by Ambassador Lodge on

March 1, is as follows:

... For the most part the declarations constitute, as we understand it, restatements of what has already been said by this Assembly or by the Secretary-General in his reports, of hopes and expectations which seem to us not unreasonable in the light of the prior actions of this Assembly.

This statement of Mr. Lodge was followed by an extremely important communication of March 2 from President Eisenhower to the Prime Minister of Israel which may have been decisive in bringing about the with-drawal. I quote from that letter of President Eisenhower as follows:

It has always been the view of this Government-

That is the Government of the United States.

-that after the withdrawal there should be a united effort by all of the nations to bring about conditions in the area—

That is the Gaza area.

-more stable, more tranquil and more conducive to the general welfare than those which existed heretofore. Hopes and expectations based thereon

were voiced by your foreign minister and

Then said President Eisenhower:

I believe that it is reasonable to entertain hopes and expectations and I want you to know that the United States, as a friend of all of the countries of the area and as a loyal member of the United Nations, will seek that such hopes prove not to be in vain.

That is from President Eisenhower's letter of March 2. Mr. Speaker, those are the views as to what should be done. But the terrific responsibility of putting those views into action has been placed largely on the should-ders of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. It is therefore important to try to understand what authority, under the resolutions that we have accepted, the Secretary-General has for that purpose because very much indeed is left to him. We therefore are obliged to fall back on that resolution of February 2 which I have mentioned and leave it to the Secretary-General to interpret that resolution and to implement arrangements based on it. That is going to be difficult for him to do. But if any man can do it, I think it is the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who is a man of devotion, integrity, amazing industry and diplomatic skill and fair mindedness. However, Mr. Speaker, this is not, I admit, too satisfactory a procedure though it may be the best possible that the United Nations Assembly was able to obtain having regard to the fact that a two-thirds majority of the Assembly must be achieved for any resolution.

#### Responsibilities of the UN

Let us then go back and see what are the responsibilities of the United Nations which the Secretary-General is now to do his best to make effective; and I believe he is leaving tomorrow for the Middle East for that purpose. We stated in this House these responsibilities or these functions as laid down by the General Assembly resolutions, on November 27, beginning I think at page 61 of Hansard. We then pointed out in this House that these responsibilities were laid down or outlined in the Secretary-General's report of November 4, which is the guiding document in this matter, especially paragraph 12 of that report. That report can be found on page 13 of the White Paper dealing with the story of the Middle East already tabled in this House. Paragraph 12, the important paragraph of that report which contains the basic terms of reference for the Secretary-General with regard to United Nations responsibility and particularly the functions of the United Nations Emergency Force, reads as follows:

The functions of the United Nations Force would be, when a cease-fire is being established, to enter Egyptian territory with the consent of the Egyptian Government, in order to help maintain quiet during and after the withdrawal of nonEgyptian troops, and to secure compliance with the other terms established in the resolution of November 2, 1956.

It is therefore important to remember what were those other terms of the resolution of November 2. They were also given to the House by me in my statement on November 27 and 29 and they are also quoted on page 8 of the White Paper. This resolution of November 2, which is basic in this connection—and it will be recalled that we were criticized by the Official Opposition for not voting against this resolution—includes the following provisions which should be recalled:

1. Urges as a matter of priority that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area;

2. Urges the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements;

3. Recommends that all members refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of this resolution;— And finally;

4. Urges that upon the cease-fire being effective steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation: . . .

These functions as outlined by the Secretary-General in his report and based on the resolution of November 2 were approved by a resolution of the General Assembly of November 7; and that resolution reaffirms necessity for a scrupulous observance of the Israeli-Egyptian armistice terms. That reaffirmation was given again by the Assembly in a resolution on February 2, passed by a vote of 56 to nothing, including the votes of the United Kingdom and the United States. This resolution of February 2, this reaffirmation of the scrupulous observance of the armistice terms, also included provisions that the United Nations Emergency Force was to be deployed on the Egyptian-Israeli demarcation line, and for the implementation of other measures included in the Secretary-General's report of a few weeks before, January 24, I think.

This report of January 24 by the Secretary-General, which was endorsed unanimously by the General Assembly and is binding on the Secretary-General because of that unanimous endorsation including the votes of the United Kingdom and the United States, emphasizes that there can be no change in the legal situation under the armistice agreement until the parties to that agreement accept such a change. This report states also that the General Assembly can only recommend; it cannot establish any United Nations administration of Gaza, and that that recommendation, to be effective, would require negotiations with Egypt. Now, there have been no further resolutions laying down the function to be performed by the Secretary-

General in carrying out the earlier resolutions. Therefore, this one of February 2 is decisive in this connection.

Our own position in regard to this matter was made clear on February 26. At that time we took the position that an arrangement to follow the withdrawal of the Israeli forces should be spelled out in a resolution and not merely deduced from the Secretary-General's reports. We put out in considerable detail what we thought should be included in any such plan or rosolution. It should include, first, observance of the armistice; second, deployment of United Nations Emergency Force in Gaza on both sides of the armistice line; third, there should be no interference with innocent passage through the Straits of Tiran pending determination of the legal position of those waters; fourth, we made certain proposals for Gaza. This is such an important point on the map at present that I should like to go into that matter, Mr. Speaker, in somewhat more detail in elaborating the proposals we made at the Assembly. It will, I think, if I can go into it in detail, remove some of the misconceptions about this particular problem.

#### The Problem of Gaza

Legally, as I have stated, responsibility for the civil administration of Gaza, under Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Agreement of 1949, lies with Egypt. However, in planning for the restoration of civil administration following the withdrawal of Israel forces from the area, we stated our views to the General Assembly at that time—this view was shared by a great many other delegations and indeed I think by the Secretary-General himself—that there were important practical considerations which qualified or should qualify this legal position. We have an extremely explosive situation in a small and crowded area where there are about 300,000 people, and perhaps 260,000 of them are refugees. It should be recognized, we thought, that this situation might very easily get out of control, and accordingly we consideredthis was also the feeling of other members of the Assembly—that the United Nations should accept, and Egypt should agree to the acceptance of, responsibility to the maximum possible extent for establishing and maintaining effective civil administration of the Gaza strip. This arrangement, of course would have to be without prejudice to the legal rights of Egypt in the territory under the armistice agreement, and would be provisional, pending final agreement on the proper disposition of Gaza which has never, since the creation of the State of Israel, belonged to the sovereign territory of any state.

The words we used in the Assembly in putting forward this programme are on the record, Mr. Speaker. Perhaps I could quote one paragraph from our statement. On February 26 I said at the Assembly:

After Israel's withdrawal, the United Nations should, in our view and by agreement with Egypt, accept responsibility to the maximum possible extent for estab-

lishing and maintaining effective civil administration in the territory; in fostering economic development and social welfare, in maintaining law and order. The United Nations Relief and Works Administration is already there, with an experienced and efficient administrative nucleus. The United Nations could also provide other help through United Nations technical assistance machinery, the resources of its secretariat, and expert consultants recruited for special purposes. In this way there would be built up in Gaza, in co-operation with Egypt and with Israel, a United Nations civil administration.

We had a resolution drafted which would have put that programme before the Assembly but we did not attempt to bring it forward because, as I have indicated, there was a feeling on the part of certain delegations that it would not get the necessary two-thirds majority.

It is my view, Mr. Speaker, and I hope that this view will prove to be well-founded, that we have now entered a phase in which progress may be made towards the objective of finding a sutiable balance between the practical position of the United Nations and the legal position of Egypt in the administration of Gaza, an objective which was sought but never found at the recent session of the Assembly. As I have said, the Secretary-General himself is going to the area tomorrow in search of such an understanding. It is a mission of great responsibility and delicacy, fraught with consequences for the peace of that area. So far as the Canadian Government is concerned, and I am sure so far as this House is concerned, we would not wish to do anything to complicate the Secretary-General's task by anything we might say here. I wish to reiterate, however, that our opinion is that, subject to the legal right of Egypt under the armistice agreement, and until those rights are altered, the United Nations and the United Nations Emergency Force have an important, indeed an essential role to play in the administration of that area.

Any policy or any action or any arrangement whereby the United Nations was refused Egyptian co-operation in the discharge of that role or in which the United Nations was denied a substantive responsibility for carrying out the purpose of ensuring peace and security in the Gaza Strip, any arrangement of that kind which included non-co-operation on the part of the single government most concerned, the Government of Egypt, would be doomed to failure.

Mr. Diefenbaker; Does the Government of Canada recognize the sovereignty of Egypt over the Gaza strip?

Mr. Pearson; No, Mr. Speaker, I have already stated that no single power has sovereignty over the Gaza strip. Under the armistice arrangement between Egypt and Israel, which was endorsed by the United Nations, the responsibility for the civil administration of that strip was placed in

Egypt's hands and that is where it is now legally, under the armistice agreement which has been endorsed unanimously by the recent Assembly of the United Nations. Any effort, however, on any government's part to interfere with the practical necessity of United Nations action in the Gaza strip at the present time would, I think, be inconsistent with the basis of free co-operation which must underlie the discharge of United Nations responsibility in that area. It would deny to the area, and indeed to the people of both Egypt and Israel, the great practical benefits which could develop if the United Nations and its agencies were given a fair chance to make their contribution to the welfare and security of that unsettled region.

## Egypt and UNEF

This situation, Mr. Speaker, in the Gaza strip points up, I think, the importance of a clear understanding of the relationship between Egypt and the United Nations Emergency Force, and I should like to say a few words about that.

There have been a good many questions in this House. It is true, I dealt with this matter at some length in the House on November 27, and I also referred to it in the White Paper, on page 13, which I have mentioned.

We have from the very beginning, from the first statement of the Canadian delegate in New York on November 7, underlined the difficulties as well as the importance of this first United Nations Emergency Force. There is great hope in it for the future if it succeeds on this occasion, but it is an experiment and new ground, hard ground at times, is being broken. We have no illusions, and have had no illusions about the problems it would encounter. Cynicism has been expressed by some members in this House about this Force and there have been jibes from some quarters in this House about the nature of Canadian participation in the Force. But whatever the future may hold for this Force, I think it is fair to say that the United Nations Emergency Force has already performed an absolutely indispensable role in securing and supervising the cease-fire, in preventing a recurrence of conflict or the spreading of that conflict when it began.

Some weeks ago, General Burns wrote me a personal letter from his headquarters acknowledging a further contingent of supporting units that were going forward from Canada for the United Nations Emergency Force. In that letter he stated that the Canadians already in the force had made "all the difference in the world in the efficient operation of the administrative side of the military effort". He added that he "just could not have done without them". He also said, Mr. Speaker, that the R.C.A.F. element in his Force had worked long hours in arduous conditions and deserved very great credit for its efficiency and devotion to duty.

There has been some argument about the status of this Force. The Government from the outset has accepted the guiding principle,

included in the Secretary-General's report of last November, and specifically endorsed by the General Assembly, that the United Nations Assembly could not request the Force to be stationed or operate on the territory of a given country without the consent of the government of that country. The rights of sovereignty of the country in the circumstances under discussion could not be infringed upon by other states, even acting through the United Nations Assembly, which has no power in fact so to infringe in contrast with the Security Council, when actions are being taken by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Mr. Nesbitt; Is this resolution not based on the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution, part A?

Mr. Pearson; Yes, Mr. Speaker, all of our action in the United Nations Assembly at the special emergency session dealing with this Middle East crisis was based on the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution of 1950, which gave the Assembly certain functions, and indeed duties in case of deadlock in the Security Council; but while that is true, it does not alter the fact that under the Charter of the United Nations the Assembly can do nothing but make recommendations which have to be carried out by the member states after those recommendations have received two-thirds support in the Assembly.

Last November 5, Mr. Speaker—and this is important in qualifying what I have just said—the Egyptian Government formally conveyed to the Secretary-General explicit acceptance of the General Assembly resolution of that date, which established the United Nations Force to perform the tasks which I have already outlined. Egypt's acceptance of this resolution was a voluntary act, by which the Egyptian Government imposed on itself a qualification upon the exercise of its sovereignty.

This decision was formally conveyed in an aide-mémoire on the basis for the presence and functioning of UNEF in Egypt, an aide-mémoire submitted to the General Assembly by the Secretary-General in his report on November 20, and subsequently noted with approval by the Assembly. In this aide-mémoire, which is also in the White Paper to which I referred, I think on page 20, and therefore before the House for some weeks, the terms of which had been agreed between the Secretary-General and the Egyptian Government, the Government of Egypt declared:

When exercising its sovereign rights on any matter concerning the presence and functioning of UNEF, it will be guided, in good faith, by its acceptance of the general resolution of November 5, 1956.

This is a quotation from the Egyptian communication. And that declaration was balanced in the aide-mémoire by a declaration on the part of the United Nations, through the Secretary-General, and I quote that "the activities of UNEF will be guided, in good faith, by the task established for the

force" in the resolution of the General Assembly, and that—again I quote—"in particular, the United Nations, understanding this to correspond to the wishes of the Government of Egypt reaffirms its willingness to maintain the UNEF until its task is completed".

This, then, Mr. Speaker, is the nature of Egypt's consent to the presence and func-tioning of the United Nations Emergency Force on Egyptian territory. There has been no infringement on the sovereignty of the Government of Egypt by the action of any other government or governments. But in the arrangements made and in the agreement which I have referred to, the United Nations, which established this Force to do certain tasks, clearly has a right to be consulted as to whether and when these tasks have been discharged, as it would if they were to be extended. From this, it follows in our view, and this is the view of the Secretary-General also, that if Egypt should at any time make a request for UNEF's withdrawal, the appropriate procedure would be for that request to go first to the Advisory Committee on UNEF through the Secretary-General. There it would be discussed by the Committee which was set up for that purpose by the Assembly, and if necessary and desirable the whole matter could then be referred to the full Assembly for decision. And therefore any question of whether UNEF should be withdrawn would become a matter for discussion with and decision by the United Nations. This is this Government's understanding of the procedure which should be followed.

Having said that, however, I should add that if Egypt refused to accept the United Nations view that UNEF's task was still unfinished, and that UNEF should not be withdrawn, Egypt would, in our view, be nullifying its acceptance of the Assembly's basic resolution establishing the Force and laying down its function.

Nevertheless, the Assembly does not have any authority under the Charter of the United Nations to create binding legal obligations on member states, and Egypt, therefore, could not, in the last report, be compelled by the United Nations Assembly to continue to accept any resolution or to co-operate in carrying it out. The Assembly cannot force its view on any state although in certain contingencies the Security Council can attempt to do that.

Mr. Speaker, the Canadian position on this matter has already been stated to the General Assembly, to the Advisory Committee, on more than one occasion and was given to the House on November 27. In case there is any doubt as to what our position is on this matter I will have another opportunity to state it to the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee either late tonight or tomorrow morning before the Secretary-General leaves for Egypt. These statements which we have already made of our general position should make clear that this is the

stand we are taking and will take in respect of the reinforcements from Canada to UNEF which have recently gone forward. Although I know I am taking up a great deal of the time of the House perhaps I should go into the question of this request for reinforcements which was made some weeks ago, because it is a matter of interest to the House.

### Reinforcements for UNEF

The first mention of a reconnaissance squadron for UNEF was on December 4 when our Ambassador in Cairo reported that General Burns was sending a message to the Secretary-General making proposals relating to the Canadian contribution to UNEF. We were told then only that General Burns would find it desirable to have as a combined unit an additional armoured reconnaissance unit or squadron of company size of about 200 men.

Shortly afterwards our Permanent Mission in New York reported that a representative of the Secretary-General had informed them that General Burns had urged that a request for a reconnaissance unit from Canada be pursued, that the reconnaissance squadron was urgently needed to supplement the two mechanized companies from Yugoslavia and would be deployed in Sinai. In the second week of December the Canadian Permanent Mission in New York received a letter from the United Nations formally requesting this additional contribution of the reconnaissance unit to UNEF.

There have been a great many reports of Egyptian objections to the arrival of these Canadian reinforcements. The reports and rumours of these objections will, I feel confident, prove entirely unfounded. I have every hope based on the assurances we have received as recently as the last 24 hours that the Canadian reinforcements will join UNEF in Egypt for duty in the normal way, as indeed I indicated would be the case. I think on March 7, in this House. No interference in this move by any government could be accepted by us as valid and if any attempt to so interfere were successful this would have serious results so far as any further Canadian participation in UNEF is concerned, and therefore it would have serious results for UNEF as a whole. There should be no doubt about this in anyone's mind, but it is a contingency which as I have said I have every reason to believe will not arise based on assurances which have been received.

In taking this position, which I think is a reasonable one, we are concerned about the whole future not only of this particular Force but of the United Nations itself as an agency to facilitate and increase international peace and security. I am sure all of us have nothing but good will for the Egyptian people; we are not participating in any manœuvres of any kind against them; we are not influenced by anything but a desire to make the United Nations and its agency the United Nations Emergency Force effective for achieving the objectives of the Assembly, the objectives

of securing and supervising a cease-fire and facilitating the establishment of peaceful conditions. In the policy we have been following at the United Nations in these matters our motives are above reproach. Any imputation to the contrary is false and unfair. UNEF is no cloak and will be no cloak for the plans or ambitions of any state or states, and there is no foundation whatever for any suspicions from any source that anyone wishes to use it in that way.

### Suez Canal

Mr. Speaker, questions have also been asked about the progress of the clearance of the Suez Canal and I should therefore say something about that. While our attention has been concentrated for several weeks past on efforts to arrange for completion of the withdrawal of Israeli forces and on UNEF this other major enterprise, the clearing of the Suez Canal, has been going forward. The clearing of the Suez Canal under United Nations supervision has been proceeding in accordance with the most optimistic time estimates of the technical officers responsible for its progress. We do not know yet exactly when the resumption of a full flow of traffic will be possible but we are informed that if the present rate of progress is maintained a channel capable of taking ships of more than 25 feet draught will be opened very shortly, in a matter of days. We are told also that the clearing of marginal obstacles and restoration of full navigational facilities has made much better progress than had been originally scheduled, in spite of political difficulties which have understandably attracted so much attention.

As the Prime Minister (Mr. St. Laurent) told the House last Monday, Canada has acquired a special interest in the steps being taken to reopen the Canal by virtue of the advance—not the gift but the advance on good 'security'—that the Government has made toward the financing of the United Nations clearing operations.

Canada, of course, is not a large user of the Canal but we are naturally anxious, as a trading nation, for the earliest possible resumption of the Suez traffic which is so vital to the economies of the many user states. Our participation in the advances made to the United Nations and the work that this interim financing has made possible was also of particular assistance to the United Kingdom and France at that time, and that was the main reason why we participated in that interim financing; and that is a reason which presumably should commend itself to hon. members opposite.

As hon. members know, certain proposals for provisional operating arrangements for the Canal pending the working out of a permanent regime have been agreed upon between the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Norway and these proposals have been passed on to the Government of Egypt through the Secretary-General. They are to the effect that the International

Bank or the United Nations itself should act as a neutral agent for receiving Canal tolls of which 50 per cent should be paid to Egypt immediately and the balance held pending determination of its disbursement under a definitive Suez settlement.

As far as I know, the Egpytian Government has not yet given its reply to these proposals but the Secretary-General is in touch with them on the matter and I have no doubt that is one of the questions he will be discussing on his visit to Cairo.

While Canada of course was not involved in the discussions which led up to the formulation of the proposals now before the Government of Egypt, I may say we consider that these proposals are sound and offer a reasonable basis for agreed arrangements under which regular Canal traffic might be resumed, and we hope that early agreement on such arrangements will be possible. The importance of that to us all is obvious. The arrangements that were agreed to last October at the Security Council provide for the free and non-discriminatory and secure transit through the Suez Canal for ships of all states, and in all states I include the State of Israel. We indicated our support for those arrangements in this House last summer.

From what I have said I think it will be clear that our general policy on these matters at the United Nations and elsewhere has been based on the negotiation of differences. Success in such negotiation is not of course possible if through timidity we give in to unwarranted pressures, but on the other hand it is not assisted by abuse of or hissing at any of the governments or personages involved with whom we have to negotiate. Such abuse is an easy escape for emotions, but it hinders rather than helps the search for acceptable solutions which will avoid the use of force. Indeed it often helps to make force unavoidable by provoking wild and angry reactions. Nor is the use of violent language necessarily an indication of either strength or conviction on the part of the person who uses that language.

To state, as has been done, that this Government has said anything or has done anything which would condone the use of force in this or any other matter unless that force is justified as self-defence, individual or collective, under the Charter of the United Nations, is a misrepresentation of our position and is denied by every act and every statement on the record of the United Nations or elsewhere. To attempt to explain some alleged and imaginary change in Canada's attitude toward the use of force in the Middle East by tying that fictitious change to the new Eisenhower doctrine for United States policy in the Middle East is a misrepresentation not only of Canadian policy but of the Eisenhower doctrine itself.

### The Eisenhower Doctrine

It has been stated . . . that the United States policy to which I have referred is, and I quote . . .

If there should be communist aggression in the Near East, American troops—acting on their own—would intervene.

That is the end of the quotation. That is also a distortion of the meaning of the Eisenhower doctrine and it does no good to cooperation between friends or to the effort to avoid conflict... (The pertinent paragraph of) the Congressional resolution on the subject... is as follows:

The United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East. To this end, if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use armed forces to assist any such nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism: provided that such employment shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the constitution of the United States

That is a paragraph from the resolution. How will the President of the United States determine this necessity? What measures will be put into operation after the determination is made, and how will he do it? Well, the President has already made himself perfectly clear on this point, and I commend his statement to hon. members opposite. Here is his statement to Congress when he submitted his resolution:

These measures would have to be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States, including the Charter of the United Nations and with any action or recommendations of the United Nations. They would also, if armed attack occurred, be subject to the overriding authority of the United Nations Security Council in accordance with the Charter.

To say that that doctrine, as stated by the President and accepted by Congress, would justify unilateral action by the United States in the Middle East... is not a correct interpretation of the United States doctrine. It may have its weaknesses, but that is certainly not one of them. That is one charge, that we have abandoned our earlier position because of an alleged new United States doctrine. This criticism is of course linked with the more general allegation . . . that at the United Nations and elsewhere we have been the chore boy, the satellite, the follower or whatever you wish to call it, of the United States. Well, the record can speak for itself and it is far more impressive as evidence than any gibes can be . . .

Mr. Speaker, in closing I would just like to say that since last October we have done what we could to secure a peaceful, honourable settlement of immediate issues which would pave the way for the solution of the political problems between Israel and her neighbours—a solution which is essential if further conflict is to be avoided, and which

seems so terribly difficult to achieve, unless, of course, one has no direct contact with the problems themselves. At the present moment, as I see it, the essential thing is that both Israel and Egypt should exercise restraint and moderation, and that Egypt should cooperate and not obstruct the United Nations in its efforts to secure and supervise peace and order in the Gaza strip. That is the immediate point of crisis.

Therefore, the Government of Egypt is, I think, in honour bound to co-operate . . . with the United Nations in this task. It is to its own interest to do that . . . to co-operate with the United Nations in this task. That co-operation is essential because the United Nations is operating in a territory in Gaza which legally is under the administration of the Government of Egypt . . .

If the Government of Egypt does not so co-operate, then it may prevent the United Nations not only from taking on new responsibilities for peace and security but from discharging those which the United Nations has already taken on in respect of 250,000 refugees dependent entirely on the United Nations and those which it has already taken on in respect of security at the demarcation

line. From every point of view, therefore, the Government of Egypt should in its own interest as well as in the interest of peace and security give the maximum amount of cooperation to the United Nations in this effort. If it does not do so, I repeat, its action could result in the dissolution of the United Nations Emergency Force entirely and even in the dissolution of the United Nations Relief Works Agency in Gaza, and that would mean chaos. It could result in the Israeli and Egyptian armies facing each other once again in bitterness and hostility, with nothing between them.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot believe that Egypt—even Egypt, let alone any other country—desires that result. I therefore hope that those powers which have the greatest influence—and I am thinking particularly of the United States—will use that influence forcefully through diplomatic channels and any other channels which may be open to them in Cairo and wherever else is necessary, to help avoid such a disaster. So far as this Government is concerned, we will continue to do our best in helping to find a peaceful and just solution for these dangerous and difficult problems.

## Statement on Suez

In reply to a question raised in the House of Commons March 21, Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, made the following statement on a memorandum on the Suez Canal circulated by the Egyptian Government to all governments represented in Cairo:

... Last summer, July I think it was, the Government stated its position in this House regarding the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. At that time we indicated our view that Egyptian rights in regard to the operation of the Canal, derived from the sovereignty of Egypt because the Canal goes through Egyptian territory, must be reconciled with the international interest in the Canal recognized, among other things, by the Constantinople Convention of 1888.

We have also expressed our support for the six principles agreed on by the Security Council last October to govern the operation and control of the Canal and any arrangement for that purpose which might be made.

As my hon. friend will know, one of those principles was that this international waterway was to be "insulated from the politics of any one state". Mr. Speaker, we have not weakened in any way in our support for these principles. As I stated the other day in the House, proposals have now been made by the four powers probably most concerned with passage through the Canal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the operation of the Canal when clearance is completed. I indicated then what those proposals were. They have been passed by the Secretary-General to the Government of Egypt.

The day before yesterday, I think it was, an Egyptian memorandum was circulated to all governments represented in Cairo with certain proposals governing this matter. This memorandum was tabled this morning, Mr. Speaker.

The memorandum, as we understand it, is not a reply to the four-power proposals I have mentioned, but was presumably issued at this time for negotiation purposes on the eve of the Secretary-General's visit and indeed on the eve of the opening of the Canal.

Since receiving this memorandum, Mr. Speaker, we have discussed the significance of these proposals, which the Egyptian Government itself has indicated are not final proposals, with other friendly governments more concerned than Canada is with navigation through the Canal. While these exchanges of views are going on, and while the Secretary-General is negotiating in Cairo on this subject, we do not feel it would be wise or desirable for Canada alone, and before any other country has done so, to make any formal diplomatic protest as was suggested. Such a protest at this time would not appear to us to be either sensible or effective.

## UNEF in Gaza Strip

Questioned in the House of Commons March 22 on the functions of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Gaza strip, Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, made the following statement:

The legal rights of Egypt in the administration of the Gaza strip derive from the Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel signed in 1949 and confirmed by the United Nations. If these legal rights are ignored or rejected, then the Armistice Agreement is violated. But the United Nations Assembly has affirmed by more than one resolution, including that of February 2 which was carried unanimously, that the Armistice provisions, all of them, should be scrupulously observed.

The responsibilities and functions of the United Nations in the Gaza strip come from Assembly resolutions and are reinforced by the practical necessities of the situation. These responsibilities and functions in our opinion should be accepted by Egypt, which should fully co-operate with the United Nations in their discharge. If Egypt is unwilling to co-operate in this way, then the United Nations' task in Gaza becomes impossible and the matter in our opinion should be referred at once to the United Nations Assembly.

Our position, Mr. Speaker, which has been stated more than once in New York and in this House, is that the United Nations should be associated to the maximum possible extent in the administration of the Gaza strip. I regret that this was not made clear and definite in a resolution of the United Nations Assembly which would have specified the arrangements to follow the withdrawal of Israeli forces. Why that was not done, Mr. Speaker, I attempted to explain a week ago today. It should be recalled also that the United Nations already accepts full responsibility for more than 200,000 Arab refugees in Gaza.

The problem then, as I see it, is to find an acceptable balance in the administration of Gaza between the practical position which the United Nations must take and the legal position of Egypt under the Armistice Agreement. Any such "suitable balance" in particular must give the United Nations that control of internal security in the Gaza strip necessary to enable it to carry out effectively its operations and responsibilities on the demarcation line. So far as the Canadian Government is concerned, UNEF could not be expected to discharge effectively its duty of preventing raids and incursions and maintain peaceful conditions along that line if it were

not in a position to carry out observations or investigations and to exercise necessary control in the strip itself. A satisfactory agreement to this effect is a fundamental prerequisite of the effective continuance of UNEF's role on the demarcation line. If no such agreement is made and kept, there will not only be renewed trouble between Israel and Egypt but the continued operation of UNEF will be prejudiced. Certainly it would be difficult for Canada to continue to participate in the Force under conditions, and we hope those conditions will not materialize, in which it would not be able to discharge satisfactorily the responsibilities given to it by the United Nations Assembly. We have made this position clear more than once to the Secretary-General and to the Advisory Committee in New York as recently as last week.

The Secretary-General is at the moment engaged in very important discussions with the governments immediately concerned. As yet we have had only a preliminary report concerning the discussions which are now going on in Cairo, but that report has been enough to cause us to question the accuracy of certain Cairo press messages about these talks.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, and I am sure the House hopes, that these discussions will clear up the difficulties that face the United Nations in this area. Otherwise the results will be serious for United Nations' action there and perhaps even for peace between the conflicting states. At the conclusion of his talk the Secretary-General will report to the Committee of Seven, of which Canada is a member, which will no doubt then consider in the light of that report whether a meeting of the full Assembly is required.



PRESENTS CREDENTIALS

Newly appointed Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Mr. George Ignatieff, presents his credentials to Yugoslav President Tito.

# **UNESCO** General Conference



AT UNESCO RECEPTION

Mr. L. W. Brockington, Chairman of Canada's Delegation, chats with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, at a reception for UNESCO Conference delegates given by the Government of India at New Delhi.

The first major United Nations conference to be held in Asia, the ninth session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) met in New Delhi, India, from November 5 to December 5, 1956.

UNESCO, as its name implies, is an organization designed to promote international co-operation and exchange of ideas in the fields of education, science and culture. The General Conference is the policy-making body of the Organization and meets every two years to review and approve the programme and budget for the ensuing two-year period.

At the opening of the ninth session, 70 of UNESCO's 77 member states and four associate members were represented. In addition, observers were sent by the Holy See and Iceland and by many governmental and non-governmental organizations concerned with educational, scientific and cultural matters. During the session, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia were admitted to membership by acclamation.\*

The Canadian Delegation, under the leadership of Mr. Leonard W. Brockington, Q.C., C.M.G., LL.D., was composed as follows:

<sup>\*</sup>The Union of South Africa withdrew from the Organization at the end of 1956 so that member states now total 79.

Vice-Chairman: Mr. S. Morley Scott, then High Commissioner for Canada in Pakistan; Delegates: Mr. Lionel Bertrand, M.P. for Terrebonne, Senator Donald C. Cameron, and Dr. F. T. Fairey, M.P. for Victoria, B.C.; Alternate Delegates: Mrs. John Bird (Anne Francis), Journalist; Professor Jean-Charles Falardeau, Laval University; Dr. Leon Lortie, University of Montreal; Mr. John C. Parkin, President, Canadian Arts Council; Mr. Freeman K. Stewart, Executive Secretary, Canadian Education Association; Advisers: Mr. M. G. Clark, Department of Finance, Miss Mary Q. Dench, Department of External Affairs; Secretary: Mr. George Hampson, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in India.

The Conference was formally convened on November 5 by the President of the previous conference, Mr. Justino Zavala Muniz of Uruguay. Speeches of welcome were extended by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the leader of the Indian Delegation, who is Minister of Education, National Resources and Scientific Research, and by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India. These were followed by an address from the Director-General, Dr. Luther Evans.

Dr. Maulana Azad was unanimously elected as President of the Conference.

Opening at the height of the crises in Egypt and Hungary, conference deliberations reflected a highly-charged political atmosphere, particularly in the general debate in the first ten days of the session. Although the Egyptian and Hungarian developments unfortunately resulted in time and energy being spent on discussion of matters which many delegates considered to be outside the scope of a UNESCO Conference, it is doubtful if apart from a resolution for emergency educational assistance for the victims of these events, (see below) they had any real effect on final decisions regarding the regular programme and budget for 1957 and 1958.

Of greater consequence to conference decisions was an unheralded budget resolution sponsored jointly by Brazil, France, Italy and Spain to increase the proposed spending level by \$1,000,000.

The Programme and Budget prepared by the Director-General for presentation to the Conference provided for an expenditure of \$21,000,000 for 1957 and 1958. It showed a desirable trend in the direction of greater concentration of programme activities than any previous programme and budget. However, with the adoption of the amendment to the budget resolution which brought the spending level to more than \$22,000,000, the Programme Commission was faced with the introduction of a vast number of draft resolutions for a variety of additional projects. In spite of daily morning, afternoon and evening meetings for the last ten days of the Conference, the Commission could not thoroughly examine and debate all proposals put before it. Notwithstanding this inadequate review, most of the resolutions were adopted and the programme has therefore turned again in the direction of becoming diffuse and, to some extent, unplanned.

Conference decisions of importance included the following.

## **Major Projects**

Approval was given to three major projects: (a) Extension of primary education in Latin America through improving teacher training programmes;

(b) Acceleration and increased activity in a well-established project for scientific research on arid lands; (c) Development of mutual appreciation of cultural values of the Occident and the Orient.

While these three projects were actively supported by all states present, the third evoked particular enthusiasm. Although a ten-year project, still in its formative stages with much planning yet to be done, it was generally agreed that it could be of very great importance to the whole world in developing a sense of community through increased knowledge of, and appreciation for, the culture and civilization of other countries.

## **Emergency Educational Assistance**

Unanimous approval was given to a Belgian resolution authorizing UNESCO to spend \$200,000 from its working capital fund "to ensure in close co-operation with the Governments concerned and with the United Nations and appropriate Specialized Agencies that education proceeds uninterruptedly, under satisfactory conditions, for children and young people who have been victims of events in Hungary and Egypt."

## **Executive Board**

The constitution of the Organization was amended to increase the size of the Executive Board from 22 to 24 members.

## **Management Survey**

A proposal to engage an outside group of experts to review the administrative management of the Organization was adopted.

## New Bureau for External Relations

On the advice of the United Nations Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary questions, the Conference authorized the setting up of a Bureau of Relations with Member States which would combine the functions of the former Division of Relations with Member States with those of the Technical Assistance Department, thus placing the responsibilities of these two former Divisions of the Secretariat in one administrative unit. This reorganization should facilitate the integration of the programme and administrative aspects of technical assistance with the regular programme and administrative divisions.

## Permanent Headquarters

In connection with the new permanent Headquarters for the Organization, now under construction in Paris, the Conference approved additional expenditure of nearly \$1,000,000 on the Secretariat Building and the Conference Hall, and authorized the Director-General to spend up to an additional \$500,000 on these two buildings to meet unforeseen items. It also authorized the construction of a third building to provide accommodation for permanent representatives of Member States, non-governmental organizations and future expansion of the Secretariat.

## **Tenth Session**

The Tenth Session of the General Conference is scheduled to take place in Paris in the autumn of 1958. At that time, the Conference Hall and Secretariat of the Permanent Headquarters will be in use.

## **Conference Arrangements**

All meetings of the ninth session took place in a magnificent conference hall—Vigyan Bhavan—constructed in New Delhi by the Government of India especially for the occasion, but already, since then, the meeting place of several other important international gatherings. The Conference facilities left nothing to be desired. There was a spacious amphitheatre for plenary meetings,—handsomely furnished, air-conditioned, well lighted and equipped with simultaneous translation services in the four working languages of English, French, Russian and Spanish. There were smaller conference rooms equally well designed for meetings of commissions and committees. In addition, there were restaurant facilities and lounges where delegates could relax, read, write or hold informal discussions.

Apart from providing such splendid facilities, the Indian Government and people were untiring and extremely effective in contributing to the comfort, entertainment and educational experience of the visiting delegates. Numerous educational, scientific and cultural programmes, exhibitions and film screenings, both national and international in character, were arranged. Formal receptions and informal social gatherings made it possible for delegates not only to mix with each other, but also to meet Indians in every field of endeayour.

## **NATO Infrastructure**

In a press release issued at NATO Headquarters in Paris on March 26, 1957 it was announced that the North Atlantic Council had recently agreed on a new £225,000,000 (\$600,750,000) NATO Infrastructure Programme, to be undertaken in the course of the next four years.

The word "infrastructure" comes from France, where it has long been used to denote all the work that is necessary before a railway track can be laid, such as embankments, bridges, tunnels, etc. It has been adopted by NATO as a generic term to denote all those fixed installations which are necessary for the deployment or operations of modern armed forces, aerodromes, telecommunications, military headquarters, fuel tanks and pipelines, radar warning and navigational aid stations, port installations, and so forth. Since these installations are designed for common defence, their financing is ensured collectively, each member country assuming its share of the costs.

The first infrastructure programme, primarily for airfield construction, was organized by the Brussels Treaty Powers in 1950. Within the wider framework of NATO, further programmes have been approved for implementation between 1951 and 1961 which will total approximately £1,000,000,000 (\$2,670,000,000).

The achievements of the common infrastructure programme are impressive. They include the construction of more than 150 NATO common infrastructure airfields that can now be used in defence of NATO. An initial

(Continued on Page 150)

# **Canada and the United Nations**

## General Assembly: February 1-March 8

When the General Assembly, after a four months' session, adjourned on March 8 it authorized the President, Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand, to reconvene the Assembly as necessary to consider the two items not yet disposed of on its agenda—the situation in the Middle East and the question of Hungary.

On the recommendation of the Security Council, the Assembly voted unanimously to admit the new African state of Ghana as the 81st member of the United Nations. Following the vote, which was taken on a resolution submitted jointly by Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom, the representative of Ghana, Seth Kobla Anthony, was escorted to his seat.

Among the political questions considered by the General Assembly during the period under review were the problems of the Middle East, Cyprus, Algeria and West New Guinea. Details of the discussions on the first two of those items will be found in last month's "External Affairs". The General Assembly considered a resolution on the West New Guinea problem which requested the President of the General Assembly to appoint a three-member Good Offices Commission to assist the Governments of Indonesia and The Netherlands to achieve a just and peaceful solution. This resolution was not adopted, however, as it failed to muster the necessary two-thirds majority.

## **Economic Questions**

Thirteen resolutions on economic items, which had been debated earlier in the Second (Economic) Committee, were approved by the Assembly on February 20 and 26. All of these were supported by the Canadian Delegation.

One of these resolutions, which developed from a Canadian initiative, requested the Economic and Social Council to consider the question of collection of information about economic assistance to under-developed countries, for which the Secretary-General is to prepare a preliminary survey of bilateral and multilateral aid programmes. This resolution was supported by all member countries with the exception of the Soviet bloc countries which abstained.

Although no decision was reached on setting up the controversial Special Fund for Economic Development, the Assembly unanimously approved a resolution asking the Ad Hoc Committee on SUNFED to set forth the different forms of legal framework on which a Fund could be established and statutes drafted, and to indicate the types of projects which might be financed by the Fund.

The Second Committee had earlier rejected a Soviet proposal for calling a world economic conference in 1957, and recommended instead a resolution, subsequently adopted by the Assembly, which urged governments to continue their efforts to reduce trade barriers and looked forward to the establishment of the Organization for Trade Co-operation.

A modified United States resolution concerning the use of surplus foodstuffs to build up national food reserves was adopted unanimously by the Assembly, which requested further study of the FAO report on the question of a world food reserve.

The Assembly approved the expansion of the membership of the Technical Assistance Committee of ECOSOC from eighteen to twenty-four.

## Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Questions

On February 20, the Assembly decided to postpone until its next session the study of the item entitled "Recommendations concerning international respect for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination". It unanimously approved a recommendation of the Third Committee to continue its examination of the Draft Covenants on Human Rights at the next session, and adopted a resolution which, *inter alia*, stipulated that the Third Committee "should devote enough time... to complete its consideration of the Draft Covenants, if possible, by the end of the thirteenth session, for adoption by the General Assembly at that session". On the Third Committee's recommendation, it was decided "to transmit to the Commission on Human Rights the official records and other documents concerning the important question of measures to be taken with respect to the violation of human rights, discussed by the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee at the eleventh session".

The Assembly also adopted a resolution recommending that ECOSOC consider a long-range programme for the promotion of community development. Another resolution invited states to promote wider cultural and scientific international co-operation and asked UNESCO and other specialized agencies to bring their views on this subject to the attention of the Council.

During its consideration of the ECOSOC report, the Assembly voted to increase the size of the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund from 26 to 30, and to make a change in the constitution of the Board whereby, in future, all members will be designated by the Economic and Social Council from among states members of the United Nations or the Specialized Agencies.

## Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories

On February 20 the General Assembly adopted several Fourth Committee resolutions relating to non-self-governing territories. Approval was given to the report on education prepared by the Committee on Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories; it was recommended that the administering authorities consider, in co-operation with UNESCO, the formulation of plans for various aspects of educational development in the territories; and the Secretary-General was invited to prepare for the fourteenth session of the General Assembly (1959) a report on progress achieved in the territories since the establishment of the United Nations. The Assembly rejected a proposal, submitted by the Fourth Committee, for the establishment of an eightmember ad hoc committee to study the application of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter concerning transmission of information on non-self-governing territories in respect of the member states newly admitted to the United Nations.

At its meeting of February 26 the Assembly approved eight resolutions dealing with the question of South West Africa. In one of these, the Secretary-General was requested to explore ways and means of finding a satisfactory solution of the question of the international status of South West Africa. The Assembly once again expressed its view that this territory should be placed under trusteeship, and asked the Government of the United of South Africa to consider and act upon recommendations of the Committee on South West Africa for improving conditions in the territory.

In the course of the same meeting, the Assembly adopted six resolutions on questions arising out of the report of the Trusteeship Council. Under the terms of these proposals, the administering authorities were invited to estimate the period of time required for the attainment of self-government or independence by Trust territories. Other resolutions dealt with travel documents of petitioners; offers by members of the United Nations of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust territories; the future of Tanganyika; and hearings of petitioners from the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration.

In a further resolution dealing with the frontier between Somaliland under Italian administration and Ethiopia, the Assembly recommended that the two Governments continue negotiations and report to the twelfth session on their progress.

## Administrative and Budgetary Questions

On the recommendation of the Fifth Committee the Assembly approved a budget for 1957 of \$50,815,700; an increase of \$2,008,050 over the previous year. Decisions were taken on the United Nations salary, allowance and benefits system; the scale of assessments; the report of the Economic and Social Council (Chapter XI) on the financial implications of action taken by the Council, which are reflected in the budgetary estimates for 1957; and arrangements for the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force.

(Continued from Page 147)

£125,000,000 (\$333,750,000) programme of communications facilities between NATO countries is now 90 percent complete. By the middle of 1958 the major part of NATO's 9,000 kilometre pipeline and nearly two million ton storage system for petroleum products will have been constructed. A number of the NATO naval facilities are completed or are in final stages of construction.

The new £225,000,000 (\$600,750,000) programme will provide funds for the construction of additional airfields, fuel pipeline systems and storage facilities, and the completion of the naval bases programme. It will make possible the financing of other military installations similar to those of the earlier programmes. It includes also a telecommunications system for NATO commands making use of the latest technical developments such as communications by tropospheric and ionospheric "forward scatter" systems and an early warning radar network. All these projects are designed to improve still further NATO's overall defensive capacity.

# APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Dr. P. Panneton appointed Canadian Ambassador to Portugal. Proceeded to Lisbon March 1, 1957.
- Mr. W. P. McLeod posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective March 1, 1957.
- Mr. R. A. D. Ford appointed Canadian Ambassador to Colombia. Proceeded to Bogota March 2, 1957.
- Mr. C. E. McGaughey posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, effective March 11, 1957.
- Mr. K. J. Burbridge appointed Canadian Consul General at Seattle. Proceeded to Seattle March 14, 1957.
- Mr. A. J. Hicks posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, to Ottawa, effective March 15, 1957.
- Mr. J. H. Warren appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 5, effective March 15, 1957. Posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective March 31, 1957.
- Miss E. L. Hill posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective March 26, 1957.
- Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot, Canadian Ambassador to Greece, appointed Canadian High Commissioner to Australia. Proceeded to Canberra March 27, 1957.
- Miss B. M. Meagher posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, effective March 31, 1957.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\* A Selected List

- a) Printed documents:
- Resolutions. E/2929/Add.1. N.Y., Jan. 1957. 4 p. Economic and Social Council Official Records: resumed 22nd session (17-21 Dec. 1956), Supplement No. 1A.
- Transport and Communications Commission; report of the eighth session (7-16 January 1957). E/2948; E/CN.2/187. N.Y., 1957. 18 p. ECOSOC Official Records: 23rd session, Supplement No. 3.
- Commission on International Commodity Trade; report of the 2nd and 3rd sessions (28 Nov.-10 Dec. 1955; 7-18 May 1956). E/2886; E/CN.13/20. N.Y., Nov. 1956. 17 p. ECOSOC Official Records: 22nd session, Supplement No. 9.
- Progress in land reform. Second report. E/2930; ST/SOA/42. N.Y., Dept of Economic and Social Affairs, 1956. 190 p.
- Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1954. Papers: Volume V (Meetings 20, 22, 24, and 26). E/CONF.13/417. Rome, 31 August-10 September 1954. 1115 p. (Eng.-Fr.-Spanish).
- \* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West. Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec, Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York, UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

- Regulations for the United Nations Emergency Force. ST/SGB/UNEF/1. N.Y., 20 Feb. 1957. 7 p.
- United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, 1955. Report on Togoland under British administration; together with related documents. T/1277. Trusteeship Council Official Records: 18th session (7 June-14 August 1956), Supplement No. 2. N.Y., 1956. 35 p.
- United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1956. Report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; together with the relevant resolution of the Trusteeship Council. T/1278. Trusteeship Council Official Records: 18th session (7 June-14 August 1956), Supplement No. 3. N.Y., 1956. 55 p.
- Statistical Yearbook 1956 (eighth issue). N.Y., 1956. 646 p. Price: \$6.00. Sales No: 1956-XVII-5.

### UNESCO

- Workers abroad. Volume III. The travelling journeyman takes the road again. Including a guide to International Trainee Exchanges prepared by the International Labour Office. Unesco, 1957. 93 p.
- Cross-Cultural Education and Educational Travel. (International Social Science Bulletin, vol. VIII, No. 4, 1956, pp. 577-751).
- Intergovernmental Copyright Committee, 1. (Unesco Copyright Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1956, pp. 121-425).

### ILO

- International Labour Conference; thirty-ninth session; *Record of Proceedings*. Geneva, 1956. Price: \$8.50. 618 p.
- Systems of Social Security—Great Britain. Geneva, 1957. 73 p.

#### WHO

- The work of WHO; 1956. Annual report of the Director-General to the World Health Assembly and to the United Nations. Geneva, March 1957. Price: \$2.00. 233 p. Official Records of the World Health Organizations No. 75.
- Executive Board; nineteenth session, Geneva, 15-30 Jan. 1957. Part II: Report on the proposed programme and budget estimates for 1958. Geneva, March 1957. Price: \$1.25. 149 p. Official Records of the World Health Organization, No. 77.

### GATT

- Gatt—Basic Instruments and Selected Documents. Fifth Supplement: Decisions, Reports, etc. of the eleventh session. Procedures and Index. Geneva, Jan. 1957. Price: \$1.50. Sales No: GATT/1957-1. 164 p.
- b) Mimeographed document:
- Report of the 1956 Special Committee on the Question of Defining Agression (8 October-9 November 1956). A/AC.77/L.13, 18 January 1957, 66 p. Annexes I and II.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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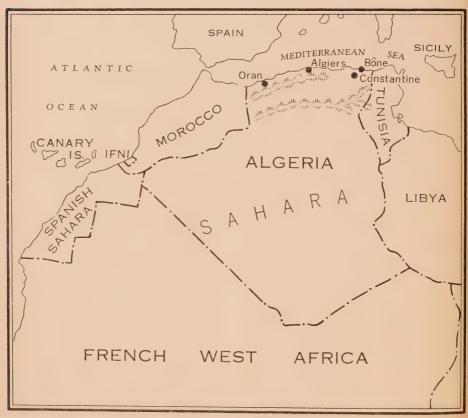
Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# Algeria

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m T}_{
m T}$  is an incontestable historical fact that before the presence of the French no state had imposed its law on Algerian soil."

"Until the French invasion, Algeria was a national political entity, with state institutions exercising all the attributes of sovereignty."

These apparently irreconcilable assertions were made in the course of the debate on the Algerian question in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on February 4, 1957. The first was made by Mr. Pineau, Foreign Minister of France and French Representative to the 11th Session of the General Assembly. The second was made by Mr. Zeinnedine, Syrian Representative to the 11th Session of the General Assembly and an acknowledged spokesman in the debate for the Algerian nationalist movement. His flat contradiction of the French Foreign Minister's statement (although on a point of little importance to the question at issue) is indicative of the difficulties experienced by successive French governments during the period since the end of World War II in seeking common ground with Algerian nationalists on which to build a mutually satisfactory political structure for Algeria.



Algeria covers an area of 847,000 square miles with a population in the vicinity of 9.5 million. About 90 per cent of the population, however, lives in the 15 per cent of Algeria bounded on the north by the Mediterranean and on the south by high mountains which form the northern limits of the Sahara region. Some 1.2 million of the inhabitants are of European extraction, mostly French. The remainder of the population are mostly Arabs and Berbers.

## **Early History**

It has been said that the history of Algeria is a history of domination by Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Turks and finally French, against a background of tribal conflict. Indeed that part of North Africa which is comprised of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco has in the course of recorded history been subjected to nine distinct invasions and periods of domination. The first Arab invasion from Syria occurred in the latter part of the 7th Century A.D. and, while Spanish rule was imposed for a time after that, the Arab influence has in the succeeding centuries remained the most marked and enduring.

This Arab influence did not, however, serve to create a unified state. The indigenous Berber tribes who make up some 30 per cent of the population of the area and who, because of their particular form of the Moslem religion, could not be assimilated, maintained their own law and institutions in the interior. Various Berber and Arab tribes exercised control over undefined parts of Algeria though it was, from the 16th Century, nominally part of the Turkish Empire. Indeed the only stable state and regime appears to have been that of the Bey of Algiers who exercised control over a small strip of coast running east and west from the City of Algiers during the period of Ottoman supremacy.

It was these anarchical conditions which made Algeria a haven for the Corsairs of the Western Mediterranean during the 17th and 18th centuries and made Algiers an unofficial headquarters for their piratical activities. However the increasing power of European navies during this period gradually curbed piracy in the Mediterranean and the attack on Algiers by French forces in 1830 was in effect the last of many attacks on pirate strongholds.

### French Control

For the first 10 years of French occupation only a narrow coastal strip was kept under control. However, in 1840, faced with constant ferment in the interior which endangered the security of the coastal area, France despatched expeditions which established French control throughout the area and appropriated large tracts of land for cultivation by the French colonists who followed.

Throughout what remained of the 19th Century a vigorous policy of colonization and land reclamation was pursued in Algeria. At first there was large-scale dispossession of the tribes and native groups from their land. This was followed by a period during which attempts were made to introduce some integration of European and native land owners. This attempt proved abortive, however, and a policy of land acquisition was developed by the Algerian-European land owners themselves who in the space of 40 years acquired control in Algeria and a good measure of influence in Paris as well.

From 1848, when the French position in Algeria was firmly secured and acknowledged by legislative act in Paris, until 1870, there was a constant struggle for supremacy between the French military regime in Algeria and the increasingly wealthy and influential *colons*. In 1870 the success of the latter in this struggle was marked by the creation of a "constitution" for Algeria which replaced the military regime by a civil one (the military retained control over the arid Sahara waste) and incorporated Algeria as a part of Metropolitan France. The power of the *colons* was again manifested in 1896 with the issuance of a decree by the French Government which abolished the connection of Algerian services with the various ministries in Paris and permitted the Governor of Algeria to centralize higher administration under his own authority. The principle of Algerian representation in Paris was established, and continued until 1940.

During the first part of the 20th Century periodic outbursts of violence, which were promptly quelled, occurred in various parts of Algeria, but the Moslem population was slow to express itself, either through organized violence or by the formation of organized political parties. Influenced perhaps by the concurrent efforts in Tunisia and Morocco to achieve independence, perhaps by the growth of Arab nationalism in Syria and the growth of Communism in France, the first pan-Arab party was founded in Algeria in 1924. This party existed either openly or under cover from then on. Other political groups, some sympathetic to the French and some advocating autonomy within the French Union, were organized in the years preceding or during the Second World War. Reforms introduced by the French Government in 1944 served only to whet the appetite of the Moslem nationalists for more and more autonomy. Unrest in the Territory increased and during rioting on May 8, 1945 more than 100 Europeans and several hundred Arabs were killed. There followed a series of stern repressive measures during which many thousands lost their lives; the movement towards Algerian autonomy was reversed, and tight controls were once again exercised from Paris.

To deal with a thoroughly unsatisfactory political and administrative situation, the French National Assembly in 1947 adopted the Statute of Algeria which reaffirmed that Algeria was a part of France and established the administrative provinces of Algeria (Bône, Constantine, Oran and Algiers) as Departments of France. Thirty seats were allotted in the National Assembly to be filled in equal proportions by the European and Moslem elements of the Algerian population, and representation in the same proportion was provided for in the French Senate. All Algerians were accorded French citizenship. In addition an Algerian Assembly was established with two colleges—one European and the other Moslem—with authority to vote the Algerian budget and certain other legislative functions.

Elections to the Algerian Assembly which took place in 1948, while satisfactory from the French point of view in the short run, proved catastrophic in longer terms. In the selection of candidates the French authorities exercised their right of approving candidates. The election resulted in the seating of a heavy preponderance of pro-French representatives (41 out of 60). Many Algerian nationalists lost faith in the concept of an autonomous Algeria within the French Union and turned from parliamentary methods to agitation and eventually to terrorism as a means of attaining their goal, ignoring the vast contribution made by France to the development of the Algerian economy and the raising of the living standards of all the inhabitants.

The present Algerian rebellion started in November 1954, and, in spite of all French efforts to quell it, has been increasing ever since with support and encouragement from a number of Arab states.

It is interesting to consider briefly at this juncture the recent history of the two other territories of the Mahgreb, Morocco and Tunisia.

## Morocco<sup>(1)</sup>

With the signing of the Treaty of Fez in 1921 Morocco entered into a relationship with France in which, while remaining legally separate, she became a protectorate of France. The practical effort of this agreement was to place control of Moroccan affairs in the hands of a French Resident General, though in theory it was his duty merely to "advise" the Sultan, and "act as intermediary" between the Sultan and foreign powers.

Nationalist opposition to the protectorate status was not long in developing. Abd-el-Krim's revolt in the Rif in 1921 turned a number of Moroccans in this direction, and in 1934, the year in which "pacification" was finally achieved in the area, the "Moroccan Action" movement was formed, calling for Moroccan participation in the country's affairs. Riots and nationalist outbreaks before World War II were fairly common, but were always quelled."

At the end of hostilities in North Africa, new difficulties developed, and in 1944 riots broke out in Rabat and Fez. Two parties were formed, the Istiqlal (Independence) and the Parti Démocratique de l'Indépendence (P.D.I.), both of which advocated Moroccan independence, the latter being less nationalist and more moderate in its aims and methods than the Istiqlal. There followed a number of further nationalist outbreaks, anti-colonial speeches, and other incidents. The situation was complicated by the opposition to the Sultan of some of the tribal chiefs, of whom the most important was El Glaoui, the Pasha of Marrakesh. In 1953, a march on Rabat of Berbers and other tribesmen under the leadership of the Pasha of Marrakesh took place. Within a few days the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, found himself in forced exile in Madagascar. For this sudden turn of events, he blamed the French at least as much as El Glaoui.

After two years of confusion, demands for the return of the exiled Sultan, and further riots and terrorism, talks began between the French Government and representatives from Morocco and the Istiqlal and other political parties, of El Glaoui and of the French *colons*. As a result of these discussions, ben Youssef was once again recognized as Sultan and returned to Rabat.

In December 1955 an all-Moroccan coalition government was formed in which the Istiqlal, the P.D.I. independents, and a representative of the Jewish minority participated. It was this government which conducted the negotiations with France which finally led to the latter's recognition of Moroccan independence on March 2 of this year. On that date a joint declaration was issued, according to which France recognizes that the Treaty of Fez no longer governs Franco-Moroccan relations, and that Morocco is an independent state. Since then negotiations have been carried on intermittently between the Moroccan and French Governments with a view to settling in detail the areas

<sup>(1)</sup> See "External Affairs", July, 1956.

of independence and inter-dependence between the two countries. Morocco was admitted to full membership in the United Nations at the 11th Session of the General Assembly.

## Tunisia(1)

The French protectorate of Tunisia was established in 1881 by the Treaty of Bardo following the capture of Tunis and other key cities by French military forces. Under this Treaty, the Bey of Tunis remained head of the country but delegated control of foreign affairs and general responsibility for defence and internal security to the French Resident Minister and French forces. In 1883 the Treaty of La Marsa defined the internal organization of the French protectorate. In succeeding years a French administration was grafted to the traditional Tunisian institutions, modern communications were introduced and agricultural and mineral resources were developed.

The rise of nationalism in Tunisia may be said to date from 1920 when the Destour or Constitution Party was formed. It asked for moderate political reforms including a legislative assembly. Reforms adopted by the administration did not satisfy the nationalists and in 1934 the more radical Neo-Destour (New Constitution) was organized with Mr. Habib Bourguiba as its leader. This nationalist movement increased steadily in strength, and successive reforms granted by the French from 1947-1952 were not acceptable to Tunisian leaders. Serious rioting early in 1952 marked the beginning of a period of unrest which continued for more than two years. In July 1954 Mr. Mendès-France, then Prime Minister of France, visited the Bey of Tunis and announced that France was prepared to recognize the internal autonomy of Tunisia, reserving only the control of defence and foreign affairs. A Tunisian government formed in August 1954 under Tahar ben Ammar negotiated the Franco-Tunisian Conventions that were signed in Paris on June 3, 1955. These Conventions envisaged a gradual transfer of power over a period of twenty years, throughout which France would remain responsible for Tunisia's defence and external relations. However, the rapid evolution of the situation in Morocco brought Tunisian demands for equal treatment and on March 20, 1956, three weeks after the proclamation of Morocco's independence, Tunisia in turn became an independent state, ending 75 years as a Protectorate of France. Like Morocco, Tunisia has been engaged in negotiations with France regarding the future relationship of the two countries and the arrangements governing French interests in Tunisia. Tunisia also was admitted to the United Nations at the 11th Session of the General Assembly.

## Algeria in the UN

Since November 1, 1954, Algeria has been in a state of almost constant open rebellion. At first the number of nationalist extremists was small and they lacked any substantial support from the Algerian population. Disturbances were therefore confined to the Kabylie and Aures Mountains near the Tunisian border. However, local support and support from other Arab countries grew and efforts by two successive French Governments to restore order were without avail. On August 20, 1955 the Algerian nationalists mounted systematic attacks on more than 20 towns in the Department of Constantine.

<sup>(1)</sup> See "External Affairs", July, 1956.

Hundreds were killed and the French Government found itself faced with a major nationalist revolt with considerable outside support.

At the 10th Session of the United Nations General Assembly (1955) a group of 13 Arab and Asian states sought inscription of the Algerian question on the General Assembly's agenda. This was vigorously opposed by the French Delegation on the grounds that the Algerian conflict was a domestic matter outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations. The General Committee voted against inscription. However, in the General Assembly the co-sponsors of the resolution calling for inscription of the Algerian item spoke strongly in favour of reversing the General Committee's decision and in a dramatic vote the Assembly decided by the narrowest of margins to consider the item. The French Delegation thereupon withdrew from the Assembly, declaring that the United Nations and not France would have to face the consequences of this violation of the United Nations Charter. For the next two months efforts were made to find a compromise formula satisfactory both to France and the Arab-Asian sponsors of the inscription of the Algerian question. In the end an Indian resolution which had the effect of dropping the item from the agenda was adopted, whereupon France returned to the Assembly.

In spite of strenuous efforts on the part of the French Government to bring an end to the rebellion, outbreaks of violence and terrorism continued during 1956. Large numbers of French troops were sent to Algeria in an attempt to "pacify" the area in order that administrative and political reforms could be pursued. Plans to increase the Moslem participation and responsibility in local government, to increase the number of administrative districts and effect decentralization, to effect agricultural reforms and land redistribution and other advances had to be deferred from month to month as acts of sabotage and terror continued to occur throughout the country. Repeated offers by the French for a cease-fire were rejected by the nationalist rebel leaders, who did not conceal their fear that a return to peaceful conditions in Algeria might cause the disintegration of their forces and the loss of much of the active and passive support of the Moslem population. The often-repeated French three point proposal for Algeria (cease-fire, elections, negotiations) was ignored by the rebels, who insisted on a prior commitment by the French Government to recognize the principle of Algerian independence. This nationalist demand was, of course, fortified by the emergence of Tunisia and Morocco as independent states.

In October 1956 there occurred three important events in the Algerian struggle. On October 1, fifteen Arab and Asian states requested that the General Assembly of the United Nations include the Algerian question in the agenda of its 11th Session. Some time later French naval forces intercepted a ship (the Athos) carrying arms from Egypt to the Algerian rebels. This foreign assistance was brought to the attention of the Security Council which, however, took no immediate action on the complaint. Then, on October 21, French military authorities contrived to have an aircraft, flying from Rabat to Tunis and carrying five leaders of the Algerian rebellion, land at Algiers where the nationalist leaders were arrested. This French action produced a violent reaction on the part of the Moroccan and Tunisian Governments, who considered the five to have been under the protection of the Sultan of Morocco whom they had been visiting. Relations between France and the two new countries were all but severed and negotiations which had been going on between them during the summer were broken off.

The French Government, while continuing to maintain that the United Nations was not competent to consider the Algerian question, did not oppose the inscription of the item on the agenda of the 11th Session. Their approach to the Algerian question in the General Assembly was to explain to members the situation, the background, the problems, and France's proposed solution for those problems.

On January 9, 1957, the Prime Minister of France, Mr. Mollet, once more elaborated his Government's policy for Algeria. In essence it was that there should be an immediate cease-fire with elections to follow within three months of the restoration of calm throughout Algeria. Representatives of the Algerian people chosen as a result of this election, which would be by a single electoral college system rather than the double college system of the past, would then negotiate with the French Government on the future organization of Algeria. Mr. Mollet did not go into detail regarding French views on what this organization should be but he made it clear that France was primarily interested in ensuring their neither the Moslem nor the European community in Algeria would, by reason of its numerical or economic superiority, be able to discriminate against the other. In this connection he said:

Let us now examine the principles governing the daily administration of Algerian affairs, which will guide the French Government in the discussion of Algeria's definitive organization. They can be reduced to

- —To ensure strict equality of rights for all the inhabitants of Algeria, regardless of their origin and religion;
- —To ensure the coexistence of the communities which make up Algeria with due respect to their legitimate rights;
- —To define Algeria's individual characteristics while maintaining the necessary ties between Algeria and Metropolitan France.

Strict equality of rights, with liberty and justice, is the first requirement of all the inhabitants of Algeria. Each of them already benefits from the guarantees of the French Constitution based on respect for the fundamental liberties, both personal and public. But more is needed. All the inhabitants of Algeria must in actual practice have a fair share of the country's resources, employment opportunities and responsibilities.

The "Algerian debate" opened in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on February 4. Mr. Pineau gave a long and lucid exposition of the French point of view. He traced the history of Algeria under French rule and dealt in detail with the efforts made by the French Government to improve conditions in Algeria and to achieve an equitable political solution which would take account of the rights of all racial groups in the country as well as the legitimate interests of France. He explained French proposals for the future organization of Algeria and spoke of the French hopes that eventually there might emerge a "Eurafrican" whole. "Europe in its entirety, bringing to Africa its capital and its techniques, should enable the immense African continent to become an essential factor in world politics."

Mr. Pineau was followed by the Syrian delegate who, in a statement almost as long as that of the French Foreign Minister, sought to paint France as a cynical and domineering colonial master who had destroyed Algerian institutions and reduced the indigenous population to near slavery.

From the statements by various delegations that followed it became apparent—if it had not been from the start—that no majority could be found for resolutions either condemning or applauding France's Algerian policies. The Canadian view in 1955 and 1956 was that the Algerian conflict was essentially a matter of French domestic concern. While it was permissible to discuss the question in the United Nations with France's consent this did not imply that the United Nations was competent to judge the actions of the member principally concerned.

The statement of the Canadian Delegation in the First Committee was delivered on February 8 by Mr. Roch Pinard, Secretary of State. He stated that Canada still doubted the wisdom of discussing a problem which under the Charter fell so clearly within the jurisdiction of a member state. He expressed pleasure that the French Delegation has accepted the opinion of the majority and had agreed to present its views on the problem. It was the opinion of the Canadian Delegation that the French Government was aware of the need to relate its policies to the necessities of a changing world and that it had embarked in a direction which would result in a state of affairs in Algeria that should satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the two main elements in the population. Although Canada had succeeded in working out a harmonious political and social entity in a society composed of races of differing cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds, it had not done so overnight. Mr. Pinard referred to the immense progress made by France in the last year in granting independence to Tunisia and Morocco and more domestic control to the population of Togoland and colonies in other parts of Africa. He expressed the belief that these accomplishments were proof of French good faith and suggested that the Committee should leave the question of Algeria's future to be worked out by France with the elected representatives of the area in keeping with Mr. Mollet's statement of January 9.

The First Committee eventually reached agreement on a resolution which merely expressed the hope that a solution would be found in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter. This consensus was passed to the General Assembly meeting in plenary session which on February 15 unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The General Assembly,

having heard the statements made by various delegations, and discussed the question of Algeria,

having regard to the situation in Algeria which is causing much suffering and loss of human lives.

expresses the hope that, in a spirit of co-operation, a peaceful, democratic and just solution will be found, through appropriate means, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the U.N.

## **Medical Mission To Far East**

During the first three months of 1957, a group of Canadian medical experts headed by Dr. Wilder Penfield, O.M., of the Montreal Neurological Institute, visited India and other Far Eastern countries to extend the helping hand of professional fellowship in the development of their medical services and health resources. This mission, jointly sponsored by the Canadian Colombo Plan Administration and the governments of the countries concerned, was the first of its kind to be undertaken as a combined operation by India and Canada. It was originally conceived following a tour of India by a group of British physicians, when the Minister of Health for India, the Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, suggested that Canada might be able to provide further stimulus to the progress of medicine in India by sending a team of Canadian specialists to tour that country.



CANADIAN HONOURED

At a special convocation, Delhi University conferred the honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws on Professor Arnold Toynbee, the eminent British historian, and Doctor of Science on Dr. Wilder Penfield, famous Canadian neurologist. Left to right are: Professor Toynbee, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Chancellor of Delhi University, Dr. Penfield and Prime Minister Nehru of India.

The Indian Government requested that, as the British team had consisted mainly of those interested in surgery, Canada should send four Canadian physicians of outstanding qualifications in the area of medicine and medical teaching to lecture at medical colleges and to demonstrate advanced clinical techniques in hospitals. Because of a variety of circumstances, some religious and some social, teaching in India was considered to be unduly didactic and it was felt to be essential that the importance of good bed-side history and examination be stressed by clinical instruction in the teaching programme.

After approval in principle of the project had been given by the Colombo Plan Authorities, the first step was the recruitment of the medical experts. There was no scarcity of material. To the contrary, the problem was, in the main, the designation of so few medical specialists among the many available. Then too, it was essential that those recruited could be relieved of their duties

in their respective institutions for a three months' stay in India and that they be willing to undertake what was fully appreciated would be an arduous and demanding assignment. In the matter of selection of the doctors, it was felt essential that those in the teaching institutions in Canada should have the prior responsibility in naming candidates for the mission and, accordingly, the Association of Deans of Canadian Medical Colleges was invited to co-operate in the formation of the medical team. The response was gratifying and a list of prominent internists and other specialists was soon available.

The next step was to contact those nominated by the Deans to outline, in general terms, the purpose and activities of the mission and to ascertain their willingness to participate. While these negotiations were being carried on, Canadian tuberculosis authorities were invited to participate in the 14th International Tuberculosis Congress, to be held at New Delhi in January 1957. It was urged that a strong delegation to the Congress be sponsored by the Canadian Government in addition to those who would be attending under the auspices of the Canadian Tuberculosis Association.

It was thus decided that two teams would be sent to India, the first the originally envisaged medical group, now to consist of three members, and the second a group of tuberculosis experts. It was apparent that with two such teams making up the overall mission, there should be single leadership for the project as a whole, and Dr. Penfield was nominated. With demands on his time so heavy, it was extremely gratifying that he was willing to undertake the assignment.

The revised structure of the medical mission was submitted to the Indian Government and met with enthusiastic approval. It was agreed that the medical team should carry on as previously planned and visit three medical teaching institutions, to be designated by the Indian health authorities, spending approximately one month at each. In the case of the tuberculosis team, however, its itinerary was to consist first of a week spent attending the International Tuberculosis Congress, and, subsequently, two weeks at each of three centres in India, at which the problem of tuberculosis in that country would be given special study with local authorities responsible for implementing control programmes.

Although Dr. Penfield was to be the nominal leader of the mission, plans for his trip provided for a more or less independent tour and, with a view to taking advantage of his presence in the Far East, it was proposed that, in addition to India, he might also visit Pakistan and Ceylon. Again these proposals were welcomed by the countries concerned. By happy coincidence Dr. Penfield had been invited to present the annual Sherrington Lectures at Liverpool University, and thus his visit to the East was arranged to include a stop-over in the United Kingdom en route to India. His programme in Asia called for a stay of about one month, of which a week would be spent in each of Pakistan and Ceylon, and the remainder in India.

After considerable negotiation and discussion with deans of medical schools in Canada, the personnel for both teams were selected and, when approached, willingly undertook what was to prove to be a rigorous and demanding assignment. Since one of the primary objectives of the mission related to medical teaching in India, it was deemed necessary that one member of the medical team should be a physician who could speak as an expert from knowledge and experience in this area. Accordingly, Dr. Arthur L. Richard, Dean

of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Ottawa, was invited to make a contribution in this respect. As child health and nutrition are important medical problems in India, it was essential to include an expert in both fields, and it was felt that Dr. John F. McCreary, Professor and Head of the Department of Paediatrics at the University of British Columbia, admirably fulfilled these requirements. To round out the medical group, the desirability of conveying to the teaching institutions the most up-to-date information in the field of medical therapy indicated the inclusion of a therapeutist and, accordingly, Dr. K. J. R. Wightman, Professor and Head of the Department of Therapeutics at the University of Toronto, was invited to participate. Unfortunately, illness made it impossible for Dr. Wightman to make the trip.

Special considerations also motivated the selection of the tuberculosis team. Dr. G. J. Wherrett, Secretary, Canadian Tuberculosis Association, was included for his knowledge of administrative aspects and performance of tuberculosis control programmes in general; Dr. Armand Frappier, Director, Institute of Microbiology and Hygiene, University of Montreal, for his widely recognized contribution in the bacteriological aspects of tuberculosis and B.C.G., and Dr. Cecil G. Shaver, Medical Superintendent, Niagara Peninsula Sanatorium, as an outstanding clinician and director of a tuberculosis institution. As a special contribution, the Canadian Tuberculosis Association provided a fourth member for this group, Dr. Hugh E. Burke, Medical Director, Royal Edward Laurentian Sanatorium, another eminent clinician, being selected. To augment the Canadian Delegation attending the International Tuberculosis Congress, the National Sanitorium Association sponsored Dr. G. A. Wicks, Superintendent, Toronto Hospital for Tuberculosis, Weston, and the Ontario Tuberculosis Association its Executive Director, Mr. E. J. O'Brien.

## Helpful Meeting

Before departure, information material regarding medicine and medical teaching institutions in India was obtained and distributed to all members of the mission and the principal objectives were discussed with most of the members personally on separate occasions and by correspondence. The tuberculosis team took off from Dorval on December 27. After an uneventful trip they arrived in New Delhi January 4 and their programme commenced with a week's attendance at the International Tuberculosis Congress. Dr. Richard and Dr. McCreary left Canada on January 3. Dr. Penfield's departure in late January was preceded by a meeting in Ottawa with the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin; the Minister of National Revenue, Dr. J. J. Mc-Cann; the Deputy Minister of National Health, Dr. G. D. W. Cameron; and the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Jules Léger. This provided an opportunity for an exchange of views for the guidance of Dr. Penfield, and Mr. Martin, who had just concluded a two months' tour of the Far East, gave Dr. Penfield first-hand information on the countries he was to visit. Dr. and Mrs. Penfield left Montreal January 26 and, after the Sherrington Lectures at the University of Liverpool, proceeded on the Eastern tour, first visiting Pakistan and then India. Dr. Penfield also visited Ceylon as planned.

All members of the mission returned to Canada via the Pacific, spending a few days in Japan en route. The Penfields arrived in Canada in early March, the tuberculosis team shortly afterwards and the medical team in early April. Dr. Frappier, at the invitation of the Japanese Government, remained an

additional ten days in Tokyo to advise on the B.C.G. programme in that country.

Canadian Colombo Plan funds were used to cover the cost of travel to and from the Far East for all members of the designated mission and for honoraria and incidental day-to-day expenses: In India and the other countries the local governments defrayed necessary expenditures for travel, hotel accommodations and related matters. During their stay in New Delhi, Dr. and Mrs. Penfield were the guests of the Canadian High Commissioner to India, Mr. and Mrs. Escott Reid.

The mission was an overwhelming success from several viewpoints. Numerous opportunities were presented to permit stimulation of medical teaching activities in India. As an example of the reception of the Canadian physicians' efforts, it was reported that Dr. Penfield's lectures in Ceylon were extremely interesting to the medical profession and were received with great attention. At two lectures at the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Colombo, the lecture theatre was greatly overcrowded and members of the medical profession and students filled the doorways and sat on the steps and on the floor to listen with a degree of attention that was indeed flattering. Similarly, the efforts of the medical and tuberculosis teams were received with high commendation.

In addition to the more scientific benefits, much was achieved in promoting better relations between members of the medical profession in India and Canada and, in a less tangible way, between the Indian and Canadian people.

In a special communication the Minister of Health for India, the Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, asked to have "her deep sense of gratitude expressed to the Honourable Paul Martin and his colleagues in the Department of National Health and Welfare and to the Canadian Colombo Plan Administration for their co-operation in making these visits possible."

## R. G. Riddell Memorial Bursary

An R. G. Riddell Memorial Bursary has been established at the University of Toronto. Mr. Riddell, at the time of his untimely death at the age of 43 in March, 1951, was Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations. In his work in the Department of External Affairs, at many conferences and sessions of the United Nations, and during the last year of his life in the Canadian Permanent Mission in New York, Jerry Riddell made a remarkable contribution to the foreign policy of his country. By his devotion, his imagination, his intelligence, and his warm and sympathetic nature he established a reputation for himself and for Canada in the United Nations from which his country has never ceased to profit.

The Bursary in Mr. Riddell's memory is being awarded this spring for the first time, and is to be given annually "to a student enrolled in the second or third year of an honour course in the Humanities or Social Sciences on the recommendation of the Council of the Faculty of Arts". This Bursary has been established by his widow, who has guaranteed the amount of \$150 each year until the necessary capital has been accumulated to cover the annual payment. If the capital grows to exceed the sum necessary to yield \$150 annually, the award will be increased. The directors of the Bursary have announced that contributions to this open fund (in the form of cheques payable to the University of Toronto) may be sent direct to Mr. W. W. Small, Secretary of the Board, Simcoe Hall, University of Toronto.

# Visit to Basutoland

(The High Commissioner for Canada to South Africa, Mr. E. W. T. Gill, recently paid his first visit to Basutoland, one of the British High Commission territories in South Africa, where there are several Canadian religious missions. Mr. Gill's report on this visit is given below.)

Accompanied by Mrs. Gill I recently paid a short visit to the Canadian missionaries in Basutoland.

The activities of the Roman Catholic missions in that territory have been expanded considerably since they were the subject of reports by my predecessors, Mr. D'Arcy McGreer and Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot. There are now about 40 missions including churches, schools, teacher-training establishments, seminaries, hospitals, and clinics, and a university college, as well as some supply establishments.

These various institutions are operated by priests of the Oblate Order assisted by brothers and sisters of the same order, lay brothers of the Sacred Heart, Grey Nuns and others. The great majority of those engaged in this worthy work are Canadians-220 in all-with a small minority coming from European countries. I gather that the necessary financial support for their undertakings comes largely from Canadian sources.

The population of Basutoland is now about 600,000 and of these more than one-third have adopted the Roman Catholic faith, perhaps something less than one-third have become Protestants, and the rest are still pagan. In the past 40 years the number of Roman Catholics among the Basuto has risen



WITH PARAMOUNT CHIEF Mr. and Mrs. Gill with M'antsebo Seeiso, Paramount Chief of the Basutos.

from 9,000 to 260,000 and new baptisms are taking place at the rate of about 10,000 per annum.

My wife and I were treated with the utmost cordiality by our fellow Canadians. We stayed in the suite reserved for the Apostolic Delegate at Pius XII College and the Right Reverend J. D. Des Rosiers, O. M. I., Bishop of Maseru, conducted us personally on our visit to various missions in Roma (the headquarters) and the outlying areas. At Roma Junior College, the staff and students were assembled to meet us and Brother Origène, S.C., made an address of welcome. The school band then played "O Canada!" (which they had been practising for several days). Later, at a garden party which was held in our honour, Brother Georges, S.C., assisted by the same band, led in the singing of "Alouette". Thus it may be seen that we were in a thoroughly Canadian atmosphere.

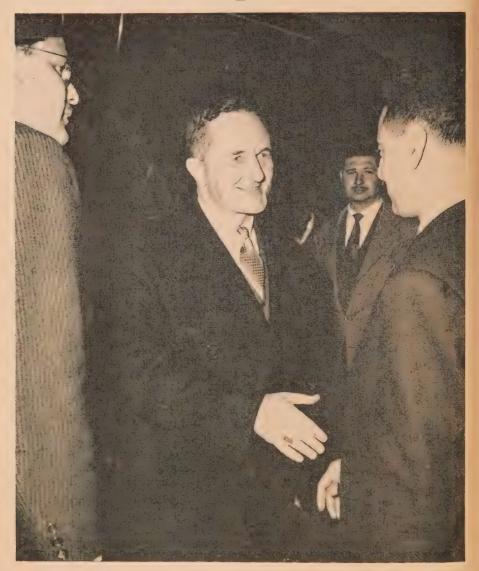
Pius XII College, which is one of two institutions in southern Africa functioning exclusively for the higher education of Africans, has grown in scope and importance. In 1955, it became affiliated with the University of South Africa in Pretoria. Its pupils thus came to be recognized as a distinct group of students of the University for administration and examination purposes. It now has about 65 students from various territories in southern Africa taking courses leading to a B.A., B.Comm., or B.Sc. degree, or to a University education diploma. It has a large capital expansion programme underway, which will permit increased enrolment. The college, the rector of which is Father Guilbeault, O.M.I., formerly of Mattawa, Ontario, does much to make Western civilization better known not only among Africans from Basutoland, but from elsewhere south of the Sahara as well.

Of special interest in showing the primitive conditions under which some of the missionaries work was our visit to St. John the Baptist Mission, Marakabei, situated high up in the Basuto mountains. Before the construction of a road, the Mission was largely dependent on pack mules for supplies and much of the construction materials for the church were taken in by that method. The priest in charge of the Mission is Father Leclerc, O.M.I., and Brother Labrecque, O.M.I., is responsible for the building programme.

I formed extremely favourable impressions of the good work being done in the missionary field by our fellow Canadians and their associates. I was struck by the zeal and devotion of the missionaries on the one hand and by the responsiveness of their pupils on the other. An atmosphere of happiness and serenity pervades throughout and there is a spirit of friendly co-operation in the relationship between Basuto and missionary. There are of course many Basutos who have been prepared in the institutions and have taken their places as priests and nuns beside the white missionaries. The majority of their 700 school teachers are African nuns. The Right Reverend E. G. Mabothoana, a Basuto who was prepared for the priesthood at Roma, was a few years ago ordained as Bishop and now heads the Diocese of Leriba. In 1954, he visited Canada and delivered a sermon in French in Notre Dame Cathedral, Montreal.

During the course of my visit, I called to pay my respects on M'antsebo Seeiso, Paramount Chief of the Basutos. She is acting as Regent until her stepson, Bereng Seeiso, who is being educated in the United Kingdom, comes of age. Using the Bishop as an interpreter, she asked me to convey to the Prime Minister of Canada her deep gratitude for the help that her people are receiving from our country.

Towards the close of our stay, we spent a short time in Mazenod, where we inspected the modern printing plant which supplies books and religious literature to the missions. This is under the direction of Father M. Ferragne, O.M.I., who used to lecture at the University of Ottawa. On this occasion, I was able to broadcast over the mission network a brief message of greetings to the missionaries at the outlying posts we were unable to visit.



TUNISIAN ANNIVERSARY

Ambassador Leon Mayrand, special Canadian representative to the celebrations marking the First Anniversary of Tunisian Independence, being greeted by the Tunisian Director of Protocol, General Bahri, upon arrival at Tunis Airport. Tunisia, a former protectorate of France, acquired full independent status on March 20, 1956 and was recognized by Canada as a sovereign state on June 20 of that year. Mr. Mayrand was the first official Canadian representative to visit the new state.

# **Force For United Nations**

## By Lester B. Pearson

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Peace, one might think, is not the sort of human occupation which should normally require supervision. Yet the United Nations, instead of concentrating on more positive and progressive activities, has ever since its inception been engaged in supervising a kind of peace which has been not much more than the absence of fighting—and not always even that. Now policing a peace—or an armistice—can be an essential international function, at times a dramatic one. It cannot be denied that the United Nations has been successful in this function in some important cases. However, action in this field has been largely pragmatic and ad hoc. I believe—and recent events have strengthened my belief—that the time has come when we should seek ways to enable the United Nations to pursue this work in a more organized and permanent way.

The world's alarm last November over events in Egypt—intensified, if that were possible, by the frustrating situation in Hungary—galvanized the General Assembly into establishing a United Nations Emergency Force, an action which until then had not been thought practicable or probable. We must now do everything possible to ensure that this action is successful in achieving the desired results. If we fail in this, a damaging blow—perhaps a fatal one—will be dealt to the whole concept of supervising the peace and avoiding hostilities through the United Nations Assembly. If we succeed, then we must build on that success so that when we are faced in the future with similarly complicated and dangerous situations we can avoid the hasty improvisations of last autumn.

The United Nations was brought into being primarily as a co-operative endeavor on the part of many nations to seek in collective action the security for which mankind hungered and which the facts of life in the modern world denied to each nation individually. To achieve this the founders of the United Nations recognized the necessity of having military forces at its disposal and they wrote into the Charter provisions which they hoped would bring them into being. Over the years, however, these provisions have developed in ways far removed from the intentions of their authors.

Under the Covenant of the old League of Nations, the Assembly and the Council had concurrent jurisdiction over the peaceful settlement of disputes and recommendations of enforcement action. Under the Charter of the United Nations, however, the Security Council has primary responsibility in this field and, within certain well-defined limits, has the power to direct members to take action. The League Covenant made no provision for the compulsory enforcement of its decisions; any decision which might require the use of force could be taken only with the unanimous approval of all members, including the state against which it was to be directed. Every member of the League had the right of veto over collective action. That, of course, was a guarantee of futility.

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The Charter of the United Nations, however, took what was hoped would prove to be a great step forward. The concentration in the Security Council of power to make certain decisions and enforce them gave the new organization immense potential for quick and decisive action—at least in theory. Actually, in the conditions of cold war the veto possessed by each permanent member of the Council was almost as effective in preventing action as if all members had had it.

Despite the dangers inherent in the irresponsible use of the veto, there was hope that the Security Council would prove effective. One reason for hope was that its decisions were to have behind them an overwhelming superiority of armed force deriving primarily from the forces of the Great Powers themselves. In addition, other members of the organization undertook to make armed forces available to the Council, on its call and in accordance with special agreements. These forces were to be organized collectively by the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council, composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members.

As early as 1947, however, the Military Committee became deadlocked over the issue of the contributions to be made by the Great Powers themselves to the collective force of the United Nations. Their disagreement merely reflected the general breakup of their wartime co-operation and its replacement by the fears and dissensions of the cold war. With no Great Power agreement it is not surprising that the Military Staff Committee also failed to draw up the special agreements between the Council and other members envisaged under Article 43 of the Charter, and upon which the whole military structure of the United Nations was originally meant to rest. As a result, the United Nations today entirely lacks that particular type of international force envisaged in the Charter.

In spite of its inability to use force to implement its decisions, the Security Council was nevertheless able to intervene with some success in dangerous situations in Iran, Greece, Indonesia, Kashmir and Palestine. Then came the outbreak of hostilities in Korea and a temporary but significant change in the pattern of United Nations action to preserve the peace—a change made possible by two accidents of history. First, the U.S.S.R., with its veto, was absent from the Security Council when the decision to intervene was taken. Second, at the moment of the outbreak of hostilities in Korea a United Nations Commission was on the spot, able to report and advise on the facts of the situation. The U.S.S.R., however, is not likely again to vacate its seat in the Council, and there are many dangerous areas in the world where the United Nations maintains no observation agency. The type of Security Council action against aggression in Korea, therefore, is not likely to be repeated. In any event, the United Nations character of that action was as much symbolic as it was real, because the United States supplied most of the forces and exercised most of the control over them. In so far as the possibility of using the United Nations for collective security was concerned, Korea was both an encouragement and a warning.

By the time of the Korean operation, it had become clear that where an important, not to say vital, political interest of a Great Power was at stake, that Power would not readily subordinate its decision to a collective judgment. Because of this, and because of the veto, the earlier idea of collective security through the Security Council became impossible to realize. To escape from

the dilemma thus created, many members of the United Nations suggested that questions which the Council was unable to resolve might be referred to the General Assembly; and they advocated that other forms of force than that provided for under Article 43 of the Charter be organized to carry out United Nations decisions.

Even earlier, at the very first session of the General Assembly in October 1946, the Canadian delegation had voiced its concern that the Security Council and the Military Staff Committee had failed to make substantial progress towards a conclusion of the special agreements with individual members required to implement Article 43. It urged that these bodies proceed with all possible speed to equip the Security Council with forces.

In the following Assembly of 1947, Mr. St. Laurent, then Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, said: "Nations in their search for peace... will not and cannot accept indefinitely and unaltered a Council which was set up to ensure their security, and which, so many feel, has become frozen in futility and divided by dissension. If forced, they may seek greater safety in an association of democratic and peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for greater national security. Such associations, if consistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter, can be formed within the United Nations." The provisions of the Charter, he added, "provide a floor under, rather than a ceiling over, the responsibilities of Member States. If some prefer to go even below that floor, others need not be prevented from moving upwards." It was the Canadian hope that such a development would not be necessary. If it were unnecessary it would certainly be undesirable.

As we have seen, however, hopes for ensuring collective security were not fulfilled. The Security Council remained powerless to provide such security and the Assembly was unorganized for this purpose. In view of the undiminished threat from the Soviet Union, which had a preponderance in armed forces and pursued aggressive policies, certain members of the United Nations sought for a regional means of providing for their mutual defense within the framework of the organization. The North Atlantic Treaty, for example, was created and exists only because of the failure to attain a really effective system of collective security on a universal basis.

The search for means to establish a universal system nevertheless continued. Against the sombre background of events in Korea, members of the United Nations reviewed again the collective security machinery available, with the result that in the autumn of 1950 the Assembly adopted a resolution which potentially was of great importance. The Uniting for Peace Resolution, as it came to be called, meant simply that the General Assembly had decided to provide machinery for utilizing certain powers which it already possessed. The resolution did not itself constitute any revolutionary departure in interpreting the Charter; it was conceived simply as a practical measure designed to meet certain situations in which the purposes of the United Nations might be frustrated by the negative attitude of a permanent member of the Security Council. The General Assembly was to be used for security purposes only when the Security Council failed to perform, or was prevented from performing, its primary function. If the Council acted, nothing in the resolution would interfere with its action.

But if the Security Council did not act, what then? Were we to admit frankly the failure of our United Nations peace machinery and fall back entirely upon regional collective security arrangements such as NATO? While filling a gap, these obviously were limited in scope or character. Surely, it was thought, some way could be found for the United Nations to provide a force which would at least halt a drift to war by helping to carry out an Assembly recommendation when the Security Council failed to act. True, according to the Charter the Assembly had no legal power of enforcement and could act only by recommendation. Nevertheless, in terms of persuasiveness and moral force, the Assembly's recommendations, if responsibly conceived and generally accepted (two very weighty provisos), would carry as much weight as those of the Security Council—perhaps more. So why not at least make available some machinery which might carry them out?

Such was the background of the Uniting for Peace Resolution. It provided, among other things, that an emergency session of the Assembly might be called on 24 hours' notice for the purpose of making recommendations if the Security Council had failed to agree on means of resisting a breach of the peace or an act of aggression. It also called for the establishment of a Collective Measures Committee to study methods which might be used to strengthen the collective security machinery. Moreover—and this was a foundation on which we could have built—the resolution recommended that each member state maintain elements within its armed forces for prompt use as United Nations units, and that a panel of military experts be appointed by the Secretary-General for advisory and organization purposes.

The Collective Measures Committee recommended in the resolution was set up and it developed a set of principles designed to help maintain and strengthen the United Nations collective security system through Assembly action. The Secretary-General asked member governments to survey their resources to determine the nature and scope of the assistance they might render and to report on the progress made. The result was discouraging. In all, 37 governments replied to this communication. Simple acknowledgements were received from 15 governments; 8 indicated that they could not participate at all in the projects being studied by the Committee, or gave only limited and conditional acceptance of the measures contemplated; 11 took certain minimum steps (largely in connection with the earmarking of forces for Korea) and gave assurances of active support for the principle of the Uniting for Peace Resolution. The Canadian Government stated that its special force, raised for service in Korea, would be available for whatever action might be necessary anywhere in order to carry out military obligations under the Charter.

By the Uniting for Peace Resolution, the Assembly also provided for a Peace Observation Commission to observe and report on the situation in areas of international tension. So far it has not been used.

As a whole, the efforts of the Collective Measures Committee were sterile. With the General Assembly's adoption of its third report on November 4, 1954, it concluded its work. Another series of studies had been accumulated and now were laid away in files and vaults. The United Nations, nine years after its founding, still had no force at its disposal to implement its decisions—even to "secure and supervise" a cease-fire and armistice.

Nevertheless, the Uniting for Peace Resolution remained on the books; and almost six years later, in November 1956, in circumstances very different

from those contemplated by its authors, it enabled the General Assembly to meet and discuss in emergency special session the serious situation in the Middle East. The Assembly still was ill-prepared to take on responsibilities for "peace supervision" through police action. The Uniting for Peace Resolution recommended the earmarking of forces for its use in peace and police action but nothing had been done. When the need for these forces was upon us we had to embark on an improvised experiment, starting literally from nothing. There was neither precedent nor organization available to the Assembly in carrying out the new responsibility thrust upon it.

In a sense this was due to the unexpected nature of this responsibility. With fighting actually going on and threatening to spread, quick action was required. In the crisis, an Assembly resolution set up a United Nations Emergency Force and authorized the Secretary-General to organize it within 48 hours. Due largely to the devotion, energy and intelligence of the Secretary-General and his assistants, the Force was in fact brought into being at once. This amazing example of international improvisation showed what can be done by the United Nations when the collective will to action is strong and united. Moreover, the Force has so far proved effective for the purpose it was meant to achieve, the securing and supervising of a cease-fire.

Nevertheless, these purposes were very different from those originally contemplated in the Charter. What we faced in the Assembly last November was the necessity of organizing quickly a force, not to fight, but to ensure that fighting would not be resumed. We were trying to implement, if not a new concept of United Nations supervisory action, certainly an enlarged one.

Such a concept has already stirred interest and hope and optimism. Some of this optimism is exaggerated, because it does not take sufficiently into consideration the limitations under which the Assembly must act. There can be no certainty that the U.N.E.F. will complete successfully the tasks that have been or may be given to it. It may fail, either because it does not secure the right kind of collective backing in the Assembly or because it becomes the victim of Middle Eastern politics. If so, the failure will extend far beyond the immediate situation. It will destroy confidence in the effectiveness of the United Nations in the whole field of security. On the other hand, its success might well lead to further steps in developing means to supervise the peace.

Whatever may be the ultimate result, the intervention of the United Nations through an Emergency Force in November 1956 was certainly an indispensable prerequisite to the acceptance of a cease-fire and the subsequent withdrawal of Anglo-French and Israeli forces from Egyptian territory. Its action emphasized, however, the need to be better prepared to meet future situations of a similar kind. Even if governments are unable to give the United Nations a "fighting" force ready and organized to serve it on the decision of the Security Council, they should be willing to earmark smaller forces for the more limited duty of securing a cease-fire already agreed upon by the belligerents. We might in this way be able to construct a halfway house at the crossroads of war, and utilize an intermediate technique between merely passing resolutions and actually fighting.

The first step would seem to be to create a permament mechanism by which units of the armed forces of member countries could be endowed with the authority of the United Nations and made available at short notice for

supervisory police duties. It is not suggested that the present Emergency Force should become a permanent force or, indeed, that its functions should be extended beyond those laid down in the relevant Assembly resolutions. We should, nevertheless, build upon the experience of this enterprise. Otherwise, I repeat, we shall only go back again to the situation in which we found ourselves last November, when everything had to be improvised, when there was no precedent for making units available, no administrative and financial procedure and no organization to which the Secretary-General could turn in the task given him by the Assembly of putting a United Nations force into a dangerous and delicate situation. We improvised successfully then. We cannot reasonably expect the same degree of success a second time.

We now have at our disposal a body of experience from which can be developed some tentative principles governing the establishment of United Nations machinery and, as required, a Peace Supervision Force. Among these principles—some of which I have already referred to—the following strike me as forming an essential minimum.

Member governments, excluding the permanent members of the Security Council, should be invited to signify a willingness in principle to contribute contingents to the United Nations for purposes that are essentially noncombatant, such as, for example, the supervision of agreed cease-fires and comparable peace supervisory functions.

Since the Security Council is charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, members who have sought and secured election to the non-permanent seats on it would normally be expected to be among those signifying a willingness to contribute contingents to such a force.

For effective organization, there would have to be some central United Nations machinery. The Secretary-General should have a permanent Military Adviser who, with a small staff, might assume responsibility for the direction of other truce supervision arrangements which have been or might be agreed on.

If at any time a Peace Supervision Force were constituted, the Secretary-General would require an advisory committee similar to that which now assists him in connection with the UNEF in Egypt.

While such a force is not primarily a fighting force, it must be capable of defending itself once it is in the field, since the inherent duty of a commander is to preserve the safety of his men. It should also include the necessary administrative and supporting elements to enable it to function effectively as an entity.

A force to deal with a particular situation could be established by a resolution either of the Security Council or of the General Assembly. Presumably it would be associated with efforts made by the United Nations towards assisting in the settlement of the dispute. These efforts in turn could be furthered by a revitalized Peace Observation Commission given real responsibility to investigate disputes. In a sense, a Peace Supervision Force would be an extension in space of the Peace Observation Commission and the subordinate bodies it was expected to produce.

By its very nature such a force would not be expected to fight its way into a country. Indeed, since it would be deployed upon recommendation of the

United Nations, it could enter a country only with the consent of the government of that country. This consent would normally take the form of an agreement between the government concerned and the Secretary-General acting on behalf of the United Nations. To facilitate the negotiation of such agreements, and also to expedite the creation of a force when required, the Secretary-General should be requested to draw up model agreements regarding the financial, administrative and legal procedures which would govern the operations of a Peace Supervision Force. The agreement recently negotiated between the United Nations and Egypt on arrangements concerning the status of the U.N.E.F. in that country would provide a very useful example of what can be done in this regard.

It is my firm conviction that the sort of machinery I have outlined, and the kind of United Nations force that would be expected to function through it, are practicable, are within the competence of the General Assembly, and might be of great value in avoiding, ending or limiting hostilities. The early arrival of a United Nations force of this kind at a scene of emergency would give assurance to the fearful and hope to the despairing. It would act as the United Nations policeman and his watch-dog.

How these arangements would function would, of course, depend on the circumstances of the particular emergency to be met. Actually, there is nothing so very new in all this. The United Nations has on more than one occasion provided teams of truce observers or supervisors and has now set up an emergency force to enlarge that activity where the danger of renewed fighting, pending the working out of a settlement, required it. A synthesis and systemization of these two concepts would provide a base of departure for the future.

As always, in the last resort, individual governments must determine whether the best laid plans of the United Nations are to succeed or fail. If a plan anything like that which I have outlined is to succeed, governments must, both within and outside the United Nations, follow policies consistent with its objectives and its capabilities. The very least each of our governments can now do, it seems to me, is to draft, in accordance with our respective constitutional processes, whatever measures are required to place us in a better position to support agreed decisions of the United Nations in an emergency. Are we to go on from crisis to crisis improvising in haste? Or can we now pool our experience and our resources, so that the next time we, the governments and peoples whom the United Nations represents, will be ready and prepared to act?

# **North Pacific Fur Seals Convention**

The North Pacific Fur Seal Conference came to a successful close in Washington on February 9 with the signing of the Interim Convention for the Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seal Herds. The Convention is the result of extensive negotiations by delegations of Canada, Japan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States of America, which began discussions on November 28, 1955. Mr. George R. Clark, Deputy Minister of Fisheries who headed the Canadian Delegation to the Conference, and Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, then Canadian Ambassador to the United States, joined on behalf of Canada.

## Control Needed

There are about 1,900,000 fur seals in the North Pacific Ocean. Indiscriminate killing of seals would soon reduce their numbers sharply and perhaps jeopardize their existence. This was demonstrated in the late 19th century when the herds, whose numbers in the 1860's had reached almost 2,000,000, fell to about 200,000 head in 1911 after commercial hunters had relentlessly pursued them. Under the four-power Fur Seal Convention of 1911, Canada, Japan, Russia, and the United States prohibited their nationals from hunting the seals at sea. As a result, the populations rose to 1,600,000 by 1941 when the 1911 convention was terminated. Meanwhile during this 30-year period over a million skins were harvested on the breeding islands by the governments having control of them.

The fur seal spends nine months each year at sea, three months on land. Migrating each winter to waters as far south as the latitude of San Francisco and Tokyo, the herds, beginning in June, return to three island groups in the far north—the Pribiloff Islands off Alaska, which harbour about 1,800,000 seals, and the Commander Islands and Robben Island off the Asian coast, which harbour some 100,000 seals. Here they remain for three months on the shingle beaches while the pups are born and are prepared for life at sea, even having to learn to swim during this time. In September the seals begin to leave for their nine-month journey southward. By October the islands are again bare.

The seal is a polygamous creature. One bull may have a harem of as many as 50 females. For the needs of the fur industry the practice has, therefore, been to take the surplus males. Usually three-year-old males are taken, the pelage being then at its prime.

## **Convention Provisions**

The Interim Convention provides for a co-ordinated six-year research programme to establish the best methods not only of managing the seal herds but also of determining the extent of their predation on commercially important fish of the North Pacific Ocean. During this six-year period the four parties will restrict pelagic sealing—that is to say the hunting of seals at sea—to agreed limits required for research purposes. The only sealing operations



SIGNING FOR CANADA

Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, then Canadian Ambassador to the United States, signing the North Pacific Fur Seals Convention at Washington, D.C. From left to right standing, Mr. G. P. Clark, Deputy Minister of Fisheries, Mr. S. V. Ozere, Assistant Deputy Minister, and Mr. Adrian Gilbert, Commercial Counsellor to the Canadian Embassy in Washington.

will be the selective and controlled kills on the island rookeries to which the seals return each year for breeding. The United States and the U.S.S.R. are to kill annually on these rookeries. In return for the restriction of pelagic sealing, both Canada and Japan will receive as compensation a share—based on a 15 per cent formula—of the skins taken by the U.S.S.R. and the United States. The Interim Convention also establishes a joint commission to coordinate the activities of the four parties during the six-year period and to recommend the lines which a permanent Convention should take at the end of that period.

The present Convention replaces one of 1911 between the same four parties and bears a family resemblance. The 1911 Convention banned pelagic sealing because males of all ages, and female seals bearing or nursing pups, were being destroyed in the uncontrolled sea hunts. Fur seal herds were menaced with extinction. Moreover, pelts taken at sea were often damaged by bullets and harpoons. As in the present Interim Convention, compensation on a 15 per cent formula was paid to other members from the annual kills on the island rookeries. In 1924, however, the U.S.S.R. stopped the intermittent payments which it had been making to Canada, and in 1940, Japan, concerned about her vital coastal fisheries, abrogated the Convention and permitted the resumption of pelagic sealing. In 1942, therefore, the United States and Canada reverted provisionally to a bilateral agreement such as they

had had shortly before the 1911 quadripartite Convention. Under this agreement Canada's portion of the seals taken on the Pribiloff Islands (20 per cent) yielded during the past ten years an average annual net revenue of about \$600,000. It was at all times understood that the bilateral arrangement should end as soon as a four-power conservation programme could be restored.

In November, 1955 when the four powers began the negotiations for a new joint programme, it was impossible simply to revise the Convention of 1911. For one thing, there had been a change in the countries exercising effective control over the rookeries. For this reason, Japan, the United States and Canada, in declarations made at the signing ceremony, reserved their positions on the sovereignty of Robben Island. Then, too, since 1911 there had been a great growth in scientific knowledge about the distribution, biology and feeding habits of the seals; this in turn had raised different problems about the relationship of the sealing and fishing industries. Until these problems had been solved, the negotiation of a nicely balanced, definitive settlement appeared premature. The purpose of the present Interim Convention is to protect the various interests involved as equitably as possible while, in the meantime, the four parties push forward with a co-ordinated research programme designed to obtain the data upon which a permanent Convention can be based.

# More NATO Trainees

The Department of External Affairs announced April 18 that arrangements have been concluded by Canada with Denmark, Norway and The Netherlands for the training in Canada of a number of aircrew students under a special extension of the NATO Air Training Plan, on the recommendation of the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, in view of the special difficulties experienced by these countries in providing such training under a suitable national scheme.

Under these special arrangements, which will remain effective for a period of three years, the Royal Canadian Air Force will be making available annually training accommodation for 55 student pilots of the Royal Danish Air Force, for 65 student pilots and 5 student navigators of the Royal Norwegian Air Force and for 30 student pilots of the Royal Netherlands Air Force. The training of the students of these countries will be phased into the Canadian Air Training System, in proportionately equal contingents throughout each training year.

The countries concerned will bear a portion of the costs to the Canadian Government for providing these special facilities under the Canadian Air Training System. The trainees are expected to commence training in Canada in Iuly of this year.

# **Parliament Prorogued**

The fifth session of the 22nd Parliament of Canada was prorogued on April 12 by a speech by the Hon. Patrick Kerwin, Deputy Governor General. Referring to Canada's international relations, Mr. Justice Kerwin said:

The unstable situation in the Middle East has continued to give concern to Canadians throughout the session which I now bring to a close.

My Government has sought both inside and outside the United Nations to play a constructive part with a view to reducing the risk of renewed hostilities between Israel and Egypt; to facilitating the early clearance and reopening of the Suez Canal, which is so important to the waterborne commerce of our friends in Europe and Asia; and, through Canada's participation in the United Nations Emergency Force, to establishing conditions conducive to a long-term solution of the political problems of that area.

In March, discussions were held between my Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at Bermuda which dealt with a wide range of matters of international concern and in particular with questions of primary interest to Canada and the United Kingdom. The possibility of a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers early this summer was also discussed.

The emergence of the former colony of the Gold Coast into full Commonwealth membership as the independent State of Ghana was welcomed by all Canadians as a further confirmation of the value and the adaptability of our free association of sovereign states linked by common interests and common loyalties. One of my Ministers represented Canada at the inaugural ceremonies.

"During the present session useful discussions were also held with the Prime Minister of France, who addressed a special joint meeting of both Houses of Parliament . . .

The brutal suppression of the Hungarian people by the armed forces of the Soviet Union served to emphasize the continued need for the greatest possible degree of unanimity of purpose among the nations of the free world and the importance of maintaining an adequate system of collective defence.

"My Ministers continue to believe that our position in the Commonwealth and firm support of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are essential contributions to the advancement of our aim of preserving peace and promoting prosperity throughout the world...

Provision has been made to assist the transportation to Canada of Hungarian refugees. Special arrangements have also been made for the movement of large numbers of British, French and other immigrants to this country.

# **External Affairs in 1956**

The work of the Department of External Affairs during 1956 was reviewed in the Department's 47th Annual Report\* tabled in the House of Commons shortly before Parliament prorogued. In a foreword to the Report, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, reviewed international developments during 1956 and stressed the increasingly important role being played by Canada in world affairs. Noting that there are numerous and serious international problems still unresolved, Mr. Pearson's foreword said in part:

A year ago, in my preface to the Annual Report for 1955, I observed that we could look forward to a turbulent year and that, so far as one could see, this would probably be a recurring theme in annual summaries for some time to come. However great our misgivings may have been then, I doubt if we could have anticipated all the problems which we have now inherited from the past year. Dilemmas and difficulties which confronted us in January 1956 remain unsettled; indeed, some of them now face us in an aggravated form. But, in addition to these old problems, the year 1956 has left us a dubious legacy of new and complex questions which we are now trying to solve against a background of world events which challenge our skill, our strength and our determination.

It seems to me pointless to brood about the misunderstandings, the errors of judgment, the lack of confidence and co-operation between free nations which have had much to do with bringing us to the present situation, especially as the responsibility for these weaknesses must be shared among many governments. It would be unrealistic to pretend that the North Atlantic Alliance, the bastion of the free world, was not shaken by the events of last autumn. Even the strong and cherished, if flexible ties of the Commonwealth were severely tested. We know what has taken place. It is now our duty to ensure that the old relations of firm friendship and close co-operation, on which our security depends, are firmly re-established on a more secure and more permanent foundation than before.

In spite of the depressing events which brought 1956 to a close, this last year was not entirely one of setback and gloom. Through the tragic sufferings of the Hungarian people, the entire free world and, surely, those nations which are somewhat curiously described as "uncommitted", must have come to a final realization that the amiable facade of Soviet co-existence conceals the brutal Soviet conception of international relations as a jungle where the strong do what they will and the weak suffer what they must. But the agony of Hungary has been a bitter price to have this evident truth demonstrated once again.

There is another development and from this we can gain comfort. The forces of freedom are fermenting in those communist countries which have previously had to submit to the totalitarian tyranny of Moscow. The results of this may be important ultimately in terms of international security and the solution of international problems. Indeed, these forces are working in Russia itself. The instinct for freedom—personal and national—cannot be destroyed in any people. There is a ray of hope for the end of the cold war in this development.

To counter-balance in some measure and in another field the discouragements which we have experienced in 1956 is the fact that the United Nations has been given at least the opportunity to act in a way which would increase its authority and its value. It is true that the United Nations has been shown to be unable to take effective action in such circumstances as surrounded the brutalities in Hungary; nonetheless, the conscience of the world was effectively aroused against the invader through the world organization, and its condemnation was unequivocably expressed in this worldwide forum. The United Nations has also been able to establish an Emergency Police Force in the Middle East whose operations we are all watching with concern because of their effect, not only on the pacification of the area, but also on the future of the United Nations itself in the field of security.

It must be remembered that the United Nations has no authority apart from the strength which its members contribute to it. The present United Nations Force, for instance, consists of national elements under the ultimate control of their home governments. It can act only through resolutions of the General Assembly which are merely recommendations and not instructions. If belligerent states were well-disposed to resolve

<sup>\*</sup>Copies of the Annual Report of the Department of External Affairs for 1956 are sold by the Queen's Printer at a cost of 25c each.

their differences, there would be little need for a United Nations Force and, if they are not so disposed, the United Nations would have need of forces which it would be unrealistic to expect would be forthcoming. We have, however, made a beginning through this Force in creating machinery for supervision of the peace through Assembly action. In this way we have been able to introduce a new element into the conduct of international relations which may become important if—and it is well to emphasize the "if"—it works effectively on this occasion.

I mentioned last year that the Canadian role in international affairs was not likely to diminish. Indeed it has increased, and its execution has taxed the resources of the Department. Throughout the year, we have taken an active part in international conferences of many kinds; and have in many far-off places taken on responsibilities for preserving the peace and helping to make effective international decisions. I do not think that it can be said that Canada is shirking its international obligations.

I should like to join the Under-Secretary in paying a very sincere tribute to the work of the members of the Department, both at home and abroad (some of the latter in trying circumstances). If Canada has been asked recently to play a difficult and important part in many aspects of international affairs, and has done it worthily, this is due in large part to the men and women of the Department of External Affairs who have, with devotion and skill, carried out the task allotted to them.



PRESENTED TO QUEEN

Air Vice Marshal H. B. Godwin of Montreal, Air Officer Commanding the RCAF's NATO Air Division overseas, is presented to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth at a reception during her recent Royal State Visit to France. L. Dana Wilgress, Canadian Ambassador to NATO, makes the presentation while HRH Prince Philip looks on. At right is Mrs. Godwin. The reception was attended by Commonwealth dignitaries in France.

# THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

(Address by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the Women's Canadian Club, Saint John, N.B., April 4, 1957.)

There have been doubts and criticisms leveled recently—in Canada and in other countries—at the United Nations. On the other hand, hopes, perhaps exaggerated, have been raised about what the UN Assembly can now do because it stopped the fighting in Suez.

Our present preoccupation with the future of the Organization is, in fact, due to a large extent to the dramatic events of last autumn in the Middle East when the United Nations moved in, via the Assembly, in a way which captured the world's attention and caused both praise and criticism.

For myself, I remain firm in the belief that our world Organization remains an indispensable agency for international co-operation. If it did not exist, something like it would have to be found or else we would lapse into a state of international anarchy in a divided world with the forces of freedom on one side, the forces of reactionary Communism on the other, facing each other in fear and hostility across an unbridged chasm, and with the uncommitted millions of Asia and Africa trying to remain aloof or perhaps form their own alignments.

It is not a cheerful picture; and it makes it all the more advisable to have a new and realistic look at the United Nations, especially in the light of our recent experiences at the General Assembly.

One aspect of the situation—which those experiences have emphasized-concerns the position of individual states, especially in voting power. The voting rules of the United Nations Assembly are certainly not ideal. It is easy enough to portray as absurd an arrangement by which Luxembourg, Cambodia and the United States have one vote each; when any rational approach would result in some form of weighted voting by which power and responsibility would be related to voting rights. It can be argued that no national government could be run on such a basis of unequal distribution of representation and responsibility, although one should not forget that in the United States Senate, one-third of the members representing only a very small percentage of the population of the country could, theoretically, prevent any treaty becoming effective.

The fact remains, however, that the United Nations is an association of sovereign states each, in theory, equal to every other one. In any event, what matters most is not theoretical possibilities, but the use to which votes are put in practice. The record here is not unsatisfactory.

The larger powers, because they are the most powerful, do influence the voting of the smaller powers; do exercise far more power than a single vote would suggest. As an

example, during the weeks before the Israeli withdrawal from Egypt, a mathematical majority could probably have been secured in the Assembly for sanctions to be imposed against Israel. However, the issue was never presented to them for decision. Why? The influence of the United States and other countries, including Canada, was sufficient to prevent the Assembly from taking this action which would have been premature and unwise. The members—at least the majority of them -recognized the facts of power and the impossibility of taking effective action on sanctions without United States support, even if they desired to do so. They knew that di-plomacy was going on behind the scenes and that a solution might be forthcoming which might be at least of a character which they could not openly oppose. So sanctions were never put to the vote.

At the recent eleventh session of the Assembly which was dominated—and at times disrupted—by Middle Eastern issues, voting power was used to pass some resolutions which were futile, others that were silly, and one or two that were unfair. But it would be hard to prove that any of them were dangerous or extreme, and some of them were of positive peace-preserving value. There were extreme speeches made and some irresponsible moves attempted. But the resolutions which secured the requisite two-thirds majority were usually the product of reasonable compromise.

The picture which is being built up in certain quarters of a majority of the votes of the United Nations Assembly lined up irrevocably against the West, demanding that the Western dmocracies give up their territotories or hand over their treasure, is not an accurate one. It is based more on impressions from the controversial political harangues which so often disturb Assembly proceedings, than on a study of actual results. Good results, however, often command less attention than violent polemics. Unfortunately, conflict and controversy are their own best publicity agents, while quiet achievement seldom gets a headline.

Discouragement and defeatism about the United Nations arise also from a faulty understanding of the Charter and the power of the United Nations. We must never forget that the United Nations is not a government, let alone a super-state. Its Assembly can't order anybody to do anything. Its votes are only recommendations and therefore in that sense are not as important as those of a national parliament. Peoples become disillusioned when recommendations, which they confuse with orders, are not carried out; or, even worse, carried out only in certain circumstances.

It is also irritating and can be harmful for responsible countries to be unfairly censured by a majority vote or to have impracticable or unfair resolutions directed against them when other members seem either to escape censure or ignore it. But one can easily exaggerate the damage that is done. It is regrettable, of course, that certain Western countries get far more than their fair share of censure, while far worse offenders escape. It is not true, however, that the Western powers are the only ones who suffer from this practice. There is also vigorous and effective criticism of Communist and of Asian States.

Nevertheless, there is, I admit, at the present time an "anti-colonial" bias in the Assembly which often operates unfairly against certain of its members. For good reason, this rankles. It is irritating, for instance, to hear the word "colonial" used only in respect of those powers who have acquired overseas territories which they have led to or are leading to freedom and self-government I am thinking particularly of Great Britain whose great glory is the transformation by her own deliberate policy of her colonial empire into a Commonwealth of Nations. To listen to attacks on Great Britain and France as "colonial empires" when the Soviet Union, which holds under an iron despotism so many millions of subject people, is relatively immune from such attack is, I confess, hard to take. It should not, however, be seen out of proportion. It should not be assumed, for instance, that these colonial issues would not exist if the United Nations did not. They certainly would and probably in dangerous forms.

Certainly the record of the recent Assembly on the most important items in its agenda does not warrant a charge that it behaved irresponsibly or fanatically, or that it was invariably hostile to the West. Let me give one or two examples.

# (1) Algeria

It is charged that the Assembly's "interference" in Algeria, part of metropolitan France, would justify the French for rejecting completely the role of the United Nations. The French this year, however, wisely altered their previous tactics and tried to come to terms with the Assembly by participating in the debate with moderate and reasonable statements, in which they were able to make their own case more widely and favourably known. The Assembly produced a very mild resolution on Algeria, which the French accepted and which was approved by all members. The final resolution, in fact, served the best purpose which a United Nations Assembly can serve. It allowed members to blow off a certain amount of steam and eventually to compromise and, as a result, to produce an atmosphere more conducive to fruitful negotiations between the conflicting parties.

## (2) Cyprus

The British, like the French, had agreed this year to put their case to the Assembly rather than deny its right to consider the question at all as *ultra vires* the Charter. The debate was far from one-sided and served, in fact, to expose the fallacy of some of the more extreme anti-British positions. Although the Greeks, the Turks and the British had insisted that they could not accept any compromise, they were quite happy in the end to accept a mild and, I hope, useful resolution.

## (3) West New Guinea

On this other "colonial" issue, the results were somewhat different. A resolution supported by almost all the Asian and African countries as well as some South American countries and the Soviet bloc did not secure the requisite two-thirds majority vote in the Assembly and, therefore, lapsed. The Dutch spoke firmly but moderately and reasonably, and they undoubtedly profited in goodwill from this approach. As no decision was taken by the Assembly, no requirement was made of the Dutch to take any action at all. The intervention of the United Nations, therefore, did not, because of the provisions of the Charter, result in any interference with the rights of a Western country. It is doubtful, furthermore, whether the debate which took place fanned the flames of anti-colonialist nationalism any higher than they would have been driven through the usual channels.

#### (4) Disarmament

The debate on this subject ended in unanimous agreement on a purely procedural resolution after a somewhat routine discussion. While there is clearly not very much agreement among the Great Powers on the substance of this question, they do agree that although this subject must be considered within the framework of the United Nations, the full Assembly is no place for serious discussion. The Russians started off with the usual propaganda attack, but they subsided quickly and stuck to an understanding reached with the Americans before the debate that there would be no examination of the substance of the subject in the unwieldy full Assembly, and that it would be referred again to the Sub-Committee.

These annual exercises on disarmament cannot be said to advance the matter very far, but they do keep the subject before the public. This year the Assembly proved a useful forum in which to push the Great Powers towards more serious consideration of limiting nuclear tests, a move in which the Canadian Delegation assisted. There is much to be said for the practical arrangement by which the responsible powers work on such subjects as disarmament in a small private committee, but are subject in the Assembly to the pressure of public opinion from other delegations.

The issues which I have mentioned, were, of course, not nearly so important as those of Hungary and Egypt. It is primarily for the handling of these questions that the United Nations has been accused by some of unwarranted interference; by others of ineffectiveness; and by many of laying down double standards of behaviour.

#### The Middle East

It is not possible yet to pass a final judgment on the actions of the United Nations over the Egyptian crisis. If we assume that the military invasion of Israel, followed by the intervention of Great Britain and France, if it had been not interfered with, would have resulted in the over-throw of Colonel Nasser and his replacement by a well-disposed Egyptian regime, by the establishment of international control of the Suez Canal and by progress towards a solution of the Palestine question, then one may consider United Nations intervention wrong and ill-advised. If it is felt, however, as I myself feel, that military action of the kind taken could have accomplished none of the purposes that I have mentioned, that, on the contrary, it would have driven the Egyptians to invite Communist help, have split the whole Asian-Arab world from the West in bitter hostility, and imposed heavy, perhaps unbearable, strains on the Commonwealth Asian members, then, the sooner it was stopped by international action the better for all concerned, including, in particular, the British and the French themselves.

From this point of view, United Nations intervention was an essential service to peace. Certainly there could not have been international intervention by any other agency. Intervention by the other Great Powers on their own would have had, I believe, disastrous results. Any effective international action outside the United Nations would have required collaboration between the United States and the U.S.S.R., which was obviously impossible. Or, at the least, it would have required close collaboration between the Big Three of the West. Even if that had been possible—and, unhappily, it was not—it would have met fierce Arab-Asian resistance and the threat of Russian interference.

In my view, the role played by the United Nations last November was important, yes essential, for the preservation of international peace and security. Whatever may happen now, and there is much to make us uneasy about the present position of the United Nations in the Middle East in attempting to carry out Assembly directives which are, in places, too vague and uncertain, I believe that a grave crisis last November was prevented from developing into something far worse by action of the kind which could only have taken place within the United Nations. Our subsequent efforts to move from a cease-fire to pacification and to a permament solution, may or may not succeed, but even if they do not, that will not prove that the action of the United Nations in November 1956 was wrong

The role of the United Nations Assembly, it seems to me, became more questionable later on when the effort to secure an equitable basis for Israeli withdrawal from Egypt was the issue. It is undoubtedly a handicap to have an Assembly with a large number of members committed strongly and in advance to one

side or the other. This awkward fact has contributed to the difficulty of securing the necessary majority for any United Nations policy except for one not clear or definite enough to ensure a solution of substantive problems. To get the necessary votes, we have too often watered down resolutions or, even worse, replaced them by "hopes and assumptions". But it is foolish to assume that the situation in question could be handled more easily if the United Nations could only be ignored. Would we be better off today in the Middle East without UNEF or the mediatory efforts of the Secretary-General? In diplomatic activities outside the United Nations, would there be a constructive role, or, indeed, any role at all for middle powers who, without immediate interests involved, should, therefore, be able to take an objective and impartial view of issues? The only feasible alternative to negotiation through the United Nations would be the imposition of a solution by unilateral action by the United States or the U.S.S.R. or by the joint action of the United States and the U.S.S.R., with all the risks to peace that this would involve; which has always been a nightmare of the European countries and is, as we all know, inconceivable at the present time or in the foreseeable future.

#### Hungary

It has also frequently been alleged that the Assembly sanctioned a double standard of morality in its attitude towards the U.S.S.R. over Hungary in contrast with its action towards the United Kingdom, France and Israel over Egypt. Undoubtedly there is a question of a double standard of morality involved. It is a perplexing and worrying aspect of the matter. But it is not the United Nations as a body but certain of its members who are guilty of trying to establish this double standard. The Assembly, as a body, has followed the same procedure in regard to Hungary and to Egypt. It requested the U.S.S.R. to withdraw from Hungary and the United Kingdom, France and Israel to withdraw from Egypt. The Russians treated United Nations resolutions with contempt, and the other members (even though their actions were in no ways comparable with the aggression of the Soviet Union) complied. Is the guilt for this varied response to be placed on the United Nations Assembly? Or is it, on the contrary, to be placed squarely on Russia, where it belongs?

To attack the United Nations as an institution for failing to save Hungary from Russia is misleading and perhaps unfair. The attack is based to some extent on the erroneous impression that the African-Asian group refused to condemn Soviet action in Hungary after having denounced the British and French Governments over Egypt. It is true that some members of this group were slow to recognize the brutal nature of Soviet aggression and inclined to suspect a deliberate effort to divert their attention from Egypt. When it was clear to them, however, what was happening, the great majority of them

strongly denounced Soviet action, and only the "hard-core Arabs" abstained from the condemnation which was voted.

The reason the United Nations did not save Hungary was that it could not; not that it would not. The fault lies not in the Organization as such, but in the hard facts of Soviet policy and the cold war, with peace balanced precariously on the edge of the atomic deterrent.

It would be rash, and might be fatal, if we tried on all occasions to take UN enforcement action in order to see that justice is always done without any regard to the consequences; or without, to be perfectly frank, any regard to the big blunt fact of the Red Army. We certainly must not become the prisoners of our fears, for if we do our diplomacy is doomed, and the future would be grim indeed. But neither must we indulge in threats and gestures which may provide an easy escape for our emotions, but cannot be followed up by effective action. In the case of Hungary, for instance, if we had intervened through the United Nations by force, the first victims would have been the Hungarians themselves, and the rest of the world might have followed into the abyss.

The world as it exists in reality does not cases to be the same world when it is reflected in the mirror of the United Nations. If the picture it reflects is a sombre one, attacking the mirror does not help much. The United Nations did not create the picture we see today. It did not create the cold war, or anti-colonialism or Colonel Nasser. It is idle to blame it for these things.

If we want to solve our difficulties, we have to go to the roots of the problems themselves, and we do nothing to advance this process; indeed we hinder it by seeking to weaken or pull down the United Nations.

I admit—and I deplore the necessity for the admission—that the United Nations as an institution could not drive the Russians out of Hungary by force, and it could not have persuaded any of its members to do so on their own. However, it did what it could. It gave the U.S.S.R. an opportunity to reach a negotiated settlement and offered its good offices for that purpose. But the U.S.S.R. spurned the United Nations, which then could only mobilize public opinion—though this itself was important—in order to make the nature of Soviet aggression clear to the world, and to put the Russians morally on the spot.

This United Nations action, inadequate as it must have seemed to many, may, however, have had some effect on Soviet policy. The argument that the Russians don't care at all about international opinion does not hold water. They gave every indication last autumn of anxiety over the international reaction to their actions in Hungary and even seemed to have been reluctant for this reason to do what they eventually did. This reluctance was not, of course, based on moral considerations, which

have no effect of any kind on Russian policy, but on a feeling that their action might have an adverse effect on their prestige and, therefore, on their diplomacy, especially in Asia and Africa. Although United Nations pressure did not save Hungary it had some effect—and what it had was good.

# African-Asian Governments

Another criticism of the United Nations is that it is increasingly dominated by a majority of African and Asian countries allied from time to time with the Soviet bloc and Latin America; a majority which is alleged to be irresponsible in its attitude to international problems, which is dominated by an irrational hatred of Western "colonial" countries, and unwilling or unable to contribute to the wideranging technical and economic aid measures which it so often proposes to others. It is alleged that this situation is growing more acute, accentuated by the admission of a large number of new members last year, and that it will soon be entirely out of hand.

That there is an element of truth in the charges can hardly be denied. But it is not the whole truth, or even a major part of it. The Africans and Asians, with or without the Soviet bloc, do not dominate the Assembly. If—and this is a big "if"—they all vote together they can prevent the necessary two-thirds majority being obtained for any resolution. Their own power at its strongest, therefore, is a power not to impose, but to frustrate; not positive, but negative.

What has happened is that the Western Powers themselves no longer have that dominating influence on the actions of the United Nations which they had in the past. It by no means follows, however, that the West is now automatically frustrated in its efforts to secure a necessary majority for its measures. It does follow that it must work harder to get support for them.

The fact is that there is no "Afro-Asian bloc" at the United Nations. As one Asian representative to the United Nations said recently to a member of our delegation, "The Afro-Asian bloc does not exist but many European countries are doing their best to create it." These countries themselves are careful to speak of their "group" not their "bloc", and there are few groups within the United Nations which are less united and disciplined. The lack of cohesion in the group is a fact which should dispel some of the exaggerated fears of the Europeans.

The patterns within the group continue to shift, and often in the right direction. Provided groups do not become hard and inflexible blocs they can be a good thing rather than a bad thing for an Assembly which faces, perhaps, a greater threat from anarchy than from bloc voting.

The aim of the West, therefore, should be not to oppose the development of an African-Asian group, with results that would certainly be negative, but to show a friendly interest in its workings and maintain the most co-

operative relations possible with its members, very very few of whom want to team up with the Communists against the West; at the United Nations or elsewhere.

These African-Asian Governments, let us not forget, represent one of the most important forces of today; the surge of awakening millions of a long submerged world to political freedom, with a passionate determination to secure a better life than they have known in the past. Their emergence on the world scene, it is true, presents us with new problems. But these are the product of inevitable historical processes, not of the United Nations. The United Nations provides, in fact, a framework within which this evolution of international society which is going on can take place with the most peace and the least pain. Mankind marches on and we of the West must march with it, while trying to play our part in directing the march to a good goal. If we do not, there will be far more trouble even than we have today.

#### Framework for Diplomacy

The detractors of the United Nations, ignoring realities, see it merely as some extraplanetary body with a life of its own, independent of national states, but with a tendency to interfere with relations between those states and as a body over which right-thinking nations who should continue to run the world have no influence at all. That, as I have tried to point out, is not an accurate picture.

Some supporters of the United Nations, on the other hand, tend to regard it as a body on which they can cast their burdens and thereby simplify—and even evade—problems of national policy and national responsibilities. This can do the United Nations as much harm, perhaps, as open opposition to it. The United Nations is no substitute for wise national policies, and it is wrong and even dangerous to give the impression that it is. But it can and should supplement those policies by providing an international framework within which we can pursue an active and realistic diplomacy for the solution of problems.

Certainly it would have been infinitely more difficult, in my opinion, to get out of the difficulties in which we found ourselves last November if the nations of the world had not been gathered together in New York. It is true that one works at times in the United Nations under the white light of intense and often ill-advised and distorted publicity; at other times, in the shadow and under the threat of majority pressures which do not lead to moderate and responsible conclusions. Nevertheless, there have been great achievements to the credit of our world organization, and they should not be forgotten in the frustrations and setbacks we have also suffered. These setbacks would have occurred perhaps in a worse form if there had been no United Nations. The achievements might not have been possible at all without it.

The United Nations has now existed for ten years, during which time it has struck deep roots in the hopes, in the emotions and in the aspirations of the free nations and peoples of the world. Its very existence is a fact, the importance of which cannot be overlooked. We should work with and through it to the greatest possible extent. We should make the very best we can of it. We can try to alter and improve it, and we can and should resist certain wrong trends. But we do not serve the cause of peace and progress when we seek to weaken and denigrate the world organization. We do serve that cause when we try to support, strengthen and develop it.

I know of no better way of doing this than to restore and reinforce the closest possible co-operation between the British, American and French Delegations at the meetings of the Organization. I do not mean to suggest, of course, that this co-operation should not be wider and include many other delegations. But I want to see the kind of "togetherness", if I may use that word, between these three delegations which once existed and which can be of such great, even essential, value not only to the United Nations but to peace itself. Indeed, in the tense and difficult days in which we live, nothing can take its place.

It must continue to be a major principle of Canada's foreign policy to take advantage of every possible opportunity to bring this about.

# APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. W. F. A. Turgeon, Q.C., Canadian Ambassador to Portugal, posted to Ottawa, effective March 15, 1957.
- Mr. T. C. Davis, Q.C., Canadian Ambassador to Japan, posted to Ottawa, effective March 25, 1957.
- Mr. R. B. Edmonds posted from the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, to Ottawa, effective March 28, 1957.
- Mr. C. N. Senior, Consul General at Seattle, posted to Ottawa, effective March 31, 1957.
- Mr. G. P. Kidd posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, to Ottawa, effective April 17, 1957.
- Mr. G. L. Magann, Ambassador to Switzerland, posted to Ottawa, effective April 29, 1957.
- Miss E. M. Stock posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, effective April 29, 1957.

#### **DEATHS**

Mr. A. E. L. Cannon, member of the Canadian Delegation, International Supervisory Commission, Vietnam, was killed in Saigon April 12, 1957.

A native of Quebec City and a graduate of Laval University, Mr. Cannon entered the Department of External Affairs in 1946 following his discharge from the RCAF, and served in St. John's, Newfoundland, New York, Buenos Aires, and Ottawa prior to his posting to the Far East. He is survived by his wife, the former Madeleine Pratt, and two children.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\* A Selected List

- a) Printed documents:
- Commission on Narcotic Drugs; report of the 11th session (23 April 18 May 1956). E/2891; E/CN.7/315. N.Y., 1957. 64 p. Ecosoc Official Records: 22nd session, Supplement No. 8.
- Economic Commission for Latin America; annual report. (10 May 1955 15 May 1956). E/2883/Rev.1; E/CN.12/AC.34/9/Rev.2. N.Y., June 1956. 31 p. Ecosoc Official Records: 22nd session, Supplement No. 10.
- United Nations Children's Fund; report of the executive board. (22 Oct. 2 Nov. and 11 Dec. 1956). E/2937; E/ICEF/333; E/ICEF/330. N.Y., 1956. 46 p. Ecosoc Official Records: 23rd session, Supplement No. 2.
- Trusteeship Council Official Records. Sixth special session, 10 Dec. 1956 31 January 1957). N.Y., 1957, 23 p.
- Convention on the taxation of road vehicles engaged in international goods transport done at Geneva on 14 December 1956. E/ECE/262; E/ECE/TRANS/496. Geneva, Feb. 1957. 7 p. (Eng.-Fr.).
- Convention on the taxation of road vehicles engaged in international passenger transport done at Geneva on 14 December 1956. E/ECE/261; E/ECE/TRANS/495. Geneva, Feb. 1957. 7 p. (Eng.-Fr.).
- \* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications. The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto: University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec, Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents, University of Toronto Press. Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

- World Cartography, Volume IV, 1954, ST/SOA/SER.L/4, N.Y., Feb. 1956, Sales No.: 1956, I.9.
- Financing of housing and community improvement programmes. E/CN.5/323; ST/SOA/32. Sales No.: 1957.IV.1. Price: \$0.60. 61 p.
- Economic survey of Europe in 1956; including studies of European transport problems and income distribution in western Europe. Prepared by the Research and Planning Division, Economic Commission for Europe. Geneva, 1957. E/ECE/278. Sales No.: 1957.II.E.1. Price: \$2.50.
- Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1956. Also issued as Vol. VIII, No. 4 of the Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East. Bangkok, Feb. 1957. Sales No.: 1957.II.F.1. Price: \$2.50. 233 p.
- United Nations Wheat Conference, 1955-56. Summary of Proceedings. E/CONF.20/5. N.Y., Dec. 1956. 39 p.

#### **UNESCO**

- International Bibliography of Sociology, Vol. V. (Documentation in the Social Sciences). Paris, 1957. Price: \$6.00. 293 p.
- The university teaching of social sciences: Criminology. (Teaching in the Social Sciences series). Paris, Unesco, 1957. Price: \$2.00. 164 p.

#### ICI

Judgments of the Administrative Tribunal of the ILO upon complaints made against the Unesco. (Advisory Opinion of October 23rd, 1956). Pleadings, Oral Arguments, Documents. Sales No.: 158. 289 p.

#### WHO

- Official Records of the World Health Organization, No. 76. Executive Board, 19th session, Geneva, 15-30 Jan. 1957. Part I: Resolutions, Annexes. Geneva, March, 1957. Price: \$1.25. 159 p.
- b) Mimeographed document:
- Roundup of the first part of the 11th regular session of the General Assembly including first and second emergency special sessions: 1 Nov. 1956 to 8 March 1957. N.Y., Dept. of Public Information, 1957. Press Release GA/1450.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



# THE QUEEN WITH COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II entertained at dinner at Windsor Castle in honour of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, who met in conference in London from June 26 to July 5.

Left to right, above, are Mr. Diefenbaker, Canada; Mr. Macmillan, United Kingdom; Mr. Menzies, Australia; Mr. Louw, Minister for External Affairs, South Africa; The Queen; Mr. Nehru, India; Sir Roy Welensky, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; Dr. Nkrumah, Ghana; Mr. Macdonald, Minister of Defence, New Zealand, and Mr. de Silva, Minister of Justice, Ceylon.

An account of proceedings at the conference will appear in the August issue of "External Affairs".

# The Problem of Hungary

(Conclusions from the Report issued June 20, 1957 by the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary established by the United Nations General Assembly January 10, 1957)

The terms of reference of the Special Committee covered a broad field, namely to report to the General Assembly of the United Nations, after full and objective investigation, its findings on all aspects of the question of Soviet intervention in Hungary by armed force and by other means and the effects of such intervention on the political development of Hungary. The Committee's investigation, as has been explained, involved the study of copious documentation from various sources and in several languages, as well as the questioning of more than a hundred witnesses, whose testimony fills two thousand pages in the verbatim record. The Committee regrets that the attitude of the Hungarian Government has prevented it from basing its investigation on direct observation in Hungary, as required by the General Assembly resolution.

# Statement by Department of External Affairs

The report of the United Nations Special Committee on Hungary, which was released in New York this morning (June 20, 1957) is being studied with close interest by the Canadian authorities. It is a lengthy document of over 400 pages, and obviously will require some time for detailed examination.

It is known that the Committee carried out its responsibilities diligently and impartially, and the Committee members deserve the highest commendation. The report establishes, without leaving any grounds for denial, that the Hungarian uprising was spontaneous and unprovoked, that the Soviet intervention was imposed upon the legitimate government of Hungary, and that this intervention was resisted and resented by virtually the entire Hungarian nation.

The Canadian authorities are now studying the report and consulting with the nations which co-sponsored the resolution setting up the Special Committee. It is expected that a meeting of the co-sponsors will be held soon to decide how the Committee's report should be handled at the 12th session of the General Assembly which opens in New York in September.

The Committee's findings relate to many aspects of the events in Hungary and are concerned with numerous points of detail that have a bearing on the origin and nature of those events. The report itself embodies the conclusions of the Committee, and these conclusions cannot be readily dissociated from the evidence which is there assembled. A summary of the Committee's findings on individual aspects of the situation in Hungary has been appended to certain of the chapters. It would, however, seem appropriate at this stage to summarize a number of conclusions drawn by the Committee from its study of the evidence as a whole. To the best of the Committee's belief, these conclusions represent the essential facts about the Hungarian uprising which are necessary to an understanding of its nature and outcome. They are as follows:

(i) What took place in Hungary in October and November 1956 was a spontaneous national uprising, due to long-standing grievances which had caused resentment among the people. One of these grievances was the inferior status of Hungary with regard to the USSR; the system of government was in part maintained by the weapon of terror, wielded by the AVH or political police, whose influence was exercised, at least until the end of 1955, through a complex network of agents and informers permeating the whole of Hungarian society. In other respects also, Soviet pressure was resented. From the stifling of free speech to the adoption of a Soviet-style uniform for the Hungarian army, an alien influence existed in all walks of life. Hungarians felt no personal animosity towards the individual Soviet soldiers on Hungarian soil, but these armed forces were symbols of something which annoyed a proud people and fed the desire to be free;

- (ii) The thesis that the uprising was fomented by reactionary circles in Hungary and that it drew its strength from such circles and from Western "Imperialists" failed to survive the Committee's examination. From start to finish, the uprising was led by students, workers, soldiers and intellectuals, many of whom were Communists or former Communists. The majority of political demands put forward during the revolution included a stipulation that democratic socialism should be the basis of the Hungarian political structure and that such social achievements as the land reform should be safeguarded. At no time was any proposal made for the return to power, or to the Government, of any figure associated with pre-war days. "Fascists" and "saboteurs", heavily armed, could not have succeeded in landing on Hungarian airfields which were under Soviet supervision, or in crossing the Austrian frontier, where a closed zone was shown by the Austrian authorities to the military attachés of France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the USSR;
- (iii) The uprising was not planned in advance. It was the universal testimony of witnesses examined by the Committee that events took participants by surprise. No single explanation can determine exactly why the outbreak occurred just when it did. Communist spokesmen, including Mr. Kadar and the members of his present Government, have recognized the bitter grievances of the Hungarian people before 23 October. They have spoken of a "broad, popular movement" caused by the "bitterness and indignation" of the masses. Two factors would seem to have brought this resentment to a head. The first of these was the news received on 19 October of a successful move by Poland for greater independence from the USSR. This news was largely instrumental in bringing the Hungarian students together in the meetings of 22 October. The second factor was the acute disappointment felt by the people when Ernő Gerő, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' (Communist) Party, in his speech on the evening of 23 October failed to meet any of the popular demands and adopted what was considered a truculent tone towards his hearers;
- (iv) Although no evidence exists of advance planning, and although the whole course of the uprising bears the hallmark of continuous improvisation, it would appear that the Soviet authorities had taken steps as early as 20 October to make armed interventation in Hungary possible. Evidence exists of troop movements, or projected troop movements, from that date on. It would appear that plans for action had therefore been laid some time before the students met to discuss their demands. The Committee is not in a position to say whether the Soviet authorities anticipated that the grievances of the Hungarian people, stimulated by events in Poland, could no longer be contained. Signs of opposition were evident before the 23rd; the Hungarian Government had reason to foresee that trouble was brewing. While the evidence shows that Soviet troops from outside Hungary were used even in the first interventation, no clause of the Warsaw Treaty provides for intervention by armed forces of the Soviet Union to dictate political developments within any signatory's frontiers;
- (v) The demonstrations on 23 October were at first entirely peaceable. None of the demonstrators appear to have carried arms, and no evidence has been discovered that any of those who voiced the political demands or joined the demonstrators had any intention to resort to force. While disappointment at Mr. Gerö's speech may have angered the crowds, it would hardly of itself have sufficed to turn the demonstration into an armed uprising. That this happened was due to the action of the AVH in opening fire on the people outside the Radio Building. Within a few hours, Soviet tanks were in action against the Hungarians. This appearance of Russian soldiers in their midst not as friendly allies, but as enemies in combat, had the effect of still further uniting the people;
- (vi) Obscurity surrounds the invitation alleged to have been issued by the Hungarian Government to the Soviet authorities to assist in quelling the uprising by force. Mr. Nagy has denied, with every appearance of truth, that he issued this invitation or was even aware of it. Since Soviet tanks appeared on the streets of Budapest at about 2 a.m. on 24 October, it would have been impossible for him to have addressed any official message to the Soviet authorities, since he held no Government post at the time when the tanks must have received their orders. An invitation may have been made privately by Mr. Gerö, First Secretary of the Central Com-

mittee of the Communist Party, or Mr. Hegedüs, the Prime Minister. The Committee, however, has had no opportunity of seeing a text of such an invitation, or of considering the exact circumstances in which it may have been issued. Until further information comes to light, it would be wise to suspend judgment as to whether such an invitation was issued at all.

Similar considerations apply to the invitation which is alleged to have been addressed to the Soviet authorities before the second intervention on 4 November. Mr. Kadar had remained a member of Mr. Nagy's Government when the latter was reconstituted on 3 November and the Committee is unaware of his having given any recorded indication of his disapproval of Mr. Nagy's policies. Mr. Kadar's movements at this time are not fully known, and he cannot be considered to have substantiated his own claim to have called, in the name of the Government, for Soviet help. In any event, there is abundant evidence that Soviet preparations for a further intervention, including the movement of troops and armour from abroad, had been under way since the last days of October. Mr. Kadar and his Ministers were absent from Budapest during the first few days after he formed his Government, and administrative instructions to the people of Hungary were issued by the commanders of the Soviet troops;

- (vii) When Mr. Nagy became Prime Minister, he was not at first able to exercise the full powers of that office. Only when the grip of the AVH was loosened by the victory of the insurgents was he able to take an independent stand. By this time, the real power in Hungary lay with the Revolutionary and Workers' Councils, which had sprung up spontaneously in different parts of the country and had replaced the collapsing structure of the Communist Party. Mr. Nagy, though himself a Communist of long standing who had lived for many years in the USSR, invited non-Communists into his new Government, and listened to the demands of various Revolutionary and Workers' Councils. It would appear that Mr. Nagy himself, like the country at large, was somewhat taken aback by the pace of developments. However, seeing that his countrymen were united in their desire for other forms of government and the departure of Soviet troops, he threw in his lot with the insurgents. By this action, he obliterated the impression which he had created while still under the domination of the AVH, and he became a symbolic figure in the uprising, although he had not instigated it, and was never its actual leader;
- (viii) The few days of freedom enjoyed by the Hungarian people provided abundant evidence of the popular nature of the uprising. A free press and radio came to life all over Hungary, and the disbanding of the AVH was the signal for general rejoicing, which revealed the degree of unity achieved by the people, once the burden of fear had been lifted from them;
- (ix) There were a number of lynchings and beatings by the crowds. These were, in almost all cases, confined to members of the AVH or those who were believed to have co-operated with them;
- (x) Steps were taken by the Workers' Councils during this period to give the workers real control of nationalized industrial undertakings and to abolish unpopular institutions, such as the production norms. These were widely resented as being unfair to workers and also a reflection of popularly suspected secret trade agreements with the USSR, which were said to make heavy demands on the Hungarian economy for the benefit of the Soviet Union. During the days of freedom, while negotiations continued with the Soviet authorities for the withdrawal of Russian troops, attempts were made to clear up the streets of Budapest and life was beginning to return to normal. The insurgents had agreed to amalgamate, while maintaining their identity, in a National Guard, which would have been responsible, with the Army and Police, for maintaining order;
- (xi) In contrast to the demands for the re-establishment of political rights put forward during the uprising, is the fact that basic human rights of the Hungarian people were violated by the Hungarian Governments prior to 23 October, especially up to the autumn of 1955, and that such violations have been resumed since 4 November. The Committee is convinced that the numerous accounts of inhuman treatment and torture by the AVH are to be accepted as true. On the evidence, it is also convinced that numbers of Hungarians, including some women, were deported to the Soviet Union and that some may not have been returned to their homes. These deportations were designed to break the back of the revolution. Action taken by the Hungarian people in their spontaneous uprising succeeded in ridding them for a few days of the apparatus of police terror. This democratic achievement of a united people was indeed, threatened by a form of "counter-revolution" and it was to this that it succumbed. However, the "counter-revolution" consisted in the setting up by Soviet armed forces of Mr. Kadar and his colleagues in opposition to a Government which enjoyed the overwhelming support of the people of Hungary;

- (xii) Following the second Soviet intervention on 4 November, there has been no evidence of popular support for Mr. Kadar's Government. Mr. Kadar has successively abandoned most of the points from the revolutionary programme which he had at first promised to the Hungarian people. On the central question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, he has moved from complete acceptance of the nation's wishes to a refusal to discuss the subject in present circumstances. Against the workers, he has proceeded step by step to destroy their power and that of the Workers' Councils. Capital punishment is applicable to strike activities. The processes of justice have been distorted by the institution of special police and special courts and by the ignoring of the rights of the accused. The Social Democratic Party has again been forcibly liquidated. General elections have been postponed for two years. Writers and intellectuals are subjected to repressive measures. The Hungarian workers have shown no sign of support for Mr. Kadar's Government or for the prospect of continuous Soviet occupation. Only a small fraction of the 190,000 Hungarians, mostly young people, who fled the country have accepted his invitation to return. The peasants have reason to be grateful to Mr. Nagy for his attitude towards collectivization of agriculture and forced deliveries of farm produce;
- (xiii) In the light of the extent of foreign intervention, consideration of the Hungarian question by the United Nations was legally proper and, moreover, it was requested by a legal Government of Hungary. In the matter of human rights, Hungary has accepted specific international obligations in the Treaty of Peace. Accordingly, the Committee does not regard objections based on Paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter as having validity in the present case. A massive armed intervention by one Power on the territory of another, with the avowed intention of interfering with the internal affairs of the country must, by the Soviet's own definition of aggression, be a matter of international concern.

# THE COMMONWEALTH

"The Commonwealth connection and all it stands for, both practically and traditionally, is one of the glories of our Canadian heritage. It is the outstanding example in all world history of amity among free and independent peoples. Our Commonwealth has no written constitution. It has neither laws nor by-laws to define the mutual responsibilities of its membership. The only obligations it imposes are those of good sense, good faith, and goodwill. The ties that bind the Commonwealth together are family ties—and what a remarkable family it is! The members of our family range in age from hundreds of years to a few months. They are of many races, religions and languages. Its members are scattered all over the world. They live in every climate. They differ vastly in their histories, their viewpoints and their ways of life. And—like any family they have their disagreements, their misunderstandings, their ups-and-downs. Yet behind it all, there is that intangible "something" which they have in common, that indefinable yet blessed tie that binds us together. As your representative at this family council it will be my privilege to carry your good wishes to the other members of the Commonwealth, to express your confidence in the future of the family, and particularly to say that Canada is privileged to be able to extend a helping hand to those members who, through no fault of their own, have fared less well in material things of life than we have. It will be my privilege to tell them that we want to continue to stand together as a family, for richer or for poorer, for better or for worse, in good times or in bad times, in success or in adversity—against all others if necessary but, by God's Grace, in friendship and harmony with all the world, and especially the United States of America."

> Mr. John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs. June 22, 1957.

# **The Suez Canal Question**

At the request of the United States, the Security Council of the United Nations met on April 26, 1957, to resume consideration of the Suez Canal question in the light of an Egyptian declaration concerning arrangements for the future operation of the Canal. This was the tenth meeting of the Security Council devoted to the Suez Canal question since Egypt nationalized the Universal Suez Maritime Canal Company on July 26, 1956.

At the ninth of these meetings, held on October 13, 1956, the Council unanimously adopted a joint resolution introduced by the representatives of France and the United Kingdom enumerating six basic principles on which the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, France and the United Kingdom had agreed as requirements for any settlement of the question. These six basic principles were as follows:

- there should be free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination overt or covert—this covers both political and technical aspects;
- 2. the sovereignty of Egypt should be respected;
- 3. the operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country;
- 4. the manner of fixing tolls and charges should be decided by agreement between Egypt and the users;
- 5. a fair proportion of the dues should be allotted to development;
- 6. in case of disputes, unresolved affairs between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian Government should be settled by arbitration with suitable terms of reference and suitable provisions for the payment of sums found to be due.

# **Egyptian** Declaration

The Egyptian declaration, dated April 24, 1957, was the outcome of discussions held in Cairo between the United States Ambassador and the Egyptian Government over a period of some weeks. In this declaration, Egypt reaffirmed the Constantinople Convention of 1888 on the free navigation of the Suez Canal, expressed confidence that others would also respect the terms and the spirit of the Convention and asserted that Egypt was determined "to afford and maintain free and uninterrupted navigation for all nations within the limits of and in accordance with the provisions of the Constantinople Convention".

# The declaration also stated that:

- 1. tolls would continue to be levied in accordance with the last agreement on the subject (dated April 28, 1936), any increase in the current rate being limited to one per cent within any twelve months unless a higher rate should be established as a result of negotiations or arbitration;
- the Canal would "be maintained and developed in accordance with the progressive requirements of modern navigation";
- 3. it would be operated and managed by the autonomous Suez Canal Authority established by the Government of Egypt on July 26, 1956;
- 4. the Government would "welcome and encourage co-operation between the Suez Canal Authority and representatives of shipping and trade";
- 5. tolls would be payable in advance to the account of the Suez Canal Authority at any bank authorized by it;
- 6. the Suez Canal Authority would pay a 5 per cent royalty on gross receipts and put 25 per cent into a Suez Canal Capital and Development Fund;

- 7. due notice would be given of any alteration in the regulations governing the Canal;
- 8. by the terms of its charter the Suez Canal Authority could in no case grant "any vessel, company or other party any advantages or favour not accorded to other vessels, companies or parties on the same conditions";
- complaints of discrimination or violation of the Canal Code, if not resolved by the Suez Canal Authority, might be referred to a three-member arbitration tribunal whose decisions would be binding on the parties;
- claims in connection with the nationalization of the Suez Canal Maritime Company would be referred to arbitration unless otherwise agreed;
- 11. disputes were to be settled in accordance with the United Nations Charter;
- 12. differences of interpretation of the Constantinople Convention not otherwise resolved should be referred to the International Court of Justice, and Egypt would accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

The document concluded with the assertion that "This declaration, with the obligations therein, constitutes an international instrument and will be deposited and registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations".

# Debate on April 26

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge opened the debate in the Security Council on April 26 with a concise statement of the United States position. In the view of his Government the Egyptian declaration in its present form did not fully meet the six requirements which had been unanimously agreed to on October 13 with the concurrence of Egypt. The fundamental difficulty was the absence of provision for "organized co-operation" which had been referred to in an exchange of correspondence last autumn between the Secretary-General and the Egyptian Government. There was therefore no assurance that the six requirements would in fact be implemented. Mr. Lodge took the view that no final judgment could be made regarding the regime proposed by Egypt until it had been tried. For that reason, he said, "any de facto acquiescence by the United States must be provisional and we reserve the right to express ourselves further on the matter in the future". Pending settlement of the claims of the Universal Suez Maritime Canal Company and "in view of the possibility of double jeopardy" American vessels would be authorized to pay tolls to Egypt only under protest.

The Egyptian permanent representative to the United Nations, Mr. Omar Loutfi, who had been invited to take part in the Council meeting, followed with a statement of the Egyptian position. He maintained that the declaration of April 24 was in full conformity with the Constantinople Convention of 1888 respecting the free navigation of the Suez Canal and with the six basic requirements agreed to on October 13, 1956—even "the most delicate" of them, namely the third requirement (insulation from the politics of any country) in view of the arrangements for reference of disputes to the International Court of Justice. He discussed the declaration point by point and emphasized the view of Egypt that "the declaration, with the obligations which it contains, constitutes an international instrument".

The next statement was made by Mr. Georges-Picot of France. According to the French Government, the intention last October when the question was brought before the Council had been to provide by means of valid international agreement a new system for the Canal but one embodying for the users the same guarantees and safeguards which flowed from the contracts concluded in the past between Egypt and the Universal Suez Maritime Canal Company. Both on essential points regarding the rights of users and on other

points, he said, the Egyptian declaration failed to provide for practical implementation of the six principles. Egypt's confirmation of the principle of freedom of passage had been accompanied by a reservation the true meaning of which "we all know full well". (This was a reference to Egypt's apparent intention to continue its restrictions on the passage through the Canal of Israeli ships or certain types of cargo bound for Israel.) Most of the other provisions of the declaration were too vague and nebulous to constitute proper safeguards, Mr. Picot believed. His general conclusion was that the declaration was a unilateral act which was based only on the second of the six principles and excluded the others. It contained threats of possible discrimination. Experience has shown that the interpretation given by Egypt to the Constantinople Convention "ignored the terms of the resolution passed by the Security Council in September 1951" calling for non-discrimination against Israeli vessels and cargoes. "As the declaration was decreed unilaterally", Mr. Picot concluded, "it can be modified or nullified in the same way. Where, then, are the guarantees or safeguards? These can be obtained, in our opinion, only if the Council decides to pursue . . . negotiations, in a way and under conditions to be decided upon later, ... which would be designed to specify the provisional regime of the Canal, to set it on a contractual basis and then to define its final system of operation and administration by means of an international instrument."

In the afternoon session on April 26, the Security Council heard further statements on the item under consideration, the first of which was made by Australia. The Australian representative said that "the procedure adopted by the Egyptian Government and the actual contents of the Egyptian declaration still fall short of providing the sort of international agreement which is needed to establish the world's confidence in the future of the Suez Canal or a settlement that would fully meet the six requirements laid down by the Security Council last October". Something better than the Egyptian declaration was required in the light of past breaches of the Constantinople Convention by Egypt and its denial of free passage to Israeli shipping, in contradiction to the 1951 resolution of the Security Council. The Australian representative also spoke about the burden imposed on many nations by Egypt's "sabotage" of the Canal, which he said had been "entirely unwarranted by any Egyptian defence considerations". Now that the task of clearance had been completed, however, his delegation understood that the absence of a satisfactory international agreement on future operation of the Canal should not be allowed to stand in the way of resumption of traffic on a de facto basis, "provided it is recognized that the peoples of the world are not thereby acquiescing in the indefinite prolongation of all features of the present situation".

The U.S.S.R. representative, bearing in mind among other things the Egyptian statement regarding the establishment of arbitration procedures in the case of possible disputes, expressed the opinion that a fair and constructive settlement was implicit in the declaration of the Egyptian Government. There was no doubt that the Government of Egypt regarded this declaration as having the quality of an international document with international strength and validity. Mr. Soboley also remarked that "the Security Council should put an end to this trend on the part of certain circles in the western countries to foist upon Egypt a solution to the problem which would infringe upon its sovereign rights over the Canal and would allow for intervention in the domestic affairs of Egypt".

The United Kingdom representative, Sir Peirson Dixon, compared the Egyptian declaration with the six requirements and found it wanting in some respects. He went on to discuss the point on which the declaration was "most open to criticism: its unilateral form". Even though registered with the United Nations it was still a unilateral declaration which could be revoked or altered. In the United Kingdom view this was at the heart of the whole question. There was a general feeling, he added, that the declaration could not be regarded as a final settlement in accordance with the six principles contained in the Security Council resolution of October 13, 1956. Considered as a *de facto* arrangement, on the other hand, much would depend on the manner in which the Egyptian declaration was applied, as many members had pointed out.

Although the French and Australian representatives had been highly critical of the terms of the Egyptian declaration, the general sentiment in the Security Council proved to be in favour of giving the Egyptian proposal a fair trial. After comments on the declaration had been heard, the Council adjourned without attempting to adopt a formal resolution and without setting a date for its next discussion of the Suez Canal question.

# Proceedings of May 21-22

On May 15 the Security Council was asked by France to resume consideration of the Suez Canal question. When the Council met on May 20 and 21 in response to the French request, the representative of the Soviet Union spoke against the adoption of the proposed agenda on the ground that the Canal problem was settled when the Egyptian Government issued its declaration of April 24, which was in accordance with the Constantinople Convention and the Charter of the UN and reflected the six agreed principles. The declaration had been registered with the United Nations and had acquired the status of an international instrument. Subsequent events had confirmed that the conditions laid down in the declaration were acceptable to all countries and the Canal was now functioning without obstruction. For these reasons the U.S.S.R. abstained from voting on the agenda, which was, however, supported by all other members of the Council.

# Statement by French Representative

The Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Pineau, was the first speaker on the substance of the question on May 20. He declared that before taking up "the real motives of higher order" which had prompted the French action, he wished to dismiss "many mistaken interpretations" of the French decision to bring the Suez Canal problem to the Security Council once more. After a passing reference to Egyptian interference in the internal affairs of France in North Africa, he dismissed as unwarranted the charge that France was reintroducing the Suez question for reasons of internal policy. He emphasized the dangers to the United Nations of applying two different standards, one for countries which respected international law and the other for those who made unilateral decisions and paid no heed to the common rules. He then recalled the six agreed principles and argued along much the same lines as had been followed by Mr. Georges-Picot on April 26, in developing the thesis that the Egyptian declaration fell short of these principles. His delegation objected not only to the contents of the Egyptian memorandum, but also to its character. "It is not possible", Mr. Pineau said, "to imagine a unilateral settlement of the Suez Canal problem, a settlement which Egypt would always be free to

repudiate regardless of whether or not it is registered with the United Nations Secretariat . . . The Canal users decided in spite of France's reservations to have their ships use the Suez Canal once more by paying the transit fees to the Egyptian authority with 'reservations', but for how long will they make these reservations? Will the latter not accumulate in files gradually covered with the dust of the ages?"

Concluding, Mr. Pineau asked that negotiations be opened as soon as possible for the purpose of settling the problem in accordance with the six principles.

# Statement by Egyptian Representative

Mr. Loutfi, Egyptian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, was the next speaker. He expressed surprise that the Council had been called into session again to discuss the Suez question. Nothing had happened during the past two weeks to justify this. He considered that the most important event which had occurred since the last Council meeting was that the Canal had been fully opened to navigation and that numerous vessels belonging to the most important maritime nations were now using the Canal. To prove this point, Mr. Loutfi gave detailed statistics about traffic in the Canal since March 29.

Mr. Louth confirmed that even those delegations which had not been in full agreement with Egypt and had claimed that the Egyptian declaration did not fully conform with the Security Council's six principles had stated that the Canal regime proposed by Egypt must be given a trial before definitive judgement could be passed. He recalled that on April 26 he had stated in the Security Council that his government had drafted its declaration not only in implementation of its obligations under the 1888 Convention but also in conformity with its understanding of the Security Council resolution of October 13, 1956. This had been clearly shown by the Egyptian Foreign Minister's letter to the Secretary-General of April 24, requesting registration of the declaration with the United Nations. In Egypt's view, therefore, the declaration was in accordance with the Security Council's resolution of October 13, 1956 and reflected the six principles contained in that resolution. Even the "most delicate" of these, the third principle, which stipulated that the operation of the Canal should be insulated from the internal politics of any country, was respected in the Egyptian declaration, because:

- (a) the Egyptian Government had assigned the operation of the Canal, following its nationalization, to a Suez Canal Authority, an autonomous organ with its own budget;
- (b) Egypt had accepted the principle of arbitration regarding disputes concerning the Canal Code and in respect of complaints of discriminatory measures or infractions
- (c) Egypt had promised to take the necessary steps to accept compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice with regard to disputes about the interpretation of the 1888 Convention;
- (d) it had re-affirmed the 1888 Convention in precise terms.

Mr. Loutfi concluded his statement as follows: ". . . Egypt, notwithstanding the events that took place last October and the unprovoked aggression committed against her and the cruel tests to which she was subjected, has proclaimed her declaration of April 24. This declaration was proclaimed in pursuance of the obligations the Egyptian Government had undertaken under the terms of the Constantinople Convention of 1888. This declaration clarified

the meaning the Egyptian Government gives to the resolution adopted by the Security Council of October 13, 1956 and is in accordance with the statements made before this Council by the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Mareover, my government considers that the declaration, with the obligations contained therein, constitutes an international instrument and on this basis the declaration was registered with the United Nations".

# United Kingdom Statement

The next speaker, Sir Pierson Dixon of the United Kingdom, after recalling his remarks at the Security Council meeting of April 26, renewed his criticism of the Egyptian declaration from the point of view of both substance and form. As to substance, the United Kingdom was in broad agreement with French views as voiced by Mr. Pineau. There were points on which, he trusted, the representative of Egypt could give "reassuring replies":

- (a) the Suez Canal capital and development fund;
- (b) provisions for payment of compensation and claims, in connection with the national-ization of the Suez Canal Company;
- (c) the actual acceptance by Egypt of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice;
- (d) the way Egypt planned to establish "co-operation with the nations of the world in advancing the usefulness of the Canal";
- (e) provisions on the increase of tolls and on arrangements "for fact-finding, consultation and arbitration of complaints relating to the Canal Code"

As for the form of the Egyptian declaration, the United Kingdom Government considered that this was a unilateral declaration which "cannot be accepted as a settlement of the Suez Canal problem". Sir Pierson made a plea for a return to the "balanced system" which existed before the Egyptian nationalization order of July 26, 1956 by a negotiated settlement giving effect to the six principles. He emphasized that this balance could not be regarded as being restored by a unilateral declaration which could be withdrawn or amended at any time. Meanwhile the use of the Canal by British shipping would not "prejudice our existing legal rights or diminish our determination to pursue the search for a final settlement that is fair both to Egypt and to the

# First Statement by Australian Representative

At the meeting on May 20, the Australian representative made only a short statement before the Council in which he reiterated the position taken by the Australian Government on April 26. He welcomed the initiative of France and endorsed its position and that of the United Kingdom. He reserved comment, however, on the statements made in the Council that day, including the observations of the representative of Egypt.

# Statement by Representative of the Soviet Union

After a statement by Mr. Romulo of the Philippines, who was inclined to regard the Egyptian declaration as an interim measure and one which should be followed by negotiations designed to produce a settlement more in accordance with the six principles, Mr. Sobolev expressed Soviet views. After elaborating the arguments against renewed discussion of the Suez Canal item in the Council, he repeated that the Egyptian declaration of April 24 fully conformed with the 1888 Convention and the United Nations Charter and constituted

an acceptable solution, inasmuch as it took into account the legitimate interests of all Canal users without prejudicing the sovereignty of Egypt. The French representative had attempted in vain to prove that this declaration did not conform with the Security Council's six principles. The Soviet Delegation and many other members of the Security Council had no doubts that the Egyptian declaration "fully reflected" these six principles. The Soviet representative also spoke about the "encouragement of the aggressive circles in Israel to commit further provocative acts against Egypt". He linked France and the United States with this move.

# Second Australian Statement

Mr. Walker, the permanent representative of Australia, opened the neeting of May 21 with a strong statement re-affirming the Australian position on the Egyptian declaration of April 24. He said that the procedure adopted by the Egyptian Government would make Egypt "the sole authority entitled to interpret the declaration authentically". He then emphasized the extent to which, in the Australian view, the declaration failed to meet the six principles and particularly the third concerning the insulation of the operation of the Canal from the politics of any country.

Mr. Walker held that the Egyptian statements before the Council had not served to clarify the situation sufficiently to reassure the users of the Canal. The Australian Government did not see how the declaration could be accepted by the Council as "the best incorporation" of the legal rights and principles contained in previous agreements regarding the Suez Canal. The Egyptian position seemed to be that possession and sovereignty "amounted to nine points of the law"; and so far as the tenth point was concerned, the rest of the world "must accept what Egypt offers as adequate". For the Council to accept this position would be a complete failure to face up to its responsibilities. The Council should take note of the fact that the procedure adopted by Egypt was in effect a repudiation of the normal methods of diplomatic and international negotiation. The Council should seriously consider "the crisis of confidence in the organization" which had arisen. The Council could not just tell the representative of France that the question of the Canal was now settled as the result of the Egyptian declaration and that the operations of the Canal were running smoothly.

The Australian representative strongly supported the arguments advanced by the representative of France in favour of re-opening negotiations concerning the Canal.

# Statement by United States Representative

Speaking in his capacity as United States representative, the President of the Council, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, in addition to reviewing some of the points he had covered on April 26, pointed out in a short statement what seemed, in his view, to be the shortcomings of the Egyptian declaration. He then invited the Egyptian Government to give further clarification on the following points:

- (a) the lack of provision for an organized system of co-operation with the users;
- (b) the intention of the Egyptian Government regarding the implementation of the third principle;

- (c) co-operation with the users with regard to the fixing of tolls and charges;
- (d) the time when the Egyptian Government would deposit its acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice;
- (e) the "manner in which Egypt is proposing to give effect to the arbitration provision of its declaration";
- (f) the method envisaged by Egypt for reaching agreement on the question of the compensation claims of the Suez Canal Company.

## A Final Settlement?

Mr. Pineau, in a short but significant exchange of views with the Soviet representative, said he preferred Marshal Bulganin's statement in a letter to Mr. Mollet to the effect that the Egyptian declaration provided "a good basis for a settlement" of the Suez problem to the statement made by Mr. Sobolev to the Security Council that the Egyptian declaration represented "a final settlement" of the problem. The Soviet representative replied that he was happy to hear that Mr. Pineau accepted Marshal Bulganin's view. There was, however, no contradiction between Marshal Bulganin's words and what he himself had said, that as a result of the Egyptian declaration the Suez Canal problem had been "in substance" settled. This was by no means tantamount to saying that a "final settlement" had been achieved.

# Summary by President

As President of the Council Mr. Lodge then summarized the debate in a statement the full text of which is reproduced in the appendix to this article. He declared that it was plain a "clear majority" of the Council members were "acutely aware" of the responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to this question. The Council majority felt that the six principles adopted by the Security Council had not as yet been met by the Egyptian declaration of April 24. There were still "uncertainties" requiring clarification and the Egyptian position remained to be completed. The President observed that the Egyptian Government would probably wish to examine very carefully all these points as soon as possible and to consider concrete steps it could take to remove the remaining uncertainties. Member governments would be guided in their diplomatic actions by the views expressed in the Security Council and by the response Egypt would give to the questions posed in the present debate. In the meantime, the Security Council would remain seized of the question. It could resume its deliberations either to hear further from Council members and from the representative of Egypt or when other developments made a meeting desirable.

Following this summary, the Soviet representative again intervened to make the point that the questions asked of Egypt by certain members of the Council reflected the views of individual delegations only and could not in any way be considered as reflecting the views of the Council as an organ of the United Nations. Mr. Loutfi, the representative of Egypt, also said he wished to enter his delegation's reservations regarding the summary made by the President.

## APPENDIX I

# President's Summary of Security Council Proceedings on May 20 and 21, 1957

THE PRESIDENT: The Council has now completed their further discussion of the Suez Canal question. It is plain that a clear majority of the members of the Council are acutely aware of the responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to this matter. This is shown by the fact that the Council on 13 October adopted six requirements which should be met in any Suez Canal settlement and adopted them unanimously. There is the further fact that the Council has discussed this problem several times and that it has remained seized of the issue. It is further evidence of the Council's interest and concern.

It is of course clear that certain views have also been expressed to the effect that the Egyptian declaration and the present operation of the Suez Canal do adequately implement the six requirements of the Council. But the majority of the members are of the opinion that these requirements have not yet been met, that there are uncertainties that require clarification, and that, even as expressed by the Egyptian representative yesterday, the Egyptian position remains to be completed.

It has been observed several times that the Egyptian Government has not yet deposited its acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in accordance with its statement of intention to do so. It has been a month or more since the Egyptian Government made this intention known and again at yesterday's meeting the representative of Egypt reiterated his Government's intention to take the steps necessary to accept the International Court's jurisdiction. It is natural in these circumstances that members should wish to know when such steps will in fact be taken.

Questions have been raised about the nature of the obligations which the Egyptian Government recognizes under the declaration, the manner in which they were put forward and whether the Egyptian Government considers that it can amend or withdraw them arbitrarily at its own will.

In this connexion, reference has been made to the provisional nature of the Egyptian declaration. As the Philippine representative well said: ". . . most of the members qualified their acquiescence as provisional rather than final . . ." The Philippines representative also said: "The United Nations must continue to seek a final solution, while giving the interim arrangements a chance to work out without injury to the interests of any of the nations involved".

Doubts have been expressed about the lack of provision for organized user co-operation in the declaration, and it has been pointed out that further clarification is needed on the participation of the users implicit in various paragraphs of it, particularly those relating to arbitration and the fixing of tolls.

Members have pointed out that the obligations which Egypt appears to have assumed require further initiative from Egypt if those obligations are to be carried out.

Questions on compensation of claims in connexion with the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company and concerning the method of reaching agreement have also been raised. Here again it has been pointed out that further initiative by Egypt is required.

Concern continues to prevail about the insulation of the Canal from the politics of any nation, and this concern is inherent in all of the doubts expressed here about the adequacy of the Egyptian declaration.

These comments reflect continuing doubts on the part of a number of members regarding the Suez Canal system now put into effect by the Egyptian Government, and about which clarification by Egypt is desired.

The Egyptian Government will presumably wish as soon as possible to examine these points carefully and to consider the concrete steps it can take to remove the doubts which have arisen. Member Governments will undoubtedly be guided in their diplomatic actions and users will be guided in their practical actions by the views that have been expressed here today and by the Egyptian response to the questions which have been raised here. In the meantime the Council will remain seized of the question and will be in a position to resume its deliberations to hear further from the representative of Egypt or when other developments make it desirable.

# SUEZ AND WORLD TRADE\*

The importance of the Suez Canal in world trade is shown in the December 1956 issue of the United Nations *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*. In 1955, about 13 per cent by weight of world international trade passed through the Canal.

Of the 820 million metric tons of such trade, 107.5 million passed through the Canal, 87.4 million tons of it northbound, and 20.1 million tons southbound. Of the total ocean shipping, 430 million tons was dry cargo, and 360 million tons was tanker cargo, of which 68.8 million tons or 13½ per cent passed through the Canal. Another 39 million tons was loaded at Mediterranean ports from pipelines originating in Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Sixty-two per cent of the 87 million tons of tanker cargo transported from the Middle East to Europe passed through the Canal, and 57 per cent of the 15 million tons from the Middle East to North America.

If those Suez tanker cargoes had been carried by way of the Cape of Good Hope, the average length of haul of a ton of cargo would have been 11,160 nautical miles to Europe instead of 5,850, and 11,700 miles to North America instead of 8,070.

"Because of the limitations imposed by the capacity of the existing tanker fleet, the temporary closing of the Suez Canal will necessitate a rearrangement of the pattern of trade in oil." the *Bulletin* article states. "Assuming that tankers which used to carry oil from the Middle East to Europe and to North America via Suez, plus one third of the tankers built since 1955, are concentrated on carrying oil to Europe via the Cape, the reduction in Western Europe's oil supplies from outside Western Europe (which in 1955 were about 115 million metric tons) would be of the order of 15 per cent, provided that the pipelines which deliver oil to the Eastern Mediterranean are in full service. If the

<sup>\*</sup>Reprinted from the United Nations Review, February, 1957.

pipeline traffic were to be diverted to Europe via the Cape, the reduction of Europe's supplies would increase to about 35 per cent."

The dependence in 1955 of some countries on the Middle East for their imported supplies of crude petroleum was as follows: United States, 34%; Canada, 11%; Belgium-Luxembourg, 93%; France, 94%; West Germany, 88%; Italy, 94%; Netherlands, 61%; Portugal, 100%; Sweden, 82%; United Kingdom, 84%. The only country in Western Europe which depends to a marked degree directly on the Middle East for supplies of refined products of petroleum is Turkey, which obtains from that source 45 per cent by weight of its supplies.

In 1955, 76.5 per cent by volume of the northbound traffic through the Suez Canal consisted of shipments of petroleum and its products. Of this trade about 64 million metric tons or about 96 per cent was oil originating in the Persian Gulf.

The southbound traffic is composed mainly of a variety of finished and semi-finished goods moving from industrialized Europe to primary-producing Asia.

## **BOUNDARY WATERS MEETING**

A Canadian Delegation headed by the former Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Mr. Jean Lesage, and a United States Delegation headed by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Mr. John Wesley Jones, met at the Department of State on May 20 and 21 to discuss methods of dealing with problems relating to waters which cross the International Boundary. This meeting was preceded by a meeting of officials from both countries held in Ottawa on March 19 of this year.

In extending his greeting to the Canadian Delegation on behalf of the United States, Deputy Assistant Secretary Jones welcomed the opportunity to review jointly the various elements involved in the problem as well as to exchange opinions and suggestions in the traditional spirit of cordial co-operation which so happily marks the conduct of affairs between Canada and the United States.

Mr. Lesage thanked Mr. Jones for his warm welcome and for the courtesy of the Government of the United States in expediting consideration of matters of such importance to both countries.

By agreement each side had prepared working papers for discussion and as a basis for continuing consideration the United States working paper contained an analysis of the effects, both beneficial and adverse, of actions relating to waters crossing the International Boundary which might be taken in either country affecting the other. The Canadian Delegation presented a list of some 150 streams which cross the Boundary, with analyses of their international aspects. Provision was made for the continuing exchange of engineering, economic and other information, particularly with respect to such rivers of major importance as the Columbia, Yukon, and St. John.

# Canada and the Colombo Plan

# The Plan

The Colombo Plan had its origin and took its name from the meeting of Commonwealth Ministers held at Colombo, Ceylon, in January 1950. This meeting was convened to discuss ways and means of assisting the economic development of the countries of South and South-East Asia. At this meeting the "Consultative Committee" was formed and the plan was named "The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia".

The original membership consisted only of Commonwealth countries but at the first of the annual meetings of the Consultative Committee, held at Sydney, Australia, in May of 1950, other countries in the area were invited to participate.

Membership now consists of the following countries: Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan, United Kingdom, Malaya (Malaya and Singapore), British Borneo (North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak), Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Nepal, Philippines, Thailand, United States, Vietnam.

# The Nature of the Plan

The Colombo Plan is not only or even primarily an aid programme. It is the sum of the development programmes of the Asian countries which are members of the Plan, and of the aid programmes of the other member countries; in short, it is, as its full title states, a co-operative plan. Furthermore, the major burden of economic development is borne by the Asian countries themselves. They have themselves embarked on programmes of economic development and are working very hard to improve their own conditions; this is the essential basis on which the Plan rests.

At the same time they know that they cannot achieve their objective without help from their friends—help that is urgently needed now and which will be needed for the next few years at least. The pump needs to be primed. Certain economic goals such as higher national production, greater capital availability, an increased flow of foreign investment and freer trade, which it is hoped will be secondary results of the first years' efforts to raise the living standards of the people of South and South-East Asia, will have to be realized before the countries of the area can consider themselves economically self-reliant.

The Colombo Plan, considered in both its capital assistance and technical co-operation aspects, has no permanent machinery or secretariat and no central headquarters. Special machinery exists for the handling of technical co-operation but co-ordination and orderly development in the capital field are achieved through bilateral negotiations, supplemented by consultation with others where necessary, and through the annual meetings of the Consultative Committee. There has thus grown up a flexible, pragmatic procedure which involves a great many governments and agencies on a continuing basis. This

system, by placing the emphasis on direct contacts, keeps overhead costs to a minimum and makes for a high degree of efficiency in the day-to-day operations of Colombo Plan assistance programmes.

# How Capital is Provided

How does a "donor" country, for example Canada, provide capital assistance under the Plan? First the Asian government concerned suggests certain projects with which it thinks Canada can help. The Canadian Government examines the projects and decides what it can most usefully do. In this process the authorities concerned with economic development both in the Asian country and in Canada, as well as the diplomatic missions in each country, all play a part. There have now been worked out in practice a variety of methods which are flexible enough to provide for differing needs and are at the same time based on mutually accepted administrative and financial principles. The Departments of External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, Finance, Agriculture, National Health and Welfare, and Labour, as well as such agencies as the Bank of Canada, all play a part in this work.

## The Consultative Committee

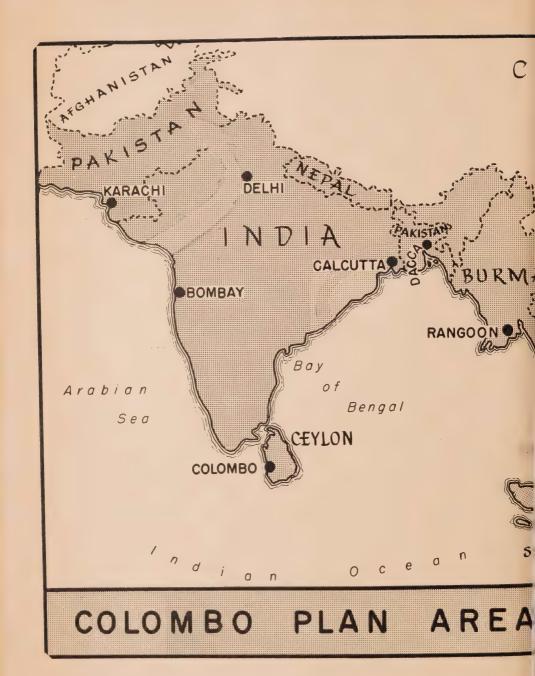
Supervision of the Colombo Plan is in the hands of a Consultative Committee of Foreign Ministers of the member countries, who meet once a year to review projects, exchange views on policy matters and prepare an annual report. It is, as its name implies a "consultative" body; no collective policy decisions binding member countries are taken by its meetings.

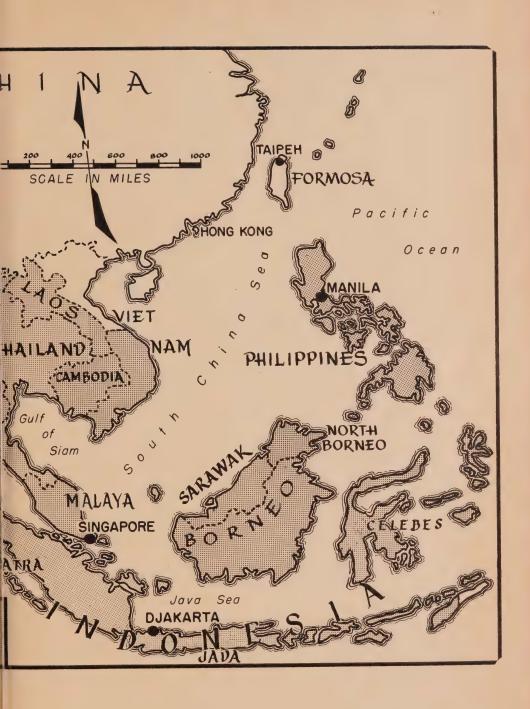
# **Bureau for Technical Co-operation**

Colombo Plan technical aid, like capital assistance, is given bilaterally on a country-to-country basis. But the Bureau for Technical Co-operation at Colombo examines requests for such aid and endeavours to find the required assistance in other Colombo Plan countries. The members of the Council for Technical Co-operation, to which the Bureau is responsible, are drawn from the permanent representatives of Colombo Plan countries in Ceylon. The Colombo Plan technical assistance programme is regarded as supplementary to the work being done by the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration and by Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, such as the WHO and FAO.

## The Information Unit

The Colombo Plan has an Information Unit in Colombo. The Information Officer, as is the Director of the Bureau for Technical Co-operation, is an official specially seconded from one of the Colombo Plan countries. The Unit assists member governments to publicize what is being done under the Colombo Plan, and is beginning to supplement their work with information of its own.





# Canada's Participation

As one of the original members, Canada plays a very important role in this co-operative plan to help increase the economic potential of the countries concerned and thereby raise their living standards.

From the beginning of the Plan in 1950 through April 1958 Canada will have made available a total of \$196.8 million for capital and technical assistance projects in South and South-East Asia. Total financial assistance extended to all countries by Canada under the Colombo Plan as of December 31, 1956 was as follows:

was as follows.	Capital Assistance	Technical Assistance	Total
Burma	\$ 170,513	\$ 91,297	\$ 261,810
Cambodia	15,000	48,775	63,775
Ceylon	10,170,165	816,362	10,986,527
India	79,947,945	890,588	80,838,533
Indonesia	400	366,091	366,491
Laos		22,752	22,752
Malaya	201,000	219,020	420,020
North Borneo	decemen	13,387	13,387
Pakistan	57,155,136	849,743	58,004,879
Sarawak		4,396	4,396
Singapore	50,000	25,363	75,363
Thailand	and the same	6,921	6,921
Vietnam	<u></u>	132,942	132,942
To the Colombo Plan	\$147,710,159	\$ 3,487,637	\$151,197,796
Bureau for Techni Co-operation			32,231
c.o-operation			52,251
			\$151.230.027

# Capital Assistance

Canada has now contributed towards sixty-seven capital assistance projects of varying sizes. Although these cover an extensive field of endeavour, it is perhaps natural, considering the experience gained in the development of her own vast resources, that Canada's greatest efforts should be directed along four main avenues, namely: the generation and distribution of electric power, the development of transportation and communication facilities, aerial and other surveys, and the peaceful use of atomic energy.

While eight separate countries are now receiving capital assistance from Canada in varying degrees, as shown above, the largest contributions to date have been made in India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

A summary of the major projects undertaken in these countries appears at the end of this article.

#### **Technical Assistance**

Under the Colombo Plan Technical Assistance programme Canada sends out technical experts to Colombo Plan countries in Asia and trains Asians in Canadian universities and research and industrial centres.



NFB Photo

#### CANADIAN FISHERIES PROJECT, CEYLON

The development of the fishing industry to increase food production is an important undertaking of Ceylon's economic programme. Canada has played an important role by contributing both capital and technical assistance in this Colombo Plan venture which has been named the Canadian Fisheries Project.

Above Mr. A. W. Lantz, of the Fisheries Research Board of Canada, who until recently had charge of the Project, supervises the erection of a cold storage plant for refrigerating fish catches.

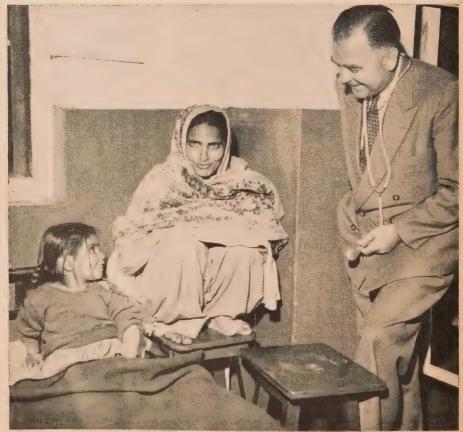
As with capital assistance, the guiding principle underlying Canada's technical assistance is that accepted projects are those proposed by recipient countries in the light of their own needs, which are clearly related to their economic development. Canada views technical and capital assistance as interdependent and has supported this integration wherever possible. Canada's technical assistance scheme has now been extended to twelve countries and to date has made it possible to train 636 Fellows and Scholars in Canada and send 94 Canadian experts to Colombo Plan areas. Canada's total expenditure on technical assistance to December 31, 1956 was \$3.49 millions.

#### Trainees

As indicated below, a total of 636 Fellows and Scholars had received training in Canada up to December 31, 1956. Of this total, 253 arrived in Canada during the preceding twelve months and, on that date, 190 were still in Canada.

This training includes academic and practical courses in agriculture, engineering, medicine, commercial and public administration, co-operatives, marketing and a wide variety of other fields. Trainees have come from the following countries:

Burma — 20	Malaya — 7
Cambodia— 5	Pakistan —179
Ceylon — 51	Sarawak — 1
India —211	Singapore— 4
Indonesia — 93	Thailand — 1
Laos — 10	Vietnam — 54



-NFB Photo

#### CANADIAN MEDICAL MISSION

Member of a medical mission which visited countries in the Far East early this year under the joint sponsorship of the Canadian Colombo Plan Adminstration and the governments of the countries concerned, Dr. John F. McCreary, Head of the Department of Pediatrics, University of British Columbia, makes friends with an Indian girl at the Victoria Jubilee Hospital in Amritsar, India. With them is the girl's mother.

#### **Experts**

Of the 94 Canadian experts sent abroad under the Colombo Plan since 1950, 42 are at present in Colombo Plan areas. Their assignments have included service in the following countries:

> Burma Laos Cambodia Malava Cevlon North Borneo India Pakistan Indonesia Singapore

Mayurakshi Power and Irrigation Project

## Canadian Capital Assistance Under The Colombo Plan

(The figures given below are for allocations of funds already voted by Parliament. They do not necessarily reflect the total Canadian commitment to specific projects now being implemented).

Ι	n	d	i	a

(a) Engineering services and electrical equipment	\$ 2,500,000
(b) Assistance in local costs—Financed from rupee counterpart funds created by the local sale of wheat supplied	
to India.	15,000,000
Bombay State Road Transport Corporation	1 2 7 2 000
Trucks, buses and automotive equipment	4,353,000
Chittaranjan Locomotive Works 50 locomotive boilers	1,808,000
Indian railways 120 steam locomotives	21,462,000
Umtru Hydro-electric Project	,,
(a) Engineering services and electrical equipment	1,200,000
(b) Assistance in local costs—Financed from rupee counterpart funds	
created by the local sale of copper and aluminum supplied to India.	2,100,000
	136,000
Locust control equipment  Beaver aircraft and spraying equipment for pest control	146,000
Diesel generators for rural electrification	3,003,000
Canada-India Atomic Reactor	3,003,000
(a) Engineering services and equipment	5,000,000
(b) Assistance in local costs—Financed from rupee counterpart funds	2,000,000
created by the local sale of copper and	2 000 000
aluminum supplied in India.	2,900,000
Aero-magnetic survey	257,000
Kundah Hydro-electric Project Engineering services and equipment	20,000,000
angliceting of vices and equipment	20,000,000
Pakistan	
Ganges Kobadak Irrigation Project	1,806,000
Daud Khel Cement Plant	2,000,000
Engineering services and equipment	6,583,000
Aerial resources survey	3,135,000
Thal-Commonwealth Livestock Farm	197,000
Pakistan railways	
Railway ties	2,770,000
Locust control project	177, 000
(a) Beaver Aircraft (b) Trucks	176,800 100,000
Warsak Hydro-electric and Irrigation Project	100,000
(a) Engineering services and equipment	24,462,000
(b) Assistance in local costs—Financed from rupee counterpart funds created by the local sale of wheat and —Whea	it 11,500,000
copper supplied to Pakistan. —Copp	er 279,000

**Amount** 

	Amount
Copper and aluminum  Supplied to create rupee counterpart funds for allocation to other Colombo Plan pro-	\$ 720,000
jects, as required, to meet local costs.  Shadiwal Hydro-electric Project	\$ 720.000 2,507,000
Engineering services and equipment  Dacca-Chittagong Power Distribution Link	
Engineering services and equipment	4,006,000
Goalpara (Khulna) Thermal Electric Plant Engineering services and equipment	2,000,000
Ceylon	
Fisheries Development Project (a) Boats and equipment	622,000
(b) Refrigeration and by-products plants	895,000
Assistance in local costs  Assistance in local costs  —Financed from rupee counterpart funds created by the local sale of flour supplied to Ceylon.	1,000,000
Gal Oya Transmission Line Engineering services and equipment	774,000
Rural roads	
Assistance in local costs — Financed from rupee counterpart funds created by the local sale of flour supplied to Ceylon.	1,050,000
Ceylon railways  (a) Diesel locomotives with maintenance equipment and spare parts (b) Railway ties	1,781,000 184,000
Agricultural maintenance workshops Equipment	340,000
Institute of Practical Technology—Katubedde  (a) Equipment for laboratories and workshops (b) Assistance in local	200,000
building costs  —Financed from rupee counterpart funds created by the local sale of flour supplied to Ceylon	500,000
Portable irrigation systems Equipment and piping	185,000
Colombo Harbour equipment Level Luffing cranes	580,000
Ratmalana Airport equipment Engineering services and telecommunication equipment	292,000
Ceylon University	
Assistance in local building costs of:  (a) Laboratory \$50,000 — Financed from rupee counterpart funds  (b) Veterinary created by the local sale of flour supplied to Eylon  Bldg. 41,500 Ceylon	91,500
Fisheries Co-operative School—Polgolla Assistance in local costs of	
building and equipment —Financed from rupee counterpart funds created by the local sale of flour supplied to Ceylon	180,000
Aerial resources survey	539,000
Pest control units Trucks and dusting equipment	64,000
Gal Oya Agricultural Development Light trucks, pumps and piping	210,000
Trade school	
Assistance in local building costs — Financed from rupee counterpart funds created by the local sale of flour supplied to Ceylon	200,000

# **Nato Ministerial Meeting**

The regular spring ministerial meetings of the North Atlantic Council are traditionally reserved for an exchange of views on the current political developments affecting the Alliance aimed at fostering conditions for maintaining and developing a common NATO approach to the main political issues of the day.

This year the Ministerial Meeting was held in Bonn on May 2 and 3, 1957. The Canadian Delegate was the former Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, assisted by the Permanent Representative of Canada to the NATO Council in Paris, Mr. L. D. Wilgress; the Canadian Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie; and officers of the Department of External Affairs.



#### AT NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING

Mr. L. B. Pearson, the former Secretary of State for External Affairs, is seen second from left with the foreign ministers of Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg, United States, The Netherlands, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany at the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization held at Bonn May 2 and 3. Also shown are President Heuss (fourth from left) and Chancellor Adenauer (second from right) of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The decision to hold this meeting in the German capital underlined the desire of the North Atlantic Council to widen further public support for the organization in all NATO countries by making their respective peoples more familiar with the nature and purposes of NATO's activities. The decision was also in line with one of the recommendations formulated by the Committee of

Three Foreign Ministers, who, in their report to the Council in December, 1956 had stressed the desirability of rotating ministerial meetings between the various NATO capitals, instead of restricting them to the NATO Head-quarters in Paris.

For the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, the meeting in Bonn offered a welcome opportunity to stress its interest in NATO, and to reaffirm its whole-hearted support of the Organization's present policies. In his opening address to the Council, Chancellor Adenauer helped to set the keynote of solidarity by rejecting suggestions of a neutral Germany or a neutral zone in the heart of Europe which could lead to Germany's leaving NATO.

The Canadian Government had hoped that the meeting in Bonn would succeed in:

- a) giving a telling collective answer to the present phase of Soviet foreign policy towards Europe;
- b) promoting a deeper realization, in Germany as well as in the rest of free Europe, of Western Europe's dependence, for security and stability, on the Alliance; and
- c) developing further a greater sense of political unity for the NATO Alliance as a whole.

# Display of Firmness

Although no new or spectacular proposals were advanced, and none had been expected, progress was made towards these objectives. The meeting proved particularly useful and constructive in providing an encouraging indication of Atlantic unity and courage in the face of recent Soviet threats.

On this aspect of Soviet policy, the Council's position was firm and clear, as evidenced by the unequivocal language of its final communiqué, (see below). The Council agreed that one of the objects of the present Soviet campaign of threats against certain NATO countries was to ensure for Soviet forces a monopoly of nuclear weapons on the European Continent. Such a situation could obviously not be accepted, and the Ministers noted with satisfaction the firm answers given to these Soviet manoeuvres. The Soviet attempts to frighten these countries had not only not succeeded, the Council felt, but had had the opposite effect.

The Ministers felt there had been little change in Soviet policy since their last meeting, although they took cognizance of a new emergence of Soviet attempts at promoting a policy of peaceful coexistence. While recognizing the dilemma in which Soviet leaders find themselves at present, the Ministers made it clear again, through their final communiqué, that if the leaders of the Soviet Union were really sincere in their professed desire to eliminate the danger of atomic war, they could readily dissipate not only their own fears but those of the entire world by matching their words with deeds, mainly by removing such threats to peace as their continued partition of Germany, their brutal suppression of the struggle for freedom of Hungary, and their attempts to subvert the Middle East. On this last point, the length and range of the discussions on the Middle East showed a greater disposition by NATO Foreign Ministers than had existed in the past to review the problems affecting that area.

The firmness displayed by the Ministers in the face of present Soviet policy was also reflected in their consideration of the military state of the Alliance. As Chancellor Adenauer pointed out, the Soviet Union still has five million men under arms despite loudly publicized but never confirmed reductions, and is rapidly increasing the strength of its atomic armaments. The military threat facing the Alliance has therefore in no way diminished and the Ministers had this situation in mind when they reiterated the Alliance's intention to use all available means to meet any attack which might be launched against it. They noted that the availability for NATO forces of the most modern weapons of defence was still the best means of discouraging attempts to launch any such attack on the Alliance.

Generally, the Ministerial Meeting was well received by German public opinion. Although the German press suggested that the impact of the meeting would have been greater if the NATO Council had been in a position to produce concrete proposals for German reunification, there was a general expression of satisfaction that the fifteen Foreign Ministers had been prepared to renew their pledge to use every means at their disposal to bring about German reunification through free elections.

NATO cannot of course be expected to provide solutions to all the complex issues facing the free world today, and the Bonn Ministerial Meeting naturally left behind a good number of unanswered questions. But in the present circumstances, an organization like NATO must have flexible goals which can be adjusted to meet situations beyond its control, and it remains that the Bonn Ministerial Meeting did show the NATO Alliance as still a formidable force, materially and psychologically. In spite of the stiff weather NATO has occasionally encountered, the Organization has served a valuable purpose and continues to do so, and the Bonn Ministerial Meeting has confirmed that the fifteen members of the Alliance still consider it an essential instrument of their policies.

# FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

The North Atlantic Council, presided over by Mr. Gaetano Martino, Foreign Minister of Italy, held its regular Ministerial Meeting in Bonn on May 2 and 3, 1957. The Secretary General, Lord Ismay, acted as chairman of the Council's discussions.

- 2. The Atlantic Alliance has always been and remains purely defensive. It was created to protect its member countries from any aggression. It has succeeded. But the danger of aggression clearly continues, and the countries of the Atlantic Alliance must therefore remain united to provide for their defence. The Council noted that since its last meeting the Soviet leaders have launched a campaign which, while throwing the cloak of oblivion over Soviet repression in Hungary, is designed to induce public opinion in various member countries to oppose the modernisation of defence forces, and to weaken the principle of collective security in NATO. The Council agreed that one of the objects of this campaign was to ensure for Soviet forces a monopoly of nuclear weapons on the European Continent. Such a situation clearly could not be accepted. It was with satisfaction that the Council noted the firm replies given to these Soviet manœuvres.
- 3. The Atlantic Alliance must be in a position to use all available means to meet any attack which might be launched against it. It is the availability of the most modern weapons of defence which will discourage attempts to launch any such attack on the Alliance. Pending an acceptable agreement on disarmament, no power can claim the right to deny to the Alliance the possession of the modern arms needed for its defence. If, however, the fears professed by the Soviet Union are sincere, they could be readily dissipated. All that is needed is for the Soviet Union to accept a general disarmament agreement embodying effective measures of control and inspection within the framework of the proposals made on numerous occasions by the Western Powers, which remain an essential basis of their policy.

- 4. During their discussions on the problem of security, the question was raised of the balance as between the latest weapons and conventional arms. The Council is awaiting the results of the studies now in hand by the NATO military authorities to enable member countries to decide together on the steps necessary for the development and balance of the different types of forces needed. The Council remains convinced that these decisions taken in common should take into account the need for NATO to retain an effective deterrrent against aggression, including a powerful shield of land, sea and air forces, to protect the territory of member states.
- 5. Recent events in Hungary have confirmed that freedom counts for nothing in Soviet eyes, and that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to use force to crush the legitimate aspirations of nations. The Council agreed that the continued brutal repression of the struggle for freedom of the heroic Hungarian people remains, and continues to make difficult an improvement in East-West relations.
- 6. The Council discussed the effect of political developments in recent months on the question of German reunification. They decided to continue their efforts with every means at their disposal to induce the Soviet Government to carry out its agreement that Germany should be reunified by means of free elections. The Ministers view the prolonged division of Germany and the anomalous situation of Berlin as a continuing threat to world peace. They accordingly reaffirmed their determination by peaceful means to continue and intensify the common policy for the restoration of Germany as a free and united state within the framework of a system of European security. They directed particular attention to the inhumanity of the continued division of the German people.
- 7. The Council reviewed recent developments in the Middle East. They concluded that while the dangers to peace in the region remain great, certain new elements give promise of limiting the opportunities for communist expansion and subversion. The Council emphasized the importance of current initiatives to improve the situation and to reinforce the efforts already made to ensure the security and integrity of countries in the Middle East.
- 8. The Ministers considered the state of the Alliance in the light or political developments, both within and without the NATO area, which have taken place since they last met five months ago. In this connection they reviewed the progress achieved in political consultation under the new procedures inaugurated as a result of the recommendations of the Committee of Three approved last December. They concluded that useful and concrete results had been achieved, and that the Alliance was acquiring both greater maturity and solidarity.
- 9. The Council noted the report submitted by Lord Ismay, and conveyed to him their thanks and gratitude for the supreme services which he has rendered to the cause of the Alliance in the past five years.

#### RELATIONS ESTABLISHED

The Department of External Affairs announced May 31 that an agreement had been reached between Canada and Tunisia to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries. As a first step towards the development of closer relations between Canada and Tunisia, the present Tunisian Ambassador in Washington, M. Mongi Slim, will become concurrently the first Ambassador of Tunisia to Canada, Ambassador Slim will continue to reside in Washington.

Tunisia, a former French Protectorate, achieved full independence on March 10, 1956. Canada extended de jure recognition to the new state on June 20, 1956. Canada was represented by a special envoy at the celebration of Tunisia's first anniversary of its independence.

# Korea's Changing Pattern\*

An operation that has changed the whole pattern of a country is being carried through in Korea by the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) which for more than four years has been engaged in restoring life to that nation's war-paralysed economy.

A stage of achievement has now been attained in which it is not too much to claim that there is not a major industry, nor a man, woman or child, who has not, in some way, benefited from the United Nations' programme. Factories have risen from the ruins, homes have been rebuilt, the fishing fleet has been renewed, the mines are working again and small industries are springing up with fresh vitality. But all this did not happen in a day.

UNKRA came into being in 1950 when thirty-six nations pledged themselves to help in the rehabilitation of the Republic of Korea and promised contributions amounting to about \$140 millions.

#### Canadian Aid to Korea

Canada's contributions to the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) totalled \$7.75 million, making this country the third largest contributor following the United States and the United Kingdom. The original Canadian contribution of \$7.25 million, made in 1951-52, was followed by an additional payment of \$500,000, made in 1954-55 with a view to encouraging other governments to make additional payments.

Canada also contributed Canadian salt cod valued at \$750,000 to the United Nations Emergency Relief Programme inaugurated under Security Council resolutions shortly after the outbreak of hostilities in Korea to provide immediate relief in the form of food and clothing.

Canada is a member of the UNKRA Advisory Committee, the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations is chairman, and a substantial number of Canadians have served UNKRA in responsible posts. Canadian delegations to sessions of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council have participated actively in debates on UNKRA and have sponsored or co-sponsored several resolutions on its policies.

# **Pressing Needs**

It was not possible to plunge into a programme of capital reconstruction the moment peace was in sight. The most urgent needs then were food, shelter, clothing and medical treatment for the thousands of starving, homeless, and sick. Though the task of providing immediate care rested with the United Nations Command, UNKRA gave auxiliary assistance by providing a skilled staff for disease control relief and welfare. The Agency also launched an emergency programme to get the children under cover by rebuilding schools and orphanages, rushed in \$11 million worth of grain to feed the hungry and later \$9 million of fertilizer to help the farmers.

<sup>\*</sup>Reprinted from "United Nations Review", February, 1957.

The signal for launching the full-scale programme that UNKRA had mapped out in co-operation with the Government of the Republic of Korea, the United Nations Command and other aid agencies did not come until the cease-fire in July, 1951. UNKRA's aid programme was planned to help every single section of Korea's industrial and social life. It was like starting a huge jigsaw puzzle; every part had to interlock. It was important that, at one and the same time, aid should be given in the fields of agriculture, irrigation, forestry, fisheries, industries, mining, education, housing, medical facilities and welfare services. There was an acute shortage of tools, building materials and even of trained technicians.

Before progress could be made, machinery, equipment and other commodities had to be purchased in countries all over the world. At one point there were no fewer than seventy ships at sea bringing UNKRA imports to Korea.



-United Nations Photo

#### EXPERT FROM CANADA

Under the watchful eye of Mr. Benjamin Rothwell, Production Manager, Department of Public Printing and Stationery, a Korean printer tries out a technique just learned. Mr. Rothwell was in Korea in 1953-55 under the auspices of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency helping Korean printing shop technicians master modern methods.

#### Farm and Fisheries Drive

As Korea is primarily an agricultural country, one of UNKRA'S major efforts has been to get farm production back on its feet. To this end, UNKRA has helped build 257 dams and irrigation systems, has brought in livestock to improve the herds and flocks, has introduced nation-wide immunization schemes to stamp out animal disease, and imported steel and equipment to encourage the agricultural tool industry.

Concurrently, Korea's fishing industry, which produces four-fifths of the protein diet of the country, was helped by the importation of ten deep-sea trawlers to add to the fishing fleet, lumber to build and repair small boats, fishing tackle, engines, ropes, fishnets, sailcloth and diving apparatus.

A 2,000-horsepower dredge was built in Hawaii and brought to Korea to clear the silted-up harbors and channels of the west coast ports, while quays, warehouses, canneries and ice plants were also built or repaired.

The next step was to reduce Korea's essential imports by getting her own factories and industries into operation and introducing possibilities for industrial development. For the existing textile industry, UNKRA provided spindles, looms and other equipment for the cotton-spinning and the woolenworsted mills. Korea's only silk plant was reopened. Paper and wire plants received equipment not only to help them restart but to expand their production.

Other essential commodities needed in Korea were not being made. Korea had one cement plant which UNKRA rehabilitated, but which even at top production did not even begin to meet the requirements. To supplement this, UNKRA is building an \$8,500,000 cement plant that will have a capacity of 200,000 metric tons a year and solve the whole problem.

Glass was also in short supply, so UNKRA is building a flat glass plant, the only one of its kind in the country, which will practically end the need to import glass. To help the development of Korea's natural resources, international experts were brought in to advise on the modernization of the mines. An assay laboratory was built to assist in the identification and analysis of newly-discovered mineral deposits.

One of the most successful features of the programme has been assistance to small private enterprises through a revolving loan fund set up to help the small manufacturer who lacked the capital to restart his factory. Over a thousand loans have already been made and many of them repaid—to such enterprises as the manufacture of lenses, zippers, the making of bamboo chests, match manufacturing and other small industries.

# Health Programmes

In the field of health, apart from helping the voluntary agencies to carry through medical programmes and run clinics, UNKRA has set up a rehabilitation centre at Tongnae, near Pusan. Here the limbless are being fitted with prosthetics and taught a trade suited to their disabilities that will enable them to return to their homes and families and earn their own livelihood.

Hospitals also have been rehabilitated and re-equipped. In Seoul itself a National Medical Center is being built that will include a modern hospital and a teaching college.

With major projects now nearing completion it is possible to see the results of this widely diversified programme in every province, city and village in the country. But much of the credit for UNKRA's achievements lies with the Korean people themselves who have worked indomitably to rebuild their own country. They have used the aid the United Nations was able to give not as a crutch on which to lean but as a helping hand across a rugged road.

# **Election Day in Delhi**

## by Mr. Escott Reid

(former Canadian High Commissioner in India)

During the latter part of February and early March the 190 million electors of the world's largest democracy took part in India's second general elections. Sunday, March 3, was election day in the capital. The cities of New and Old Delhi, together with a small part of the surrounding countryside, form one of the six "Centrally-Administered Territories" of the Indian Union. Delhi has no legislature of its own and its citizens can vote only in the elections for the Lok Sabha (House of the People), India's House of Commons. Almost everywhere else in India voters were casting their ballots not only for their representatives in the Lok Sabha but also for their representatives in the state assemblies (Vidhan Sabhas). It is as though the federal and provincial elections were held simultaneously throughout Canada, with the citizens of a federal district around Ottawa having a vote only in the federal elections.

Delhi Territory is divided into four constituencies. Two—Chandni Chowk and Delhi Sadar—are in the teeming Old City. One, New Delhi, takes in the New City. The fourth, Outer Delhi, takes in the suburban and rural fringe surrounding the capital. For these four seats, there are five members. This is because Outer Delhi is a double-member constituency, with one of its seats reserved for a representative of the Scheduled Tribes and Castes ("untouchables"). There are 98 such reserved seats in the 500-member Lok Sabha, but the distinction between reserved seats and ordinary seats is due to disappear in 1960.

Early on the morning of March 3, armed with a letter from the Election Commission which permitted me to enter polling stations, Mr. J. H. Taylor and I drove out into the countryside to watch the polling in several villages in the Outer Delhi constituency. We arrived shortly after the polls opened at 9:00 a.m. Voting was proceeding slowly and quietly. It was a peaceful, sunny Sunday morning and Indians, like Canadians, believe in working their way into Sunday easily. Later in the day people began to appear in greater numbers at the polling booth. By mid-day, when we visited the Old City, the bazaars were crowded. Everywhere people were good-natured and glad to volunteer their own interpretation of what was going on. Only once did I see a police constable having to do his duty; he was warning a party worker about putting up an election banner too close to a polling station. By the time the polls closed, between one-half and two-thirds of the voters in the various Delhi constituencies had cast their ballots—a healthy vote, especially considering that the electors of Delhi did not have the additional attraction of an election to the state assembly to draw them to the polls.

# **Complicated Procedure**

Casting a vote in India can be a complicated business. In the Outer Delhi constituency, for example, there were thirteen candidates, each identified by his own party or individual symbol and each with his own ballot box. The

voter usually arrives at the polling station with an identification slip, bearing the symbol of one or the other of the parties which have been canvassing for his vote. Although these identification slips carry campaigning right to the doors of the polling stations, election officials welcome them, because they considerably reduce the time it takes to locate the voter's name on the electoral rolls, which in most polling subdivisions carry 750 to 1000 names. The identity slips are also helpful because quite frequently, particularly in country districts, married women will not give their husband's name, although they will answer "yes" or "no" to the question "Are you Mrs. So-and-so?"

This process of identification goes on at a desk in the open air outside the polling station. On this desk a ballot box is usually placed to give the voter an idea what one looks like. The boxes actually used to receive ballots are closed with a complicated triple seal to prevent "stuffing" and opened after the poll at a central counting station in the presence of the party agents of the candidates. Election officials will demonstrate how to cast a ballot, and the outside of the polling station is decorated with posters designed to explain how to queue, how to obtain a ballot, and how to vote. The election symbols of all candidates standing in the constituency are also displayed. A litter of crumpled registration slips surrounds the desk; within the polling booth, no signs of party warfare are permitted.

When the voter has been identified on the electoral roll, he receives a slip which entitles him to a ballot. There are two pads of these slips on the desk outside the polling booth, one for men and one for women. They are numbered consecutively from one. Thus, at any stage of the day, it is possible to tell exactly how many men and women have voted at a particular polling station simply by glancing at the number of the slip on the top of each pad.

Men and women then queue separately through the doorway into the polling station. Inside, there is another desk. Here, they surrender the numbered slip in exchange for a ballot, a small green rectangle about 3" x 2". The ballot is printed with an anti-counterfeiting device in the same manner as a banknote and bears a serial number and the Ashoka pillar symbol, the three lion heads which are India's substitute for the Crown. From the serial number it is possible for the Election Commission to identify the state and the constituency to which a particular ballot was supplied. This prevents ballots being taken from one part of India to another—a necessary precaution since voting goes on on different days in different places over a period of weeks.

The voter enters the polling station carrying the numbered slip which certifies that his name has been entered on the voter's list and that he is entitled to a ballot. He approaches a second desk, where another set of registers are kept. (In the Delhi area these registers were in Hindi, Urdu and English). The voter shows his numbered slip and receives the ballot paper to which he is entitled. When the voter receives the ballot his left forefinger is marked with a small circle of a special indelible ink which indicates that he has been given a ballot. The officer who issues the ballot enters the serial number which appears on the ballot against the voter's name. This might appear to weaken the secrecy of the vote, since it connects a particular voter with a particular ballot, but it is a useful safeguard against impersonation. The serial numbers also act as a check in double-member constituencies against electors casting two votes for the same candidate. In any event, the registers are kept sealed

except in cases of disputed elections. The secrecy of the vote is thus maintained.

Having received his ballot, the elector then disappears behind a screen—usually burlap – where he sees against the wall in front of him a row of ballot boxes. There is one ballot box for each candidate and each ballot box bears the symbol which has been given to the candidate. Some of these symbols, like the yoked bullocks of the Congress Party and the lamp of the Jan Sangh Party, are nationally recognized. Others are assigned to parties which are recognized only within a state or territory, and still others have been assigned to a particular independent candidate. The voter simply drops the ballot paper into the box marked with the symbol of the candidate of his choice. There is no marking of the ballot involved.

Since 1951, the Election Commission of India has gained valuable experience in the special problems of conducting large-scale democratic elections. It has shared this experience with a number of Asian and African states whose problems in this respect are similar to India's. I arrived in India too late to have seen the first general elections in 1951-52; and since I shall be leaving India shortly, after over four years service here, I was particularly grateful to have had the opportunity which I have described to witness India's second general elections.



WELCOMED TO CANADA

-Capitol Press

His Excellency Ratnakirti Senarat Serasinghe Gunewardene, first Ceylonese High Commissioner to Canada, is greeted on arrival in this country by Mr. D'Arcy McGreer, at that time Chief of Protocol, Department of External Affairs.

# APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. P. Reading posted from the Canadian Legation, Helsinki, to Ottawa, effective April 12, 1957.
- Mr. R. W. Nadeau posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective May 3, 1957.
- Mr. E. M. Reid, Canadian High Commissioner in India, posted to Ottawa, effective May 4, 1957.
- Mr. N. A. Robertson, Canadian High Commissioner in London, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Washington. Proceeded to Washington May 8, 1957.
- Mr. J. J. M. Cote posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, effective May 8, 1957.
- Mr. K. P. Kirkwood, Canadian High Commissioner in New Zealand, posted to Ottawa, effective May 10, 1957.
- Mr. E. Turcotte appointed Canadian Ambassador to Switzerland. Proceeded to Berne May 11, 1957.
- Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, Q.C., Canadian Ambassador to Washington, posted to Ottawa May 8, 1957. Separated from the Department of External Affairs May 14, 1957.
- Mr. M. Shenstone posted from the Canadian Legation, Beirut, to Ottawa, effective May 15, 1957.
- Mr. C. A. Ronning, Canadian Ambassador to Norway, appointed Canadian High Commissioner in India. Proceeded to New Delhi, May 17, 1957.
- Mr. R. M. Macdonnell appointed Canadian Ambassador to Egypt and Canadian Minister to Lebanon, effective May 22, 1957.
- Mr. H. O. Moran, MBE, Canadian Ambassador to Turkey, posted to Ottawa, effective May 22, 1957.
- Mr. G. A. H. Pearson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective May 23, 1957.
- Mr. R. L. Elliott posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Beirut, effective May 27, 1957.
- Mr. W. E. Bauer posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective May 28, 1957.
- Mr. A. J. J. Young posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective May 28, 1957.
- Mr. A. S. McGill posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective May 28, 1957.
- Mr. P. D. Scott appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective May 28, 1957.
- Mr. F. J. L. Hudon appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 30, 1957.
- Mr. J. D. Lane appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 3, 1957.
- Mr. D. S. McPhail posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective June 5, 1957.
- Mr. W. A. Jenkins posted from the Canadian Consulate, Detroit, to Ottawa, effective June 10, 1957.
- Mr. H. T. W. C. B. Blockley posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective June 10, 1957.
- Mr. A. C. Lapointe appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 12, 1957.
- Mr. G. A. Rau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, effective June 12, 1957.
- Mr. N. Haffey appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 17, 1957.
- Mr. G. G. J. Grondin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, effective June 17, 1957.
- Mr. O. W. Dier posted from the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, to the Canadian Legation, Helsinki, effective June 22, 1957.

Mr. J. W. Courchesne posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to Ottawa, effective June 25, 1957.

Miss L. MacKay posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective June 28, 1957.

Mr. K. C. Brown posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Berne, effective June 29, 1957.

Mr. J. George posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective June 30, 1957.

Mr. L. H. Amyot appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 3, 1957.

# Treaty Information Current Action

#### Multilateral

Convention on the Political Rights of married women adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Seventh Session.

Entered into force for Canada April 30, 1957.

#### Bilateral

#### Denmark

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Denmark providing for a continuation for a period of three years of Canada's NATO air training programme with respect to aircrew trainees.

Signed at Copenhagen April 17, 1957. Entered into force April 17, 1957.

#### Japan

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Japan respecting agricultural training in Canada for young Japanese farmers.

Signed at Ottawa March 27 and 28, 1957. Entered into force March 28, 1957.

#### Netherlands

Convention and Protocol between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in respect of taxes on income.

Signed at Ottawa April 2, 1957.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands providing for a continuation for a period of three years of Canada's NATO air training programme with respect to aircrew trainees.

Signed at the Hague April 12 and 13, 1957. Entered into force April 13, 1957.

#### Norway

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Norway providing for a continuation for a period of three years of Canada's NATO air training programme with respect to aircrew trainees.

Signed at Oslo April 17, 1957. Entered into force April 17, 1957.

#### Poland

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Poland concerning the sale of Canadian wheat to Poland during the 1956-57 and 1957-58 crop years. Signed at Ottawa March 15, 1957.

Entered into force March 15, 1957.

#### Portugal

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Portugal amending paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Annex to the Agreement for Air Services between the two countries signed at Lisbon, April 25, 1947.

Signed at Lisbon April 24 and 30, 1957. Entered into force April 30, 1957.

#### United Kingdom

Financial Agreement to amend the financial agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Kingdom signed at Ottawa, March 6, 1946.

Signed at Ottawa March 6, 1957.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Kingdom to bring into force the financial agreement between the two countries signed at Ottawa, March 6, 1957.

Signed at Ottawa April 29, 1957. Entered into force April 29, 1957.

#### **United States of America**

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning dredging operations in the St. Mary's River and the St. Clair River Sections of the Great Lakes Connecting Channels.

Signed at Ottawa November 30, 1956; April 8 and 9, 1957. Entered into force April 9, 1957.

#### **PUBLICATION**

- Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 19. Convention on Great Lakes Fisheries between Canada and the United States of America.
- Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 20. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America regarding Financial Arrangements for furnishing supplies and port services to visiting Naval Vessels of either country.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\* A Selected List

- a) Printed documents:
- Report of the 1956 special committee on the question of defining aggression; 8 October 9 November 1956. A/3574. N.Y., 1957. 33 p. GAOR: 12th session, Supplement No. 16.
- United Nations conference of plenipotentiaries on a supplementary convention on the abolition of slavery, the slave trade, and institutions and practices similar to slavery; held at Geneva, Switzerland, from 13 August to 4 Sept. 1956. Final Act and Supplementary Convention. E/CONF.24/23. N.Y., 1957. 36 p. (Eng.-Fr.-Spanish). Sales No.: 1957.XIV.2. Price: \$0.30.
- Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Summary of annual reports of governments relating to opium and other narcotic drugs; 1954. Addendum. E/NR.1954/SUMMARY/Add.1. Geneva, 1956. 23 p. Sales No.: 1956.XI.2/Add.1. Price: \$0.25.
- Commission on Narcotic Drugs. National Laws and Regulations relating to the control of narcotic drugs. Cumulative index 1947-1956. E/NL.1956/index. Geneva, Feb. 1957. 60 p. Sales No.: 1957-XI.2. Price: \$0.50.
- United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1956. Report on Western Samoa; together with the relevant resolution of the Trusteeship Council. T/1281. N.Y., 1956. 19 p. Trusteeship Council Official Records: 18th session (7 June 14 Aug. 1956), Supp. No. 6.
- Demographic Yearbook 1956. (Eighth issue). N.Y., 1956. 744 p. (bil.) Sales No.: 1956.XIII.5. Price \$7.00.
- The Selective Expansion of Agricultural Production in Latin America. E/CN.12/378/Rev.2. N.Y., Feb. 1957. 69 p. Sales No.: 1957.II.G.4. Price: \$0.80.
- Inter Latin American Trade: Current Problems. Report of the first session of the Trade Committee of the Economic Commission for Latin America and main background documents. E/CN.12/423. N.Y., Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, Jan. 1957. 105 p. Sales No.: 1957.II.G.5. Price: \$1.25.
- Survey of Housing and Building Materials in Asia and the Far East, 1956. E/CN.11/432. Bangkok, 1956. 116 p. Sales No.: 1956.II.F.9. Price: \$1.25.
- Customs Convention on containers and protocol of signature done at Geneva on 18 May 1956. 37 p. (Eng.-Fr.).
- Customs Convention on the temporary importation for private use of aircraft and pleasure boats and protocol of signature done at Geneva on 18 May 1956. 83 p. (Eng.-Fr.).
- Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires. Laval, Quebec, Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67

- Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly from 12 November 1956 to 8 March 1957 during its eleventh session, A/3572, N.Y., 1957, 65 p. GAOR: 11th session, Supplement No. 17
- Economic Commission for Europe. Annual report (22 April 15 May 1957). E/2989; E/ECE/283. N.Y., May 1957. 78 p. Ecosoc Official Records: 24th session, Supplement No. 6.
- Commission on the Status of Women; report of the 11th session (18 March 5 April 1957). E/2968; E/CN.6/313. N.Y., May 1957. 36 p. Ecosoc Official Records: 24th session, Supplement No. 3.
- Commission on Narcotic Drugs; Economic and Social Council. Summary of annual reports of governments relating to opium and other narcotic drugs; 1955. E/NR/1955/SUMMARY N.Y., 1957. 55 p. Sales No.: 1957.XI.1. Price: \$0.50.
- Economic Developments in the Middle East, 1955 1956. Supplement to World Economic Survey, 1956. E/2983; ST/ECA/45. N.Y., May 1957. 135 p. Sales No.: 1957.II.C.2. Price: \$1.50.
- Economic Developments in Africa, 1955 1956. Supplement to World Economic Survey, 1956. E/2984: ST/ECA/46, N.Y., 1957, 97 p. Sales No.: 1957.II.C.3. Price: \$1.00.
- Lignite resources of Asia and the Far East, their exploration, exploitation and utilization. Mineral resources development series no. 7. E/CN.11/438. N.Y., Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, Oct. 1956. Prepared by the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. 134 p. Sales No.: 1957.II.F.3. Price: \$1.50.
- Multiple-purpose river basin development in Burma, India and Pakistan. Flood Control Series No. 11. Part 2B. ST/ECAFE/SER.F/11. Bangkok, Dec. 1956. Sales No.: 1956.II.F.8. Price: \$1.50.
- Index to proceedings of the Economic and Social Council. Twenty-first session. N.Y., 1957. ST/LIB/SER.B/E.12. 16 p.
- Index to proceedings of the Trusteeship Council. Fifth special session; seventeenth session. N.Y., 1956. ST/LIB/SER.B/T.12. 26 p.
- Index to proceedings of the Trusteeship Council. Eighteenth session. ST/LIB/SER.B/T.13. N.Y., 1956. 19 p.
- United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1956. Report on New Guinea; together with relevant resolution of the Trusteeship Council. N.Y., 1956. T/1280. 48 p. Trusteeship Council Official Records: 18th session (7 June - 14 August 1956), Supplement No. 5.
- Study kit on training for community development. ST/SOA/SER.O/24; ST/TAA/SER.D/24. N.Y., Dept. of Economic & Social Affairs, 1957. 69 p. Sales No.: 1957.IV.6. Price: \$0.70.
- Yearbook of the International Law Commission, 1956. Volume II. Documents of the eighth session including the report of the Commission to the General Assembly. A/CN.4/SER.A/1956/ Add.1. N.Y., 1957. 303 p. Sales No.: 1956.V.3, Vol.II. Price: \$3.00.

#### UNESCO

- An International List of Educational Periodicals. . . . (Educational studies and documents no. 23). Paris, Unesco, 1957. Compiled by Unesco and the Educational Press Association of America. 200 p. Price: \$2.50.
- Guide Book to Research Data for Arid Zone Development (Arid Zone Research IX). Paris, 1957. 191 p. Price: \$5.00.
- Vacations Abroad. Courses, Study Tours, Work Camps. Vol.IX, 1957. Paris, 1957. 195 p. (Eng.-Fr.-Spanish). Price: \$1.00.
- The nature of conflict. Studies on the sociological aspects of international tensions. (Tensions and technology series). Paris, 1957. 314 p. Price: \$4.00.
- The reception of Foreign Law in Turkey. (International Social Science Bulletin, Vol.IX, No. 1, 1957). 151 p.

Reports of Judgments, Advisory Opinions and Orders 1956. 229 p. (bil.)

Right of passage over Indian Territory. (Portugal v. India). Order of April 16, 1957. 5 p. (bil.). Sales No.: 161.

#### GATT

Sixth Protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Geneva, 11 April 1957. 347 p. (bil.) Price \$2.50.

#### b) Mimeographed documents:

- United Nations Children's Fund. Administrative and operational services, budget estimates for the financial year 1958 and information annex. Limited: E/ICEF/L.1056. N.Y., 17 May 1957, 124 p.
- Report of the Universal Postal Union. E/2953. Berne, International Bureau of the UPU, Feb. 28, 1957, 101 p.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers

A Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held in London at 10 Downing Street from Wednesday, June 26 to Friday, July 5, exactly a year after the meeting held in 1956. It was the first meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers presided over by Mr. Harold Macmillan, who succeeded Sir Anthony Eden as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in January 1957. The Canadian Delegation was led by Mr. John Diefenbaker, Q.C., who flew to London only two days after he had accepted office as Prime Minister of Canada. He was accompanied by Mr. G. R. Pearkes, V.C., Minister of National Defence, with Mr. R. B. Bryce, Secretary to the Cabinet, and Mr. Jules Léger, Secretary of State for External Affairs, as advisers.

Other Prime Ministers present were Mr. R. G. Menzies, Q.C., of Australia, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy of Pakistan, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sir Roy Welensky of Rhodesia and Nyasa-



-Canada Pictures Photo

PRIME MINISTERS MEET

Prime Ministers Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana, and John G. Diefenbaker, of Canada, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, June-July, 1957.

land. Three Prime Ministers were unable to attend, New Zealand being represented by Mr. T. L. Macdonald, Minister of External Affairs and Defence, South Africa by Mr. E. H. Louw, Minister of External Affairs, and Ceylon by Mr. M. M. H. de Silva, Q.C., Leader of Senate and Minister of Justice.

## **Underlying Unity of Approach**

The course of international events in the intervening year since the last meeting of Prime Ministers made the 1957 meeting of unusual significance. The crisis in the Middle East had profoundly affected all members of the Commonwealth and the meeting was a demonstration of the underlying unity of their approach to international affairs. While the communiqué made it clear that it was not the function of Prime Ministers' Meetings to record agreed decisions or formal resolutions, there was a wide area of agreement in the discussion of all important subjects. This was particularly true of the discussions on disarmament; on the United Nations, in which stress was given to the need for action to strengthen and improve the organization; and on problems of the Middle East for which all members were anxious to find solutions.

The changing nature of the Commonwealth was illustrated by the presence at the meeting of the Prime Minister of the new Commonwealth state of Ghana, which was specifically referred to in the opening paragraph of the communiqué, and by the formal notice taken by the meeting of the forthcoming independence of the Federation of Malaya.

In addition to the plenary sessions, the Prime Ministers had a strenuous programme which included a dinner party given by Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle, a cruise on the Thames as guests of the Port of London Authority, a dinner party given by the United Kingdom Prime Minister, and a Commonwealth reception at the Guildhall.

# For Stronger Economic Ties

Mr. Diefenbaker met Canadian residents in London at the July 1 reception held at Canada House, and spoke to a large audience at the Canada Club dinner in the evening. In his address Mr. Diefenbaker spoke of the importance of the Commonwealth for Canada and of the great sympathy between Canada and the newly emerging independent members of the Commonwealth. He also spoke of his belief that enlightened and mutual self-interest required the strengthening of economic ties within the Commonwealth and more diversity in trade. For this reason he had already announced his view that there ought to be an early Commonwealth trade and economic conference to explore the field of trade and capital investment within the Commonwealth.

Commonwealth and economic questions were discussed at plenary sessions during the latter part of the Prime Ministers' Meeting, including the encouragement of capital investment within the Commonwealth and the effect on the Commonwealth of the proposal for establishing an industrial free trade area as a complement to the European Common Market. It was also announced in the communiqué that the Canadian Government had invited the Commonwealth finance ministers to meet in Ottawa in September.

# Final Communiqué

The Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was concluded to-day. This was the first Commonwealth Meeting at which Ghana was represented, following her attainment of Independence in March, 1957. Other Commonwealth Ministers welcomed Ghana's participation in the Meeting as a full member of the Commonwealth, and took note of this occasion as further practical evidence of the progress made by the United Kingdom Government in the pursuit of their policy of fostering constitutional development in their dependent territories.

In the course of their discussions the Commonwealth Ministers have reviewed all the major international questions of the day which are of common concern to their countries. In this association of free and independent nations it is inevitable that there should be some differences of viewpoint and opinion. But these Meetings reveal a broad similarity of approach and purpose. It is not their function, nor is it the object of this communique, to record agreed decisions or formal resolutions. Their value lies in the opportunity which they afford for a full and candid exchange of views in the light of which each Commonwealth Government can formulate and pursue its separate policies with deeper knowledge and understanding of the views and interests of its fellow members.

The primary objective of all Commonwealth Governments is world peace and security. They believe that this objective can only be assured by increased co-operation between nations. They themselves accept the principle and practice of co-operation: it is the foundation of their own association: they will continue to work for its wider adoption.

The United Nations was designed to provide one of the main opportunities for the practical exercise of the principle of co-operation between nations. Experience has, however, revealed certain deficiencies and weaknesses in the functioning of the Organisation. The Commonwealth Ministers agreed that constructive action is needed to strengthen and improve the United Nations as an instrument for preserving peace, justice and co-operation throughout the world in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

In discussion of developments since their last Meeting Commonwealth Ministers expressed their grave concern at the tragic events in Hungary. They took note that the forthcoming consideration by the General Assembly of the report presented by its Special Committee will provide the occasion for the United Nations to record its views.

Commonwealth Ministers reviewed the course of the developments in the current discussions on disarmament. They noted that proposals relating to a first stage of disarmament were put forward on 2nd July in the Disarmament Sub-Committee on behalf of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and France. They recognised that even a limited agreement, by reducing the suspicions and tensions throughout the world, would help to create conditions in which a more comprehensive scheme of disarmament could be developed.

The Commonwealth Ministers discussed the international problems of the Middle East. They agreed that, in the long term, economic and social progress must be the foundation for stability in the Middle East. They agreed, however, that in the short term the need is to work towards a relaxation of the tension arising from the dispute between the Arab States and Israel, the plight of the Arab refugees and the unresolved problems in connection with the Suez Canal. They considered that solutions of all these urgent questions should continue to be pursued by all practicable means.

Consideration was also given to the contribution which might be made by the Commonwealth Governments concerned towards the easing of tension and the maintenance of peace, stability and political freedom in the Far East and South East Asia. Commonwealth Ministers welcomed the important contribution already made by mutual assistance under the Colombo Plan towards raising standards of living and promoting economic development in the under-developed countries of this area.

In their general review of economic questions the Commonwealth Ministers gave special attention to the impact of the major programmes of development on which many of their countries are now engaged. These programmes call for high levels of domestic saving which can only be secured by sound internal policies. But they also call for conditions favourable to investment from other countries. The United Kingdom will continue to play its leading role in furthering economic development in the countries of the Commonwealth, and important contributions are also being made by other Commonwealth members. But, in view of the continued need for capital investment, it is also important to encourage investment from other sources on suitable conditions.

The Commonwealth Ministers noted the progress made since their last Meeting towards the freeing of trade and payments. In this context they discussed the proposals for the creation of an industrial free trade area in Europe as a complement to the European

Economic Community to be set up under the Treaty of Rome. They agreed that, as part of the continuous exchange of views between Commonwealth Governments on these matters, particular aspects of the proposals which might specially affect certain countries of the Commonwealth should be examined in London next week by officials of all Commonwealth countries in the light of the Ministers' discussions.

The Commonwealth Ministers noted that the Annual Meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will be held in Washington in September. The normal practice is for this Meeting to be followed by a meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers. The Prime Minister of Canada extended an invitation that this meeting of Finance Ministers should be held this year in Ottawa.

The Commonwealth Ministers recognised the value of the work carried out over the past thirty years by the Commonwealth Economic Committee. They agreed that the Committee should be invited to examine and suggest to Governments what expansion of its scope and functions might usefully be undertaken for the particular purpose of drawing attention to the economic resources of Commonwealth countries.

The Commonwealth Ministers reviewed the progress of co-operation within the Commonwealth in the use of nuclear energy for civil purposes. They recognised the growing importance of the contribution which nuclear energy can make to the peaceful development of their countries and of the rest of the world and the value of close collaboration between members of the Commonwealth in this field. For this purpose nuclear scientists from Commonwealth countries will be invited to an informal meeting in the United Kingdom in 1958.

The Commonwealth Ministers noted that the Federation of Malaya was on the eve of attaining independence. They extended to the Federation their warm good wishes for its future, and they looked forward to being able to welcome an independent Malaya as a member of the Commonwealth on the completion of the necessary constitutional processes.



MR. MENZIES WELCOMED

-Capital Press Photo

Prime Minister Robert Menzies of Australia, centre, was greeted on his arrival in Ottawa August 1 for a two-day visit by Mr. W. R. Crocker, Australian High Commissioner to Canada, left, and Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker of Canada.

# July 1 Celebration



-Canada Pictures

On July 1, 1957, the world's statesmen, diplomats and cultural leaders, as well as Canadian citizens visiting or resident overseas, gathered at Canadian missions abroad to celebrate Canada's national day. Above is a photograph taken at Canada House, London, during the reception there on July 1, which coincided with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. Left to right are Mrs. John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister Diefenbaker, Mrs. Sydney D. Pierce, and Mr. Pierce, the Acting High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom.

In many countries, newspapers carried illustrated feature articles on Canadian Development since Confederation, or special editorials. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation prepared a special July 1 programme which was transcribed in a number of languages and was broadcast by local radio stations in most of the world's great cities. Television stations across the United States and in many other countries carried a special programme prepared by the National Film Board, and a number of them also presented Canadian films in honour of the occasion.

# The Dissolving Frontier\*

## by Arnold Toynbee

What a characteristic scene of modern life in this age of technology—the mouth of a gorge to be blocked with a dam. A diversionary tunnel has already been driven through the mountain-side to carry the river's waters while the dam's foundations are being laid. The workshops sprawl over the plain: the workers' housing estates climb the mountains' flanks and perch on their spurs on either side of the narrow valley.

Who are these labourers who swarm like ants, shovelling, blasting, carting, driving? I have put the question to the Canadian controller of labour, and he tells me that they are the local tribesmen: Mohamands from the hills north of the river, Afridis from the hills south of it.

## The Warsak Project

The Warsak project, for irrigation and electrical generation, is being built by Canada under the Colombo Plan in northwest Pakistan, 19 miles from Peshawar. The project will consist of a 700-foot dam across the Kabul river and three tunnels; a power tunnel 39 feet in diameter through rock to a power-house 700 feet downstream: a 1,700-foot 35-bore diversion tunnel to permit the river water to bypass the site during construction: and an irrigation tunnel three and one-half miles long.

The project has been designed by one of Canada's most prominent consulting engineers and a Canadian contractor is building the dam, tunnels and power-house. Construction began in late 1955 and the project is scheduled for completion in 1960.

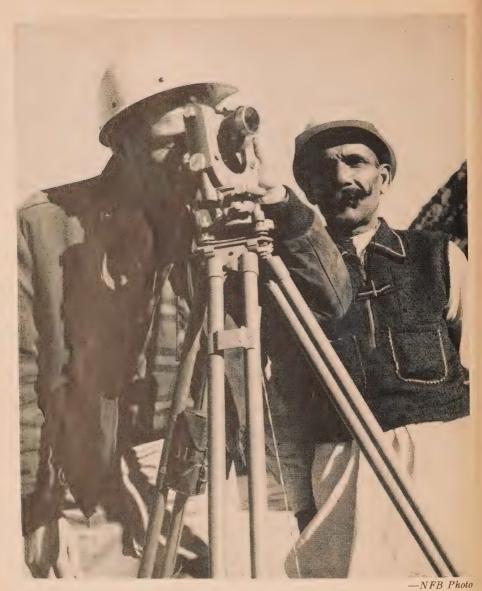
It is expected that the ultimate cost will be in the neighborhood of \$67,000,000; present commitments are \$36,600,000 from Canada and \$13,300,000 from Pakistan. Canada is also supplying, on a gift basis, the electrical generating equipment, the control gates and the construction plant. Approximately 300 Canadians, some Pakistani engineers, and a main labour force of 10,000 Pathan tribesmen make up the construction crew.

It is expected that the dam will irrigate some 120,000 acres of land, thus increasing food production by some 60,000 tons a year. Present electrical generating capacity is 160,000 kilowatts; if additional generators are installed at a future date the potential is 240,000 kilowatts of power. The power will increase industry in the area and will also be used to operate tube wells to lower the water table and to flush out saline farmland.

Some 4,000,000 frontier tribesmen live in the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area which will be served by the project. It has presented a grave problem for centuries, chiefly because the tribesmen were unable to eke a living from its barren hills and were consequently forced to become fighters and raiders. What Canada is doing at Warsak is to help the Government of Pakistan to make a better life for these people and thus to bring greater stability to the area.

The project is in Canadian hands, but this wilderness is not the Laurentian Shield or the Rockies. We are at the mouth of the Warsak Gorge, through which the Kabul River forces its way en route from the plain of Jelalabad to the plain of Peshawar; and my Canadian mentor is at home in two worlds. When he turns to say something to one of his men, his speech changes from English

<sup>\*</sup>Reprinted from "The Observer", London.



CANADIAN AT WARSAK

Assisted by a Pakistani tribesman, Engineer Giles Tenner, of Vancouver, B.C., works with a transit at the Warsak Power and Irrigation Project in northwest Pakistan. Canada is co-operating with Pakistan in the development of the project, contributing equipment and engineering services and helping to pay local labour costs.

into Urdu. He is the son of a Canadian missionary in India, and Hindustani, the lingua franca that is the parent of both Urdu and Hindi, is his second mother-tongue.

The Warsak Dam is Canada's gift to Pakistan under the Colombo Plan, and the project is admirably designed for solving the problem of the frontier that the Pakistanis inherited from the British, and the British, a hundred

years back, from the Sikhs. The mountains are bare and barren; the patches of cultivable ground in the torrent-beds are small and rare; the highlanders are numerous and hungry. They must either starve or make their living off the eastern plains into which their valleys open. They will not starve without fighting; so, for the rulers of the plains, the alternative to being at war with the highlanders is to provide them with some alternative occupation.

During the British century of the frontier's history a state of war had been the rule. There had been a vicious circle of raids, punitive expeditions, reprisals, and then more punitive expeditions on a larger scale. History kept on repeating itself, but with an increasing tendency for the burden of frantic defence to grow heavier out of proportion to the effort exerted by the tribesmen. A few thousand highlanders, armed with modern rifles—weapons bought or stolen from across the line, or manufactured at home by cleverly copying Western models—were able to keep in play large forces of Regular troops, equipped with elaborate and expensive apparatus and served by a host of non-combatants on the lines of communication.

The balance was shifting in the barbarians' favour, and this at an accelerating pace; and the history of the frontiers of the Roman and the Chinese empires bore witness to one of the ways in which the story might end. The growing financial burden might eventually break the back of the defence, and then the barbarians might burst through into the plains.

This had not, however, been the way that the story had ended always and everywhere. The Scottish highlanders, for example, who had pushed their way as far as Derby in 1745, had not, after all, overrun Britain. Instead, they had been converted from pugnacious barbarians into respectable and industrious citizens by being enticed into the new mills of Glasgow and the new homesteads of Upper Canada. That ending to the story of frontier warfare was a happy one; and to-day, 200 years later, the Government of Pakistan is trying to make the story of the Pathan frontier come to an end in this happy Scottish way.

Perhaps it would have ended like that if the British dispensation had continued; for that British century had already brought the modern world to the threshold of the Pathan highlander's hovel. Anyway, the transformation scene is in progress now; and the Pakistani heirs of the British Raj deserve credit for the imaginativeness and the boldness of their approach to the problem.

I met the political officer who had taken the decision to withdraw the troops from the cantonment at Razmak in the heart of Waziristan. "We leave the place to you," he had said to the Wazirs; "You can do what you like with it." The tribesmen were so taken aback that, instead of razing the evacuated cantonment to the ground, they took care of it as a valuable piece of public property.

Those well-housed Afridi and Mohamad workers on the Warsak dam will not go back to their hovels in the hills. When the Warsak project is complete, they will take up holdings on the hirtherto barren tracts of plain that the Warsak reservoir is to irrigate. And the power the reservoir will generate will give them electricity in the home.

I visited the famous arms factory in the strip of unadministered territory between Peshawar and the Kohat Pass. The gunsmiths there are still turning their lathes by foot-driven wheels; but their workshop is now lighted by electricity laid on from the Peshawar power station, so the futive retort to a shooting incident will be not a punitive expedition, but one of those forms, threatening to cut off the current, that are served on a user when he is late in paying his quarterly bill to the electricity board.

In falling for electric light and hospitals and schools, the tribesman is indeed placing himself at civilisation's mercy. Soon those lathes will operate by electric power and the craftsmen will be turning out bicycles and buses instead of rifles and battle-axes. Their children will go to the University of Peshawar (a hostel, with free board, lodging, and tuition, has already been built for them there). Their grandsons will become garagehands; their granddaughters shorthand typists.

A prosaic ending to a romantic story? Well, if the story does end like this, it is not to be regretted; for the superficially romantic story of the Frontier turns out to have been nasty and brutish when one scrutinises it.

## CANADA-JAPAN LINK

A direct radio telegraph circuit between Japan and Canada was inau gurated on June 27. To mark the occasion, the following message was sent to Mr. Keiso Shibusawa, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Kokusai Denshin Denwa Company, Ltd., the Japanese agency which handles overseas communications, by Mr. W. J. Bull, at that time Ambassador-designate to Japan:

On behalf of Canada, I join with you today in the inauguration of a direct radio telegraph circuit between our two countries. This operation marks another forward step in the development of Canada's external communications, and provides the means whereby the social and economic ties between our two peoples can be strengthened. More rapid and direct communication throughout the world contributes to the mutual understanding that is so essential to the preservation of peace and prosperity. Please accept my warmest personal regards and convey my best wishes to those of your associates who have made possible the forging of this important link between our two countries. I anticipate with the greatest pleasure my meeting with you and them and my forthcoming residence among you.

# **NATO Journalists Visit Canada**

Eighteen journalists representing twelve European nations belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were in Canada from May 29 to June 30 on the fourth tour of its kind arranged by the Canadian Government with a view to strengthening NATO ties.

The journalists inspected various industrial developments and military installations, had interviews with recent immigrants from their own countries, and were received at two of Canada's leading educational institutions, the University of Toronto and Laval University.

After arriving in Ottawa, the journalists met with officials of the Departments of External Affairs, Agriculture, National Defence, Northern Affairs and National Resources, and Citizenship and Immigration, with whom they discussed various aspects of national development in the fields of government, social and cultural progress, and economic expansion.

The group then went to Chalk River, where they learned of Canada's advances in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and following this visited Toronto, where they were welcomed by the University and by one of the leading newspapers. As the federal election campaign was in its final stages,



WATCHING NAVAL MANOEUVRES

-National Defence Photo

Members of the party of journalists from NATO countries who toured Canada in June watched manoeuvres of the 1st Canadian Escort Squadron and the 3rd Canadian Escort Squadron, RCN, during a visit to Halifax. Shown above on the deck of HMCS Ottawa are, in the foreground, Mr. H. E. Janszen, The Hague, and Mr. Georg Andresen, Aarhus, Denmark.

the journalists took advantage of the opportunity to attend a large political rally in that city.

The tour also included visits to Niagara Falls, the air station at Gimli, Manitoba, where the journalists saw airmen from NATO countries in training, and Knob Lake, the site of spectacular iron ore developments. In Quebec, the journalists visited the Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Company plant as well as Laval University, and in Montreal they saw aircraft being manufactured at the Canadair factory. A trip to the St. Lawrence Seaway project was one of the highlights of the tour. After stops in the Annapolis Valley and at Halifax, the visitors ended their journey in St. John's, Newfoundland, returning to their countries by aircraft.

These NATO tours form part of a programme to encourage cultural exchanges between European and North American members of the Atlantic Community, to increase the flow of information among them, and, by making wider-known the activities and achievements of NATO, to forge new links in the chain of co-operation and friendship by which the countries are joined.



FRIENDLY NEIGHBOURS -Canada Pictures Photo

The friendly relations between the United States and Canada were underlined in the recent visit to Ottawa of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, who is seen above, centre, with Mr. Livingston T. Merchant, U.S. Ambassador to Canada, left, and Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, of Canada.

# Canada and the Colombo Plan: The Umtru Project

Hailed as a landmark in the economic development of the State of Assam in north-eastern India and as a symbol of the continuing co-operation between Canada and India under the Colombo Plan, the Umtru Project—the first major hydro-electric plant in Assam—was formally inaugurated July 9 at a special ceremony at the dam site. Canada was represented at the inaugural ceremonies by Mr. Chester A. Ronning, High Commissioner for Canada in India, who made the formal transfer to India of the Canadian contribution towards the project. Others who took an active part in the ceremony were Shri S. Fazl Ali, Governor of the State of Assam; Shri Bisnuram Medhi, Chief Minister of the State; and Mr. G. C. Goswami, chief electrical engineer and electrical adviser to the Government of Assam. Awards were presented to project personnel and the guests visited the dam site and the power house.

The Umtru project has a total generating capacity of 8,400 kilowatts obtained from three generators of 2,800 kilowatts each. Though the plant is small by present-day standards, power from Umtru should go far to remedy a serious deficiency which has impeded the economic development of the area which it will serve. Besides providing for immediate electric power in and around the city of Gauhati (an area of about 1,000 square miles), the project is also intended to assist various present and potential industries. These include irrigation of agricultural crops, crushing of sugar cane, production of milk products in dairies, fruit preservation in squash factories near fruit-growing areas, weaving and reeling of silk yarn, brass industries and smithies, pottery, road metal working and the crushing of stone in quarries, carpentry, and rice and oil mills. A sugar mill is already nearing completion and cement, cotton and jute factories are intended to be established shortly. Other industrial potential includes coal, limestone, oil and lumber.

The structure of the project begins with a masonry diversion dam built at the head of the Umtru River rapids. From the dam, water for power generation is carried through a 4,600-foot conduit system to the power-house. The conduit system has two tunnels, one 2,730 feet long and another 828 feet long, connected by a steel pipeline 701 feet long. A 347-foot high pressure steel penstock runs from the second tunnel to the power-house, which, to avail itself of the maximum possible head, was designed as an almost submerged structure affording entry through the roof. The walls of the power-house are built of reinforced concrete made fully waterproof by sheets of copper at every construction joint. There are three turbines in the power-house.

Plans for the Umtru development had been discussed for many years and a preliminary survey was made by the Government of India as early as 1922. Agreement between the Governments of Canada and India to finance the project under the Colombo Plan was reached in October, 1953 and the preliminary construction of approach roads and staff quarters was begun in the same year. Work on the weir and tunnels began in November 1954, after designs had been prepared by the Central Water and Power Commission of

India in consultation with the Montreal Engineering Company. Construction of the power house, also designed by the Montreal Engineering Company, commenced in February 1955. Details of the hydro-electric machinery were worked out by the engineers of the Assam Electricity Department, the Central Water and Power Commission and the Montreal Engineering Company.

#### Canadian Contribution

The cost of the Umtru Project is estimated to be about \$4,600,000 (Rs. 2.05 crores) of which Canada contributed \$3,300,000. The Canadian contribution was in the form of electrical equipment and engineering services (\$1,200,000) and supplies of aluminum and copper (\$2,100,000) which were sold by India to cover part of the local cost of the development. In addition, Canada supplied engineers for the erection of the electrical equipment and training facilities in Canada for an engineer and other technical personnel connected with the project.

The project brought into being a nucleus of engineering personnel suited to the tasks of electrification programmes in general and hydro projects in particular and these people are expected to put their skills to good use in further development of the area.

#### "Value of Commonwealth Link"

In his address at the July 9 ceremony, the Governor of Assam predicted that the project would be the first of many in his State. He said, "We are potentially among the richest of States in India insofar as our hydro-power resources are concerned and with the installation of the Umtru hydro-electric plant we can take heart that the first tangible step has already been taken towards making good the leeway in electrical power production." Of Canada's contribution, he added, "The project stands before us as a tangible and enduring monument to the benefits of international economic co-operation and as a convincing testimony of the value of the Commonwealth link."

Transferring the project, Mr. Ronning said, "We in Canada are very happy to have achieved, together with the Government of Assam, the completion of the Umtru hydro-electric project. Through the Commonwealth we have demonstrated to the world how nations of different races, cultures and histories can work in harmony and peace for mutual benefit to our peoples."

Umtru is another in a number of projects that Canadian aid under the Colombo Plan has helped to achieve in India. During the past few years, such aid has totalled \$80,000,000 and has included contributions to a hydro-electric project in West Bengal, a hydro-electric project in Madras, an atomic reactor in Bombay, locomotives for Indian railways, buses for Bombay's state road transport, and a magnetometer oil survey of Central India.



PRESENTS CREDENTIALS

Mr. C. A. Ronning, who represented Canada at the Umtru Project inauguration ceremony, is shown above presenting his credentials as High Commissioner for Canada in India to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, at the Presidential Palace. On Mr. Ronning's right is Mr. S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

# **Tenth World Health Assembly**

The World Health Assembly is the legislative body of the World Health Organization (WHO), one of the ten Specialized Agencies of the United Nations. The chief objective of WHO is "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health". The Tenth World Health Assembly, held in Geneva from May 7 - 24, was attended by delegates from seventy-five member states including four Communist countries (U.S.S.R., Poland, Bulgaria, Albania) which had not participated in WHO for several years. (At the end of the session, Romania announced it was resuming active participation in the Organization). The Assembly also welcomed Ghana, formerly an associate member, as a full member. The Canadian Delegation was led by Dr. P. E. Moore, Director of Indian and Northern Health Services, Department of National Health and Welfare.

Among the highlights at the Tenth Assembly were decisions to increase WHO's responsibilities in the fields of atomic energy research, malaria eradication, cancer research and health statistics. In the "atoms for peace field", the Assembly gave priority to the training of health physicists and medical personnel, and established a broad programme of activities including meetings, study groups and courses on such subjects as graduate public health training and mental health aspects of the peaceful use of atomic energy.

The Assembly determined to intensify its campaign to wipe out malaria before the resistance of the mosquito to insecticides becomes more prevalent, a factor which influenced the recent shift in WHO's malaria policy from mere control to eradication. The President of the Assembly reported that eradication has now been achieved in ten countries or territories, and that eradication programmes are under way in fifteen additional countries and are being initiated or planned in thirty-eight others.

The Assembly also decided that WHO should undertake an extensive comparative study of variations between cancer types in different countries. The Assembly expressed the belief that such a study might yield a clue to the origins of this disease.

The Director-General of WHO, Dr. M. G. Candau, of Brazil, in his report for 1956, declared that by the end of the last year, over fifty-five million people had been examined and sixteen million people treated with vaccine in a mass campaign against non-venereal syphilis and yaws. He reported that WHO and the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund were continuing to work in common on a wide vaccination campaign against tuberculosis and that the two organizations had assisted in the setting up of pilot projects for the mass treatment of trachoma with antibiotics.

As proposed by the Executive Board, the Assembly adopted an effective working budget of \$13,566,130 for the 1958 WHO programme, an increase over the 1957 budget of about  $$1\frac{1}{2}$  million. A large part of this increase will be met by the contributions of those states who this year resumed active participation in the Organization. Canada's share of the 1958 budget will be approximately \$425,060.

Afghanistan, Australia, Egypt, the Federal Republic of Germany, Liberia and the United States were elected by the Assembly to designate members of the 18-member Executive Board for a period of three years. At the Ninth World Health Assembly, Canada had been elected for a three-year (1956-59) term on the Board.

By an almost unanimous vote, the Assembly agreed to renew, for a period not exceeding five years, the contract of Dr. Candau, the Director-General.

An invitation by the United States to hold the Eleventh World Health Assembly, as well as a special tenth anniversary commemoration, in that country in 1958 was accepted by the Assembly. It has recently been announced that these two WHO meetings will take place in Minneapolis.

#### SALMON FISHERIES AGREEMENT

His Excellency Livingston T. Merchant, the United States Ambassador to Canada, Mr. E. Davie Fulton, Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Mr. Angus MacLean, Minister of Fisheries, attended a ceremony of ratification on Wednesday, July 3, 1957, bringing into force an agreement between the United States and Canada for the conservation and regulation of the pink salmon fisheries of the Juan-De-Fuca—Fraser River area of the Pacific Coast.

The main purpose of this agreement, which takes the form of Protocol to the Convention of May 26, 1930, for the Protection, Preservation and Extension of the Sockeye Salmon Fisheries in the Fraser River System, is to extend to the pink salmon fisheries the same sort of protection and regulation which the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission already affords to the sockeye salmon fisheries. The Commission has done outstanding work in the development of the valuable sockeye salmon resources since its establishment in 1937. It will now take on the additional task of maintaining the pink salmon stocks at the maximum level of productivity and of ensuring an equal division of the annual catch between Canadian and United States fishermen.

The Pink Salmon Agreement also provides for a co-ordinated investigation by research agencies of the two governments and the conservation of pink salmon stocks which enter the waters described in the Convention. It calls for a meeting in the seventh year after entry into force to review the results of the investigation and to determine what future arrangements concerning pink salmon conservation may be desirable.

# **Movement of Hungarian Refugees**

M<sub>R</sub>. E. D. Fulton, Acting Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, made the following announcement June 26, 1957:

A review of the movement of Hungarian refugees shows that, as at July 19, Canada had received a total of 33,070 refugees. It is anticipated that this total will have risen by mid-August to more than 34,000 admitted since the fall of 1956. Of this total, 5,000 will have been taken by arrangement from the United Kingdom, 3,000 from France, 2,000 from The Netherlands, 1,500 from Italy and 1,000 from Yugoslavia. The remainder, more than 20,000, will have been taken direct from Austria.

The Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration reports for the period to July 15, 1957, show that a total of 142,054 Hungarian refugees had been moved from Austria to 36 countries. Canada's total given above compares with 33,205 admitted to the United States. According to these statistics there were about 28,000 Hungarian refugees remaining in Austria at the end of June, 1957. Other information indicates that the rate of border-crossings into that country from Hungary had dropped to an average of 19 per week at the beginning of July.

The Canadian Government has recently reviewed the whole situation with regard to the movement of Hungarian refugees in the course of a general survey of immigration statistics. Recognizing the tremendous assistance given by Austria to the refugees, and the continuing difficulties which are faced by those remaining in Austria, it has been decided to continue the refugee program on a somewhat modified basis for the balance of 1957. This modification takes into account both the winter accommodation situation in Canada and the effective rate of absorption of new population, in the light of the very heavy intake of immigrants through the normal channels, which reached a high of 175,000 in the first six months of this year.

It has been decided accordingly that for the balance of 1957 Canada will continue to accept only those Hungarian refugees who are sponsored by close relatives residing in Canada in a position to receive and care for them, or by responsible persons, firms or organizations in Canada prepared to provide employment to such refugees immediately upon their arrival. With regard to the latter category, Immigration officials, before approving applications, will have to be satisfied that such employers can and will fulfill their undertaking, that the sponsored refugees will not fill employment vacancies for which Canadians, immigrants or refugees already in Canada are qualified, and that they will be paid at prevailing wage rates.

This decision applies for the balance of 1957. The policy will be reviewed again prior to the commencement of the new immigration season next year.

It is significant to note that, of the approximately 32,000 Hungarian refugees who had been admitted to Canada to the end of June, 6,208 were receiving emergency assistance from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. This figure includes those who arrived during the last week of June.

In connection with immigration generally, Mr. Fulton also pointed out that, judging by the large number of immigrants admitted to Canada during the first six months of this year (approximately 175,000), it is estimated that the total number admitted in 1957 will be the greatest since 1913, when 400,870 immigrants were received in Canada. The Minister's statement was concluded as follows:

In order to keep the total flow of immigrants within the absorptive capacity of our economy and the availability of housing accommodation, immigrants coming for open placement, i.e., those with no pre-arranged contract, in most occupations have been issued visas valid only for arrival in Canada before July 31, 1957. However, a large number of close relatives of immigrants who arrived earlier are expected to come to Canada between August 1 and December 31.

# Economic and Social Council: 23rd Session

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) held its twenty-third session at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from April 16 to May 3, 1957. Canada, which is serving its third term on the Council, was represented by a delegation headed by Dr. R. A. MacKay, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, with Mr. Jean Boucher, Director of Technical Services, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, as alternate delegate.

For the current calendar year the Council unanimously elected Mohammed Mir Khan, of Pakistan, as President, and Miss Minerva Bernardino, of the Dominican Republic, and Mr. Jersy Michalowski, of Poland, as First and Second Vice-Presidents, respectively. Miss Bernardino, the first woman to have been elected to one of the principal offices in the Council, assumed the Chairmanship of the Social Committee of the Council, and Mr. Michalowski became Chairman of the Economic Committee.

The agenda, as approved by the Council at its first plenary meeting, contained twenty items. Consideration of the question of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), which had been the subject of much discussion at previous ECOSOC and General Assembly meetings, was deferred to the Council's twenty-fourth session.

#### **Economic Matters**

Major economic issues are generally considered at the regular summer session of ECOSOC, and since discussion of SUNFED had been postponed, only a few economic items appeared on the agenda of the twenty-third session, namely the reports of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (which were approved unanimously), certain problems related to the economic development of underdeveloped countries, and the report of the Transport and Communications Commission.

Under the item entitled "Economic Development of Under-developed Countries", the Council adopted three resolutions relating to the Secretariat's study on industrialization and the problems of land reform and co-operatives. The main purpose of these resolutions was to record the progress achieved and to encourage the Secretariat and United Nations member countries to pursue their efforts to ensure further progress and a greater measure of international co-operation in these various fields of endeavour. There was general agreement on all these topics. Canada co-sponsored the resolutions on industrialization and co-operatives.

The Report of the Transport and Communications Commission, which is a functional commission of the Council, was also received with unanimous approval, as were most of its recommendations, particularly those which related to the establishment of a group of experts to study existing regulations on the tonnage measurement of ships, the creation of a similar *ad hoc* committee to consider problems related to the transport of dangerous goods,

the ratification of the U.N. Conventions on customs, and the easing of passports and frontier formalities. The Council also invited Governments to ratify the 1949 Convention on Road Traffic and to recognize in international traffic valid domestic driving permits.

In conformity with a resolution adopted at the last General Assembly, the Council had no difficulty in reaching agreement to invite its Commission on International Commodity Trade to give special consideration, within its programme of work, to current international commodity problems in relation to world economic stability.

#### Social Matters

The Council's agenda of social items included in particular the following topics: the development of international travel; the report of the Population Commission; a recommendation by the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, to initiate a study on the questions of minimum age and free consent for marriage; allegations regarding infringements of trade union rights in Saudi Arabia; the development of media of information in under-developed countries; the report of the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF); and the review of the membership of the United Nations Refugee Fund (UNREF) Executive Committee.

There was general recognition of the benefits of international travel and tourism, and also unanimous approval of the Report of the Population Commission. With respect to the latter, the Council requested the Secretary-General to explore, in consultation with the Governments concerned, the desirability of early establishment of demographic training and research centres in Africa. The task of initiating the study on the questions of minimum age and free consent for marriage was entrusted to the Commission on the Status of Women, which had expressed a desire to undertake such a study. The Commission will be guided by the preference expressed by the Conference of Plenipotentiaries for a minimum marriage age of fourteen years.

The question of alleged infringements of trade union rights in Saudi Arabia proved to be more controversial. It concerned primarily a complaint by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions against an antistrike decree issued by the Saudi-Arabian Government in June, 1956, and to measures taken by that Government to suppress a strike of petroleum workers, but it also referred to an earlier complaint by the World Federation of Trade Unions about general labour conditions in Saudi Arabia. In its reply, the Saudi-Arabian Government had squarely rejected these complaints and had declined to allow the ILO Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association to investigate them. Following a lively exchange of arguments between the Saudi-Arabian observer, and the United Kingdom and French delegates, who took particular exception to unfavourable references in the Saudi-Arabian reply to labour conditions in countries "under alien rule", the Council finally adopted (by 15 votes, the United Kingdom, France and The Netherlands abstaining) a United States resolution which simply took note of the Saudi-Arabian reply. Some delegations, including that of Canada, explained that their vote in favour of receiving the Saudi Arabia reply was not to be construed as endorsement of the context of the reply. A United Kingdom-sponsored amendment noting "with regret" was defeated by 6 votes against, 3 votes in favour, and 9 abstentions (including Canada). In

plenary the Social Committee's action was approved after a further statement by the U.K. delegate by 14 votes. Mexico, the United Kingdom, France and The Netherlands abstained.

The Council also adopted (Canada and the United Kingdom abstaining) a resolution, the principal effect of which was to renew an earlier invitation of the Council to Governments to submit information and suggestions on the problem of development of media of information in under-developed countries, so that the Secretary-General might be in a position to submit a more complete report on the matter to the Council not later than at its twenty-seventh session.

The report and activities of UNICEF were again favourably commented upon by all delegations. The Council also unanimously supported proposals for increasing the membership of the UNREF Executive Committee, so that Canada could become a member, and to open the membership of the Technical Assistance Committee to non-member countries such as Western Germany and Switzerland. In the course of the elections for the functional commission of ECOSOC, Canada was elected for the first time to the Commission on the Status of Women.



FISHERIES AGREEMENT SIGNED

-Capital Press Photo

Shown above are the officials attending the signing in Ottawa July 3 of the Protocol bringing into force an Agreement between the United States and Canada for the Conservation and Regulation of the Pink Salmon Fisheries of the Juan-de-Fuca, Fraser River area of the Pacific Coast.

His Excellency Mr. Livingston T. Merchant, United States Ambassador to Canada, is shown signing the Protocol, and seated with him is Mr. E. Davie Fulton, at that time Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs. In rear from left to right: Mr. G. R. Clark, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; Mr. Angus Maclean, Minister of Fisheries, and Mr. J. W. Holmes, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

# Lord Ismay on NATO

FIVE rules for the conduct of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were given by Lord Ismay, former NATO Secretary-General, in a speech in London at a dinner given by the English-Speaking Union. HRH Prince Philip was chairman.

Lord Ismay's first rule was that NATO had to be strong, not only militarily but also politically. It was therefore imperative that the 15 partners should keep in the closest touch with each other on all matters, great and small, which affect the Alliance.

The second rule was that it was a cardinal sin for one of the members to do anything which might disturb or even seriously weaken the Alliance. "If you find yourself at loggerheads with one of your partners, pause for a moment to reflect that you and he are fundamentally like-minded people, dedicated to the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rules of law", advised Lord Ismay. "This being so, you can even question his judgment, but you ought not to question his motives. The main thing is to settle it as quickly as possible . . above all, if there is any dirty NATO linen to be washed, do not wash it in public."

Thirdly, vigilance should never be relaxed. Russia had always hated NATO. When they found that blustering and threatening were no use they substituted the grin for the growl. Quite a number of people began to indulge in wishful thinking such as "cannot we now start spending our money on those things which bring happiness and contentment to people instead of on engines of destruction?" That was a dangerous mood and might have led to dangerous consequences if it had not been for the revolt in Hungary, which showed the Kremlin in its true colours.

Lord Ismay's fourth rule was "do not forget that the North Atlantic Treaty is not only a solemn obligation but also an insurance against measureless catastrophe... nations who economise in the premiums which they pay for their security and thereafter become the victims of overwhelming aggression recover nothing".

His fifth rule was that it should not be forgotten there might be developments outside the NATO area which might exercise a permanent influence on the security of that area. "NATO must, therefore, always have an agreed policy for dealing with such developments as they occur, and must pursue that policy resolutely."

# APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. C. Roquet posted from the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, to Ottawa, effective June 20, 1957.
- Miss M. E. Kesslering posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa, effective June 28, 1957.
- Mr. A. J. Andrew posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Prague, effective July 1, 1957.
- Mr. F. Charpentier, MBE, posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, effective July 2, 1957.
- Mr. E. D. McGreer appointed Canadian Ambassador to Greece and Israel. Proceeded to Athens July 3, 1957.
- Mr. R. P. Gilbert appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective July 3, 1957.
- Miss J. E. Munro posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, effective July 4, 1957.
- Mr. G. B. Summers, Q.C., posted from the Canadian Legation, Prague, to Ottawa, effective July 5, 1957.
- Mr. J. M. G. Dery posted from the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, to Ottawa, effective July 6, 1957.
- Mr. E. W. T. Gill, Canadian High Commissioner in Pretoria, posted to Ottawa, effective July 10, 1957.
- Mr. E. R. Bellemare posted from the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, to Ottawa, effective July 15, 1957.
- Mr. O. A. Chistoff posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective July 16, 1957.
- Mr. G. K. Grande posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Military Mission, Berlin, effective July 17, 1957.
- Miss P. A. McDougall posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective July 17, 1957.
- Mr. J. W. Graham appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective July 19, 1957.
- Mr. J. A. Beesley posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, effective July 20, 1957.
- Mr. J. R. McKinney posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, effective July 29, 1957.
- Mr. J. D. Foote posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, to the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, effective July 30, 1957.

# Treaty Information Current Action

#### Bilateral

#### India

Exchange of Notes between Canada and India amending the agreement of January 26, 1951 concerning the entry to Canada, for permanent residence, of citizens of India.

Signed at New Delhi May 3, 1957. Entered into force May 3, 1957.

#### Peru

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Feru amending the agreement of February 18, 1954 for air services between the two countries.

Signed at Lima April 25 and June 5, 1957. Entered into force June 5, 1957.

#### South Africa

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Union of South Africa amending the Trade Agreement of August 20, 1932 between the two countries by releasing the bound margin of preference of 10% ad valorem on iron and nickel electrodes imported for the manufacture of batteries for miners' safety lamps.

Signed at Ottawa June 20, 1957. Entered into force June 20, 1957.

#### CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\*

#### A Selected List

#### a) Printed Documents:

- Official Records of the General Assembly. First emergency special session, 1-10 November 1956.
  Plenary meetings and annexes. 172 p.
- Official Records of the General Assembly. Second emergency special session, 4-10 November 1956. Plenary meetings and annexes. 96 p.
- Financial reports and accounts for the year ended 31 December 1956 and report of the board of auditors. A/3590. N.Y., 1957. 52 p. GAOR: 12th session, Supplement No. 6.
- Report of the special committee on the problem of Hungary. A/3592. N.Y., 1957. 148 p. GAOR: 11th session, Supplement No. 18.
- Resolutions of the twenty-third session of the Economic and Social Council (16 April 2 May 1957). E/3009. N.Y., May 1957. 13 p. Ecosoc Official Records: 23rd session, Supplement No. 1.
- Population Commission; report of the 9th session (25 Feb. 8 March 1957). E/2957/Rev.1; E/CN.9/144/Rev.1. 17 p. Ecosoc Official Records: 23rd session, Supplement No. 4.
- Report on the world social situation. E/CN.5/324/Rev.1; ST/SOA/33. N.Y., 1957. Prepared by the Bureau of Social Affairs, U.N. Secretariat, in co-operation with the ILO, the FAO, the UNESCO, and the WHO. Sales No: 1957.IV.3. Price: \$1.75. 198 p.
- Non-Self-Governing Territories; summaries of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1956. ST/TRI/B.1956/8. N.Y., June 1957. 105 p.
- Proceedings of the regional technical conference on water resources development in Asia and the Far East. Flood Control Series No. 9. SR/ECAFE/SER.F/9. Bangkok, 1956. Sales No.: 1956.II.F.3. Price: \$4.50. 451 p.

#### UNESCO

- Conference Manual. (Revised edition issued after the 9th session of the General Conference, New Delhi, 1956). Paris, 1957. 66 p.
- Spain. Romanesque paintings. (Unesco World Art Series). Published by the New York Graphic Society by arrangement with Unesco. N.Y., 1957.
- Scientific and technical translating and other aspects of the language problem. (Documentation and terminology of science). Paris, 1957. Price: \$4.00. 282 p.
- World list of social science periodicals. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (Documentation in the social sciences). Paris, 1957. Price: \$3.00. 209 p. (bil.)
- International bibliography of economics, Vol.IV. (Documentation in the social sciences). Paris, 1957. Price: \$10.00. 588 p. (bil.)

#### ICJ

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   May 1957. 47 p. Annexes I to V. (Final Report will be issued later in printed form as Supplement No. 9 to the Official Records of the Ecosoc.)
- \* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications. The Ryerson Press. 299 Queen Street West. Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau. Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited. Chronicle Building, Halifax: McGill University Book Store, Montreal: University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto: University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver: University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal: and Les Presses Universities. Laval, Quebecter and Indian Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from Sales agents. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau. Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# Malaya: New Nation in the Commonwealth

Another new nation has joined the Commonwealth. On August 31, the Federation of Malaya, whose British connection began with the establishment of a trading post at Penang in 1786, was granted its independence by the United Kingdom. The new Federation of States, whose official name is the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, has an area of 50,690 square miles and a population of about 7,000,000.

The Head of State of the Federation, the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong, or Paramount Ruler, was elected by the Conference of Rulers on August 3. He is Highness Tuanku Abdul Rahman Ibni Al-Marhum Tuanku Muhammad, GCMG, the Yang Di-Pertuan Besar (Head of State) of the state of Negri Sembilan. A new Malayan cabinet was sworn in on September 1 headed by Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra. Queen Elizabeth II is recognized by the new state as Head of the Commonwealth.

Canada was represented at the independence day ceremonies in Kuala Lumpur, capital of the Federation, by Mr. J. M. Macdonnell, M.C., M.P., Minister without portfolio, who, during the ceremonies, presented several gifts to Malaya and announced others. The Canadian Government's gift to the Malayan Government is two writing desks and chairs for the members' writing room of the new Parliament building; a library of Canadiana was presented to the Malayan Department of External Affairs; and Mr. Macdonnell announced that the Canada Council had agreed to grant a \$2,000 scholarship to a Malayan scholar for graduate study at a Canadian university. Items of technical assistance under the Colombo Plan were also announced by the Canadian envoy.

#### Prime Minister's Statement

On August 26 Prime Minister Diefenbaker made the following statement:

In a few days the Federation of Malaya will have achieved independence and will take its place among the free nations of the world.

In Kuala Lumpur, the Honourable J. M. Macdonnell will personally convey the very warm wishes of the Government of Canada and of the Canadian people to the Government and people of Malaya as they embark upon a new future as a sovereign nation.

I am happy to say that from the date of its independence on August 31, Malaya will become a member of the Commonwealth. In company with the other Commonwealth Prime Ministers, I welcome this step and look forward with confidence to this new venture in statehood. We are justly proud of the record of the Commonwealth in making possible the orderly constitutional development of dependent territories. The addition of Malaya as a member will further increase the diversity of the Commonwealth, which draws together so many areas and peoples.

I would also like to pay tribute to the United Kingdom, whose enlightened and guiding hand has contributed in great measure to the attainment of Malayan independence and to her membership within the Commonwealth. Canada looks forward to cementing the most cordial relations with her new colleague.

#### Talk by Canada's Envoy

While in Malaya, Mr. Macdonnell recorded the following talk:

On August 31 Canada joins with the other Commonwealth countries in welcoming the independent Federation of Malaya to membership in this great association of free nations. The new country has a population of slightly less than half that of Canada and an area less than 1½ per cent of our size. It is a tropical area, whose southern tip lies only a few miles from the equator.

This relatively small nation, which lies on the other side of the world opposite Moosomin, Saskatchewan, will play an increasingly important part. It is still only partly developed. It is rich in rubber and tin. It is also rich in the diversity of its peoples, customs and religions. Its population descends from aborigines and from Malays, Indonesians, Indians, Chinese, and a few Europeans.

The country has a long history. The early inhabitants were Buddhists and Hindus, and Islam became established in the 13th century. European influence is relatively recent.

The constitutional development has been a complicated consolidation of unprotected, rival tribes and sultanates, through the establishment of Portuguese, Dutch and later British influence to a parliamentary and federal system, which today has many features similar to our own. The new Commonwealth member has attained complete autonomy by amicable agreement among the descendants of the early rulers, the elected Government of the Federation of Malaya, and Great Britain.

The attainment of independence has more than practical political significance. The cry "Merdeka", which means "freedom", led by the Federation's Chief Minister, is heard frequently in these days of celebrations. Listening to it, we can visualize some of the emotional excitement which is being generated.

Independence has been marked by celebrations, which start in Kuala Lumpur, the federal capital, and spread to every state, village and plantation. The central figure of British authority, the High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray, who played a large part in the creation of the new nation, has departed, closing an era. The new constitution has been proclaimed and the Head of State, the Yang Di Pertuan Agong, chosen from among the Malay rulers, has been installed. Special games and concerts followed. Fireworks and a lake pageant have been watched with joy and enthusiasm.

The creation of the new nation has not been easy, and responsible Malayans know that the path ahead will be no easier. Recent hard won victories against vicious internal communist terrorism must be followed up and consolidated. This serious battle, which has been fought without fanfare for over nine years, is still continuing even though the country is gaining independence. It is being fomented by an unscrupulous minority, and the majority of the population are horrified at their excesses, which have extended to the worst type of intimidation and even murder.

Strenuous efforts to unite the different peoples here, in loyalty to the new nation, will continue, and outside the country the growing complexity of world affairs which affect all of us will face the new nation.

There is confidence in the ability of the new leaders to meet the challenges which face them.

Under the Colombo Plan, to which Canada is a party, and other schemes, a co-operative effort of development is taking shape. Australia helps the medical services, Japan is bringing modern fishing methods, Great Britain and New Zealand provide advanced education. Canada also is playing a modest part in this effort. We are providing training facilities for a few Malayans and we send technical experts to Malaya. A Canadian Colombo Plan scientist, for instance, is now working in Kuala Lumpur studying ways of minimizing and preventing the effects of a serious rice disease. This project is an excellent example of the mutual benefits accruing from co-operation under the Colombo Plan. The reduction in rice disease has an effect on Malaya's rice production and our expert will return to Canada with scientific knowledge and a wealth of experience to be shared in both countries.

These and other forms of assistance which we may initiate in the future are undertaken only where a definite need which we can meet is demonstrated to us. We then thoroughly investigate the proposed project before a commitment to assist is made.

The patterns of co-operation will continue but the main task of creating a strong and free nation will be for the Malayans themselves. Their entry into the Commonwealth and we hope soon to the United Nations as an independent partner with us is an act of faith in their own abilities and in our brotherhood. Canada wishes them well.

# The Universal Postal Union

On Wednesday, August 28, three armed men looted the mail car of a Canadian National Railways train near Woodstock, Ontario. This daring robbery, reminiscent of the "Wild West" of many years ago, probably caused only a small ripple of interest on Ottawa's Parliament Hill among some 300 delegates from 96 countries who are attending the fourteenth Congress of the Universal Postal Union. Yet, mail robberies were among the many thorny problems which eventually led to the formation of the Universal Postal Union in 1874.

It is with somewhat different problems involving the international transmission of mail that the representatives of the postal departments of their countries are concerning themselves during the Congress that opened August 14 and will continue until October 4.

That postcards and letters, periodicals and parcels can freely cross and re-cross international boundaries, even in times of war and political upheaval, is usually taken for granted. It was not always so.

Postal services began in the days of the Persian empire, when relays of horsemen each a day's march apart carried the emperor's messages at top speed from one post to another. The Macedonians developed a similar system. The Egyptians actually had airmail service-carrier pigeons. The Romans used fast horses for mail, and mules to transport goods and taxes collected in the provinces; it took a courier on horseback or in a light chariot 26 days to carry a message from Britain to Rome. The first "special delivery" mail was inaugurated by the Chinese emperors; they attached feathers to urgent letters. Medieval European kings had their own courier services for personal and government use.

#### Complex Mail Services

In the early days of the postal service, messages from private individuals had to be carried by couriers employed by the religious orders, the universities and the merchant guilds.

As the volume of private and personal mail grew, with the increase of international trade and communications, the invention of the printing press, and the spread of education, governments began to make their courier services available to individuals upon the payment of a fee. These fees soon became an important source of revenue. But as couriers were not always reliable (being often more interested in selling the goods they brought from abroad than in serving the governments or merchants who employed them) and as postal regulations varied so much from country to country, complicated bilateral treaties had to be enacted to facilitate the transmission of international mail. The fixing of postal rates was also a problem; fees were charged by the country in which the piece of mail originated, by each country through which it passed, and by the country in which it was received. Costs, weight rates and currencies varied from country to country. Mail that eventually reached its destination was often never read because, at that time, the recipient, not the sender, was required to pay postal charges and might refuse the letter if he could not afford the high fees.



AT POSTAL CONFERENCE

Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, left, Sir Dudley Lumley, K.B.E., former Deputy Director General of the United Kingdom General Post Office, centre, and Mr. William Hamilton, Postmaster General of Canada, chat following the official opening of the Convention of the Universal Postal Union, being held in Ottawa.

The first step in the simplification of the postal service was taken by Great Britain in 1840 when the Victoria penny stamp was issued. Sir Rowland Hill had discovered that many people in England were defrauding the government by sending letters with code messages on the envelopes; the messages would be read and the letter refused without payment of the requisite fee. Sir Rowland worked out a plan for prepayment of mail by the sender at low, uniform rates, with a sticker on the envelope to serve as proof of payment. Other countries followed this example and the use of postage stamps spread to international mail.

The volume of international mail continued to increase; more treaties became necessary and by the second half of the 19th century only an expert could compute the correct postage and be sure that all postal regulations had been observed.

This complicated state of affairs led to the calling, at the behest of Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General of the United States, of a 15-nation conference in Paris in 1863 at which a code to simplify international postal formalities was drawn up. At about the same time, Heinrich von Stephan, head of the German postal service, outlined a plan for an international postal union.

#### Establishment of the Postal Union

In 1874 the Swiss Government invited representatives of 22 countries to a conference at Berne. The first international postal convention was adopted and the Postal Union was established. All the states of Europe, the United States, Asiatic Russia and Asiatic Turkey were charter members. Canada joined in 1878.

The men who met at Berne enunciated two main principles for the new Postal Union: First, that its activities must be strictly non-political and solely in the postal field; second, that its aim must be to make the world a "single postal territory for the reciprocal exchange of correspondence." The conventions of the Union bound the territories of all the contracting countries into a single postal area. This made possible the establishment of moderate uniform postage rates covering all classes of mail.

Accounting procedures were also simplified. The conference adopted the view that the furtherance of the international exchange of ideas and information was more important than the collection of tariffs; as a result, the settlement of postage accounts took on secondary importance. Henceforth, the despatching country kept the postage it charged and the country of destination kept the revenue from the reply, on the assumption that most letters call for answers and, in time, a balance is struck. The problem of payment for transit through intermediary countries was solved by an agreement that an annual lump sum would be paid by the despatching country to every transit country through which its mails passed. Each member also pledged itself to send all other members' mail by the best means of transportation, and members were thus given full and unrestricted use of the world's transportation facilities.

The Congress of the Universal Postal Union, meeting now in Ottawa for the first time and in North America for the second (a congress was held in Washington in 1897), is the supreme authority of the international body and has the power to amend the Convention of 1874. It meets every five years and is usually concerned with the arrangement of executive regulations between postal administrations. A 20-member executive and liaison committee, essentially an advisory and research group, meets annually to ensure the continuity of the Union's work between Congresses. The Union also has a permanent secretariat, the International Bureau, whose headquarters are at Berne.

#### Canadian Participation

Canada has been an active participant in the affairs of the Universal Postal Union since it became a member in 1878. In addition, Canada has special postal relations with other members of the Commonwealth of Nations, with members of the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain, and with France and the United States. These fall outside the strict provisions of the Universal Postal Union convention but are influenced by them. For example, letters (except those sent by airmail) pass from Canada to any place in the Commonwealth, to any country in the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain and to France at the same rate as if addressed to a point within Canada. Special bilateral conventions which recognize the unusual intimacy of business and social relations have been made between Canada and the United States. Since 1948, the Universal Postal Union has been one of the ten specialized agencies of the United Nations.

Ottawa greeted delegates to the UPU's fourteenth congress by flying the flags of the 96 member states on Parliament Hill; and appropriately, by issuing two commemorative postage stamps, one of them depicting the symbol of the Union, the postal horn, and the other the Peace Tower of the Canadian Parliament Buildings.

#### Prime Minister's Welcome

Welcoming the delegates at the formal opening of the Congress on August 14, Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker said, "Your organization is one of the oldest of its kind in the world. It antedates both the United Nations and the League of Nations. There are 96 nations in the Universal Postal Union and I understand that your membership is the largest of any specialized agency. Your deliberations have not caught the newspaper headlines in the past and are not likely to do so now and in a way that is a good thing for it means quiet constructive work. The winds of the cold war have penetrated everywhere but have not disturbed the atmosphere of this Congress.



Walter J. Turnbull Congress President

"I believe that one of the major steps to be taken to achieve international co-operation and understanding is in the creation and operation of committees engaged at the technical level. For in a specialized agency such as the Universal Postal Union the membership, having constructive work to do, forgets national considerations in the larger perspective of achieving the objects it has in mind.

"For postal purposes, all the member countries really form one country and thereby have created one world freed of artificial frontiers. As a result of this convention and of the work of the Universal Postal Union a thousand million pieces of mail cross national borders and political frontiers freely every year."

Canada's Deputy Postmaster General, Walter J. Turnbull, was elected President of the Congress in observance of the Union's custom that a postal representative of the host country be so honoured. Mr. Turnbull is also head of Canada's delegation to the Congress, which includes J. A. Boyle, J. N. Craig, Sarto Chartrand, W. C. McEachern and H. N. Pearl, all of the Post Office Department, and J. L. Delisle, of the Department of External Affairs.

## **How NATO Works**

PREPARATIONS are now being made for the meeting next December of the North Atlantic Council at which ministers of the governments of the countries belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will make their annual

defence effort of NATO and approve future plans.

Ministerial meetings of the NATO Council are held about twice a year and usually attract wide-spread attention. Little publicity has ever been given, however, to the way in which NATO carries on between these fulldress meetings. In fact, there is perhaps no international organization of such importance as NATO about whose day-to-day functions so little is known in Canada and the other member countries. As can be seen from the charts on pages 262 and 263; NATO is, in fact, a great co-operative enterprise of 15 nations, requiring continuing activity in many fields and dealing with many different aspects of international co-operation.



Paul-Henri Spaak

#### The Council

The North Atlantic Council is the supreme governing body of NATO and is composed of foreign ministers and, according to the agenda of the meeting, defence and finance ministers, assisted by senior civilian officials and ranking military officers. A foreign minister is President of the Council, the office rotating annually among member countries. As indicated above, ministerial sessions are held only about twice a year; between these meetings, however, the Council is in permanent session in Paris, where member governments are represented by permanent representatives, usually holding the rank of ambassador, (Mr. L. D. Wilgress is Permanent Representative of Canada to NATO).

The permanent representatives meet at least once a week at the Palais de Chaillot under the chairmanship of Paul-Henri Spaak, who early this year succeeded Lord Ismay as Vice-Chairman of the Council and Secretary-General of the Organization. On hand also, to provide both secretarial assistance and expert advice, are members of the international staff. The permanent representatives, armed with background information and recommendations prepared by the Council's subordinate bodies with the help of the staff, consider a widely assorted group of items. The business of a typical meeting may

include a variety of matters, such as reports on international developments of concern to NATO, the plans of the Organization's military bodies for future joint exercises, a suggested procedure for the preparation of correlated production programmes, or, perhaps, the budget of the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE).

As Secretary-General, Mr. Spaak directs the international staff in the NATO Secretariat. This staff is made up of a number of divisions dealing with the various aspects—production questions, economic and financial questions, political questions—of the Organization's work on the civilian side. It assists in the work of the various committees of the Council and provides a body of experts which can undertake special studies as required.

#### NATO and Peace\*

Men being what they are, there are not innumerable ways of ensuring their peaceful coexistence. Fundamentally there are only two. The first involves the renunciation of violence and, as its necessary corollary, submission to arbitration. The second, far less desirable, seeks through a balance of forces to discourage violence, and where necessary, to ensure that violence does not go unpunished.

Between these two methods there is all the distance separating a civilized community from a barbarian society. In the former, right prevails over might; in the latter, might maintains what is claimed to be the right. Now these two methods, although contradictory, are, in our modern world, applied simultaneously by the same men, the first to govern relations between citizens of individual states, the second to govern relations between states. Such is the paradox of our time that we can, at one and the same time, be civilized at home and barbarous abroad. I must say however, in defence of our statesmen, that their barbarism is forced on them since it is limited to opposing the deliberate barbarism of others.

It is useless to deplore it. There was a time when such barbarism governed relations between individuals. That time is now long past. The world has improved in that respect. There is no reason why progress should not continue. And it is continuing. Before the war we had the League of Nations. Since the war we have had the United Nations. However disappointing these efforts towards establishing a universal rule of law may be, they do constitute steps along a road that is still long, no doubt, but that leads inevitably to the renunciation of violence and submission to arbitration.

We have not yet reached that point and one is always wrong to be "right" too soon. We must live with our time. We must be realistic, and reality demands to-day that we forget for the moment our dream of a world ordered like a state, in which reliance is placed on the wisdom of the courts for the settlement of disputes and on the existence of a police force for the enforcement of laws.

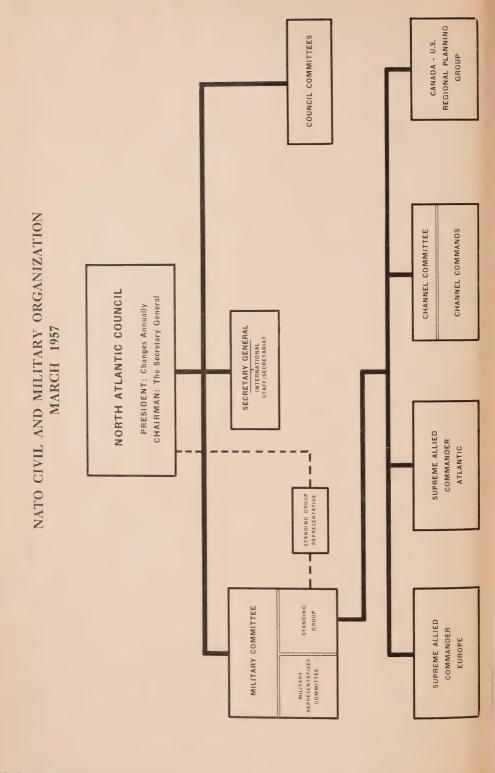
We must continue to be strong to live at peace, and to be strong we must unite. That is what the NATO countries have understood and done. They have taken up arms again in order to be strong. Now they are striving to unite, more and more each day, in order to add spiritual strength to the strength of arms. Peace reigns because of that. Without it, it would reign no longer. This will still be true, I fear, for some time to come.

-Paul-Henri Spaak.

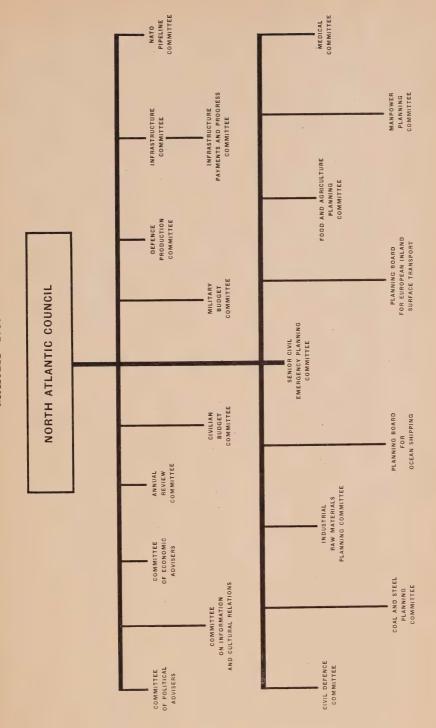
#### The Civilian Side

Subordinate to the Council are both civilian and military bodies. On the civilian side, (see chart on page 263), there are committees and working groups

<sup>\*</sup>Reprinted with the permission of "The Fifteen Nations".



# PRINCIPAL COMMITTEES OF THE COUNCIL MARCH 1957



to deal with such aspects of the Organization's work as the Annual Review of member countries' defence plans, the construction of fixed military installations for the common use of the NATO forces (called "infrastructure"), budgetary control, information and cultural activities, emergency planning, civil cooperation, and security. Some of these topics may be considered by a single committee, others by three or more, each with or without its specialized working group. Each committee is responsible to the Council and each has a group of experts in the international staff working with it. All meet in Paris. Generally speaking, the chairmen of these committees are drawn from the permanent delegations of the member countries in Paris, with secretaries and technical assistance provided by the international staff.

A number of committees composed of national experts in specific fields also meet frequently to discuss problems of a technical nature.

#### The Military Side

On the military side, the senior organ reporting to the Council is the Military Committee, composed of the chiefs of staff of the member countries. It normally meets when the Council meets in ministerial session in order to provide the Council with military advice and receive from the Council political guidance. It is also responsible for providing general policy guidance of a military nature to the Standing Group. The Standing Group is the permanent. executive body of the Military Committee. It is located in Washington and is composed of the Chiefs of Staff (or their representatives) of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The other members of NATO are in continuous association with the work of the Standing Group by means of the Military Representatives Committee, which is also located in Washington, and which consists of representatives of the national military authorities. Thus, between meetings of the Military Committee, top level military direction and co-ordination is provided by the Standing Group, and the interests of all the member countries are safeguarded by the Military Representatives Committee.

In order to provide close and continuous contact between the work of these military bodies, located in Washington, and the Council, meeting in Paris, there is a Standing Group Liaison Officer, located at the NATO Headquarters. He or his assistants attend all Council meetings and important committee meetings and are responsible for bringing the viewpoint of the Standing Group to the attention of the Council and of seeing that the Standing Group is, in turn, fully informed of the Council's deliberations.

Direct military command of the NATO forces is delegated to the supreme commanders, who are perhaps as well known to the public as the Council itself. The new Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) is General Lauris Norstad, United States Air Force, with headquarters at SHAPE, near Paris. He is responsible for the defence of northern, central, western and southern Europe (including Turkey) which, for this purpose, is divided into a number of subordinate naval, army and air commands. Admiral Jerauld Wright, United States Navy, is the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT), with headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia. He is responsible for the defence of the lines of communication across the Atlantic Ocean. The Channel Committee in London co-ordinates defence preparations in the narrow waters bordering France, Belgium, The Netherlands and the United

Kingdom. Under it is a Commander-in-Chief with headquarters at Portsmouth. For North America, which has no peacetime NATO commander, there is the Canada-U.S. Regional Planning Group, which has headquarters in Washington.

#### The Annual Review

Let us see how these various bodies on both the civilian and military sides work together on important problems with which the Organization has to deal in building up the defensive strength of the West. A good example is to be found in the process of the Annual Review of member countries defence plans, which provides the means whereby the organization as a whole can take stock of the progress made in the collective defence effort and, accordingly, make plans for the build-up of forces in future years.

Responsible under the Council for co-ordinating this work is the Annual Review Committee, one of the most active and important of the Council's subordinate bodies. In order to obtain the necessary information on the national defence plans, the international staff, under the guidance of the Annual Review Committee and in collaboration with the NATO military agencies, draws up a questionnaire for completion by member governments. At the same time, the supreme commanders take stock of the position of the forces under their command and prepare recommendations for changes in those forces designed to improve their effectiveness. When the replies of member governments to the questionnaire and the military recommendations have been received, the Annual Review Committee, the international staff and the NATO military agencies are in a position to examine the collective defence effort of NATO and to reconcile the military requirements with the national, political and economic capabilities.

In this process, various points of view are considered: national interests are represented in the Annual Review Committee; general political, economic and production considerations are contributed by the international staff; and military considerations are contributed by the Supreme Commands and the Standing Group. The results of this process of stock-taking and reconciliation in terms of recommended levels of forces for the NATO countries are embodied in a report which the Annual Review Committee prepares and the permanent representatives submit to the Council in ministerial session. The ministers in adopting decisions on this report also have before them the comments of the Military Committee. (At the ministerial session in December 1956 the Council considered the Report on the 1956 Annual Review and approved force goals for 1957, 1958 and 1959).

#### Infrastructure Programme

Another phase of the Organization's work which illustrates the way in which the various bodies work together is the "infrastructure" programme. The initial judge of NATO forces requirements for their common use in the way of fixed installations such as airfields, communications and radar facilities is the NATO commander concerned. These "infrastructure" requirements are therefore submitted in the first place by the supreme commanders to the Standing Group, which in turn reviews them in the context of overall NATO military planning. Consideration must also be given, however, to the technical

and financial aspects of these requirements in order to ensure that the airfields and other "infrastructure" projects are constructed as economically as possible and are within the financial means of the countries which are to pay for them.

The Infrastructure Committee of the Council, assisted by technical experts of the international staff, is responsible for screening the military recommendations from this point of view. Their conclusions are submitted to the Council where member governments, either through their permanent representatives or through their ministers, negotiate the proportions in which the cost of the agreed programme should be shared. An outstanding accomplishment of the Council at the ministerial session in 1953 was agreement on a three-year financial arrangement for "infrastructure" which enabled the Supreme Commanders to make their construction plans up to 1957. The actual expenditure of funds on these projects is subject to a system of close financial supervision for which the Infrastructure Payments and Progress Committee is responsible. This Committee arranges that member countries contribute to the cost of construction in proportion to the agreed formula and sees that these contributions are spent as they should be.

#### Non-Military Activity of NATO

The activity of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is not limited to purely military fields; NATO also forms a community of nations with a growing interest in non-military co-operation—that is political, economic and cultural co-operation.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee of Three approved at the ministerial session in December 1956, steps have been taken to ensure that greater attention be given to political consultations for the avoidance of serious differences among members and their rapid settlement should they arise. The principle of political consultation is not a new one for NATO, but the countries of the Atlantic Community had not previously asserted its necessity with as much force. According to the recommendations of the Committee of Three, governments of member states shall inform the Council of any event that might have serious consequences for NATO in order that a political consultation may take place before a decision is reached. This procedure represents considerable progress in the political field.

In 1957 a committee was set up to study problems that might affect the economic health of the Alliance. The activity of NATO in this field must take into account the work of the numerous international organizations in which the member states play a prominent part, and increased co-operation within these organizations and consultations within NATO itself will further the economic interests of the Atlantic Community.

In the fields of culture and information, NATO continues to make a great effort to promote exchanges and a deeper mutual knowledge among the people of the member states. Among other things, a programme of scholarships and fellowships has been set up and subsidies were granted for international seminars on NATO at Oxford University in 1956 and at Princeton University last June. Moreover, two conferences for leaders of youth movements were organized at the Palais de Chaillot and an expert in this field was added to the staff of NATO's Information Service. In addition, groups of parliamentarians from the countries of the Alliance meet periodically to discuss the problems of the Community and to propose solutions.

In the field of information, efforts are being continued by NATO and the member states to increase public knowledge about the Alliance by publicising its purposes, its activities, and accomplishments. Groups of visitors representing all levels of opinion are received at the Palais de Chaillot and annual tours for journalists enable representatives of the press to visit the NATO countries. Atlantic Treaty Associations have been founded in most of the member states. The Canadian Atlantic Co-ordinating Committee assists, through lectures and discussion groups, in making known the purposes of NATO and in spreading the concept of an Atlantic Community.

#### Canada's Contributions to NATO

The Canadian contribution to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization consists especially of an infantry brigade and an air division of twelve jet fighter squadrons stationed in Europe under the orders of SACEUR. In addition, more than forty units of the Royal Canadian Navy are placed under the control of SACLANT and participate in the protection of the North Atlantic area. As an indirect contribution, Canada trained, from the signing of the Treaty up to December 1956, 2,241 pilots and 2,237 navigators for certain member states of NATO. Canada has also provided members of the Alliance with military equipment. Among other things, Sabre V's were delivered to the Federal Republic of Germany and aircraft engines to Italy and Turkey, and the Government announced in August that it would provide Turkey in the coming months with ten escort vessels of the Bangor class. In all, Canada has contributed more than \$1,400,000,000 to the Mutual Aid Programme.

As a very important contribution to NATO, Canada guarantees, in close co-operation with the United States, the security of the North American area. Three radar networks, covering Canada from east to west, have been set up to warn headquarters in the event of an air attack and the Royal Canadian Air Force, jointly with the United States Air Force, protects Canada's Arctic frontier.

The many-sided work of NATO never ceases. The permanent representatives consult regularly in Paris, and, through civilian committees, carry on continuous deliberations. Military bodies function daily in varied places. At the Palais de Chaillot, the international staff representing all fifteen member nations carries out assiduously its daily work under the leadership of the Secretary-General. The total co-operative effort whereby like-minded nations adjust their viewpoints and requirements in order to achieve common objectives presents an excellent example of how complex international machinery can be made to function in a democratic alliance.

# **Proposals for Disarmament Agreement**

After nearly six months of intensive negotiation in London, the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission adjourned on September 6 and the question of disarmament is now before the General Assembly of the United Nations. Shortly before adjournment of the Sub-Committee, Canada joined with France, the United Kingdom and the United States in presenting to the Soviet Union proposals for a first stage disarmament agreement.\*

In that connection Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker issued on August 29 the following statement of the Canadian position:

Today in London the Western Powers on the Sub-Committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission—France, the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada—have presented to the Soviet Union proposals which we believe can provide the basis for an agreement on a first stage of disarmament. These proposals are the product of extensive consultations directed towards the design of a plan which could be given effect immediately, without political conditions, and so make a tangible contribution to world peace now by rendering more remote the danger of war.

Progress towards settlement of major political issues is a condition for moving toward the second and third stages since some steps toward solving the problems which can cause international conflicts are necessary before we and our allies can safely make extensive reductions in our defences. Nevertheless, reductions to the levels of 2.5 million for the United States and the Soviet Union and 750,000 for France and the United Kingdom, which are proposed for the first stage, would constitute a significant step towards disarmament.

During the first stage it is also proposed that these four powers place certain designated armaments under international supervision in depots within their own territories. We believe that this will be a valuable introduction to more extensive reductions in armaments envisaged in the second and third stages, when the arms retained would be related to the reduced manpower ceilings.

The proposals for nuclear disarmament provide for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons except in defence against an armed attack. They further provide that the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes should cease, that transfers from weapon stockpiles to peaceful uses should be made and that there should be an effective inspection system to verify compliance with those commitments. The implementation of such proposals would first put a stop to the atomic armaments race and then reverse the trend by reducing the reserves of nuclear weapons.

Provision is also made for a time-table under which nuclear test explosions would, in the first instance, be suspended for a year. If satisfactory progress is being made towards arrangements to cut off production of fissionable materials for weapons, the suspension period would be extended for a further year. Thus the proposals treat suspension of tests as a matter for immediate action while keeping the problem in proper perspective, for the ending of tests cannot end the nuclear armaments race.

In order to ensure that all parties to the agreement are carrying out their obligations, and in order to diminish the dangers of surprise attack, the Western Powers have put forward a number of proposals regarding control and inspection. They would provide for systems to verify compliance with the suspension of nuclear tests and with the cessation of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes. They would also include provisions for aerial and ground inspection designed to assist in guarding against surprise attack. It is our belief that it is of the greatest importance to have in operation such systems of inspection if we are to ensure that under a disarmament treaty the nations will enjoy no less security than their present defences provide. Because of this belief the Canadian Government has agreed, if the Soviet Union will reciprocate, to the inclusion of either the whole or a part of Canada in an equitable system of aerial inspection and will do its utmost to ensure that the system works effectively. We consider that a useful start in providing safeguards against surprise attack could be made in the Arctic areas.

<sup>\*</sup>The text of the Four Power proposals is given in External Affairs Supplementary Paper No. 57/11.

The Canadian Government is guided by the desire to find means for preventing war, since any war could provide the spark which would lead to nuclear conflagration. We consider that the proposals offer a realistic and practical basis for a first stage from which we could work with confidence toward more far-reaching measures. In preparing these proposals we have with our allies sought constantly to meet the legitimate interests and policies of the Soviet Union. We have made serious efforts to find terms on which immediate action can be taken because of our conviction that the passage of time makes the disarmament problem ever more intractable but that, if the Soviet Union displays a corresponding willingness to co-operate in the negotiations, significant and rewarding results are within our grasp.

#### INTERNATIONAL BALLISTIC MISSILE

Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker made the following statement August 27, 1957:

The Soviet announcement of the successful testing of an intercontinental ballistic missile is another reminder to us all, whether we be private citizens or in positions of government responsibility, of the rapid development that science is making in engines of destruction. Whatever may be the degree of monopoly conferred on the Soviet Union by its success in this field, we may be sure that it will not long endure. Research into longrange rockets has been pressed forward elsewhere, and especially in the United States, during the past several years, and we can expect that the day is not far distant when the design of missiles which can reach virtually anywhere in the world will be widely understood.

Just as the development of nuclear weapons ushered in a new era in warfare twelve years ago, we must grasp the fact that when nations can produce intercontinental ballistic missiles in quantity yet another era will begin. That we are indeed on the point of entering that era is the sobering conclusion to be drawn from the Soviet announcement.

I devoutly hope that the first effect of this event will be redoubled sincerity and effort, on the part of all governments engaged in the negotiations for disarmament, in order to ensure that the passage of time does not bring to the problem of missiles the complications which delays in reaching agreement have introduced in the field of nuclear weapons. Every new mechanical instrument of destruction such as this underlines and re-emphasizes the urgent need for success in the negotiations of the Disarmament Sub-Committee in London.

## **Arctic Explorer Honoured**

 $T_{\rm HE}$  city of Steinkjer in Norway has established a link with Canada that spans time as well as distance. It is a monument to Captain Otto Sverdrup, famous Arctic explorer, who gave his name to islands which he discovered in the Arctic seas and which are now part of the Queen Elizabeth Islands.

Another Arctic explorer, Superintendent Henry A. Larsen of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, himself Norwegian-born, represented the Canadian Government at a ceremony on July 21 during which His Royal Highness Crown Prince Olav of Norway, unveiled the monument. Some 10,000 spec-



**EXPLORER HONOURED** 

Superintendent Henry A. Larsen, Canada's representative at the ceremony honouring Captain Otto Sverdrup, Arctic explorer, addresses guests following the unveiling of the memorial statue.

tators witnessed the ceremony, and addresses by the Crown Prince and by Supt. Larsen were broadcast throughout the country. Special guests included the Governor of the County of North Tröndelag, Mr. Asbjörn Lindboe; the Mayor of Steinkjer, Mr. Amunn Solberg; representatives of numerous Norwegian and foreign societies interested in Arctic exploration, and prominent figures of the local community.

"The names of Sverdrup and of Norway will ever be linked with that of Canada through the islands of the Canadian Arctic which bear his name and those of his Norwegian associates who were with him and assisted him in carrying out his expedition. This fact is one more link in the many which join both our countries in lasting bonds of esteem, friendship and affection", Supt. Larsen said.

Otto Sverdrup, one of several great polar navigators who brought fame to Norway at the turn of the century, was born in 1855 at Horstad Farm, Helgeland, near Steinkjer. He first went to sea in 1872; he accompanied Fridtjof Nansen on his overland journey across Greenland in 1888; and from 1893 to 1896 he was captain of the polar ship *Fram* on Nansen's famous attempt to reach the North Pole. In 1898, Sverdrup took the *Fram* on a second expedition, this time as leader, with the object of exploring in the north of Greenland. His vessel was ice-bound until 1902 but in the interval he discovered vast areas and explored new land west of Ellesmere Island to which he gave his name. This new land is now part of Canada's Oueen Elizabeth Islands.

#### Canadian Contribution

When the city of Steinkjer began making preparations for its 1957 centenary celebrations, officials decided to erect a monument to the memory of Captain Sverdrup. As an expression of the gratitude and admiration of the Canadian people for Sverdrup's accomplishments and for the accuracy of his work in charting the Arctic islands, the Canadian Government contributed 10,000 kroner toward the construction of the monument. It is a bronze statue, slightly larger than life size, done by the well-known Norwegian sculptor Carl E. Paulsen, and depicts the explorer in a stance familiar to those who saw him as Captain of the *Fram* in the course of his many Arctic explorations. The statue stands in a small park in the centre of Steinkjer; a park surrounded by birches and pines and gay with many ornamental flower beds. Although Steinkjer was almost entirely destroyed by German incendiary bombs during the ill-fated campaign in Norway in April 1940, it has now been completely rebuilt in contemporary fashion.

The choice of Supt. Larsen as Canada's representative at the unveiling ceremony was appropriate because he had commanded the RCMP schooner *St. Roch* on a wartime voyage through the Northwest Passage and had taken part in Arctic explorations, thus following the footsteps of Sverdrup, Amundsen, Nansen and other Norwegian explorers.

## **ECOSOC: 24th Session**

The United Nations Economic and Social Council held its 24th session in Geneva from July 2 to August 2, 1957. (The Council's Co-Ordination Committee and the Technical Assistance Committee had both been convened one week earlier than the session). The Canadian Delegation was headed by Dr. R. A. MacKay, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations in New York, and included as delegates Mr. M. H. Wershof, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations in Geneva, Dr. G. F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare, Dr. O. J. Firestone, of the Department of Trade and Commerce, and Mr. S. Pollock, of the Department of Finance.

The Council considered an annual report on the UN Technical Assistance Programmes, and made a general review of the development and co-ordination of the economic, social, and human rights programmes of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. While much attention was devoted to these questions, more controversy arose in connection with the annual survey of the world economic situation, the consideration of international commodity problems and the financing of economic development.

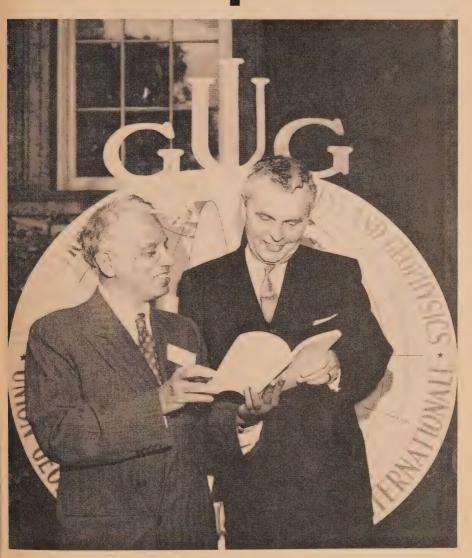
The main feature of the session was the adoption by the Council of a resolution urging the General Assembly to take the necessary steps for the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development) (SUNFED), which has been under consideration by the Council since 1951. The United States, the United Kingdom and Canada voted against this resolution. While Canada has previously expressed its agreement in principle with the SUNFED proposal, it does not believe that its immediate establishment is likely to prove practicable as long as the main potential contributors, the United States and the United Kingdom, are unable to participate in it.

The U.S.S.R. Delegation introduced resolutions calling, among other things, (a) for a ten to fifteen per cent reduction in armaments so that the savings could serve the cause of economic development; (b) for a suspension of nuclear weapons tests; (c) for a study by the Secretary-General of the possibility of establishing new machinery for trade co-operation; and (d) for wider exchange of specialists in social development. The propaganda character of the first two of these resolutions was obvious, in view of the fact that the Disarmament Sub-Committee was then actively engaged in a discussion of these problems. The Council consequently rejected the resolution on nuclear tests and amended substantially the disarmament proposal by expressing the hope that efforts displayed by the UN Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee would be successful, thus freeing additional resources for economic development. Only the resolution on the exchange of specialists in social development, which actually introduced no radically new element in UN activities in this field, was endorsed by the Council. The resolution on trade co-operation was modified to suggest that the most urgent need was for a more effective use of the machinery already existing.

Other resolutions passed by the Council were concerned with the adoption of a proposal to celebrate in 1958 the tenth anniversary of the UN Declaration

of Human Rights, and a recommendation to extend the existence of the United Nations Refugee Fund for a period of five years as of January 1, 1959.

As at past sessions, the Canadian Delegation participated actively in discussion of all the important items. Dr. Davidson was chairman of the Coordination Committee.



OPENS SCIENTIFIC ASSEMBLY

Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, who spoke in Toronto September 3, 1957 at the opening of the 11th general assembly of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, is shown discussing the assembly programme with the President of the Union, Prof. K. R. Ramanathan, of India.

In his address, the Prime Minister devoted major attention to Canada's northern regions, now being opened to great development because of the advances in scientific methods of exploration and study.

Mr. Diefenbaker said that Canada is one of the major Arctic powers, and that this country's Arctic territories may well play a paramount part in the developments of the future in this hemisphere.

# GREAT ISSUES IN THE ANGLO-CANADIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

An address by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. John G. Diefenbaker, M.P., at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, U.S.A., September 7, 1957.

This being the first occasion as Prime Minister that I have had to address an audience in the United States, I avail myself of the opportunity to discuss some phases of the relationship of Canada and the United States. I do so here, for the glory of Dartmouth College for almost two hundred years has been its tolerance and its pursuit of truth. Great issues have been debated in the history of this historic college which made the name of Daniel Webster a name to conjure with in the English-speaking world, and wherever else in the world freedom still lives.

A few weeks ago I was in London at the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and discussed with other members of the Commonwealth mutual problems which might be called "family problems". Here I shall discuss "neighbourly problems".

There will be full agreement among those present that the Anglo-Canadian-American Community constitutes a grand alliance for freedom, in partnership with others of the NATO family, in the defence of democracy against the Red Menace. This alliance has as its "built-in" stabilizers for unity a common tradition, a respect for the rights of man, an unswerving dedication to freedom. I believe with you that the maintenance of that unity is the only certain hope for the survival of freedom everywhere in the world.

Canada and the United States have grown up in separate ways. My country achieved its freedom and independence by evolution, not revolution—by its adherence to a limited monarchy within the Commonwealth of Nations, rather than through the establishment of a republic. The Commonwealth knows no written constitution or agreement—it is bound together by the aspirations of peoples in all parts of the globe who, while independent, are united in their dedication to freedom under the Queen as the symbol of their unity. Canada's status as an independent member of the Commonwealth and a constitutional monarchy will be emphasized when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II opens Canada's Parliament on October 14 as the Queen of Canada.

Canada and the United States, as long ago as 1794 in a "Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation", undertook "to promote a disposition favourable to friendship and goodwill". While this undertaking has not at all times since been maintained, it is, and has been, of the essence of our relationship.

#### Partners in Defence

We are partners in defence—and we realize that the security of this continent cannot be assured without the closest co-operation between our two countries. To that end one of the first acts of the new Canadian Government when it came into power this summer was to agree to the joint operational control of the air defence forces of Canada and the United States. This system embraces not only our two air forces, but the several radar warning lines which have been built by us jointly across this continent, and mainly through Canada. In so doing Canada does not in any way sacrifice her sovereignty over, or ownership of, these Arctic regions.

We have learned to trust one another. Neither has received aid from the other without payment. No hereditary animosities or ancestral fears remain to divide us. In Canada we know that if the United States since the last war had not assumed world leadership, the free world might not have survived. But we cannot take our relationship for granted. The former Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. L. B. Pearson) expressed the same sentiment a few years ago when he said "the era of easy and automatic good relations between Canada and the United States is over." That does not mean that an era of difficult or bad relations is beginning. It emphasizes the need for care being taken in attending to our relations and viewing each other's problems with common sense, frankness, absolute confidence and mutual trust.

The whole measure of warm friendship which has long existed between the United States and Canada, and the parallel interest of the two countries, enables us to speak to each other with a measure of forthrightness which is permitted to very few countries in the world. The candour with which we can communicate with each other strengthens our understanding of each other, and helps us to avoid the pitfalls of misunderstanding which have bedevilled relations of so many other countries in the world.

#### **Economic Problems**

May I now with the utmost frankness and goodwill, and in the interests of fullest understanding, deal with one or two economic matters that are causing unrest within my country. By doing so I emphasize that the Government of Canada has as its duty and responsibility to consider Canadian interests first. It is not now and will not be, anti-American. The Secretary of State of the United States, the Honourable John Foster Dulles, in evidence recently given before a Congressional Committee, said: "the purpose of the State Department . . . is to look out for the interests of the United States." The responsibility of the Canadian Government in like measure is to consider Canadian interests first. This should not be misinterpreted as being Anti-American.

Canada is numbered among the great trading countries of the world. While we are desirous of doing business with all nations, our trading world has become increasingly confined to the United States which takes sixty per cent of our exports and provides seventy-three per cent of our imports. A recent survey in the United States showed in graphic form that almost every American community of any size is selling something to Canada. It shows that Brooklyn sells more to Canada than Argentina does, that Louisville sells more to Canada than New Zealand does, that Chicago sells almost as much to Canada as does West Germany, and that Seattle sells almost as much to Canada as does Norway. Even in agricultural products, Canada buys a larger volume of American agricultural products, by some \$100,000,000, than Canada sells to the United States.

The value of United States exports to Canada is almost as much as that of its total sales to all Latin American countries. Canada is the United States' greatest customer and the United States is Canada's greatest customer. What you are buying from us is largely raw materials or semi or partially-manufactured materials, for the United States tariff system prohibits any major import of manufactured goods.

This concentration of trade in one channel contains inherent dangers for Canada. It makes the Canadian economy altogether too vulnerable to sudden changes in trading policy at Washington. Canadians do not wish to have their economic, any more than their political, affairs determined outside Canada.

Canada has always purchased more from the United States than the United States has purchased from Canada. This imbalance is now running to record proportions. In our commodity trade last year, Canada purchased from the United States goods to a value of \$1,298 millions more than the United States purchased from Canada. Thus far in 1957, the imbalance has increased, and if the present trend continues, 1957 will establish a new all-time record in imbalance in trade between the two countries.

Our trade with the United States is equivalent to 25 per cent of Canada's gross national product. On the other hand, it is the equivalent of less than 2 per cent of the gross national product of the United States. It is perhaps only natural, therefore, that Canadian-American trade should not make the same claim on the attention and consideration of the United States as it does on Canada.

A pressing concern in Canada is the question of the United States agricultural disposal programme, and in particular that of wheat and wheat flour, which has been more vigorous and more aggressive in the last two years, and which denies fair competition for markets. Canada's carry-over of wheat amounted to more than 700 million bushels this year. It is vital to Canada's economy that some 300 million bushels of wheat be exported every year.

Canada can compete for her share of the markets of the world, providing other nations follow recognized competitive practices. The share of the world market for wheat by the United States has been increasing in recent years by its policies of surplus disposal, and that increase has come about mainly at the expense of Canada's export trade, which has been decreasing. The surplus disposal legislation of the United States has made it difficult, if not impossible, for Canada to maintain its fair share of the world's market. Canada cannot compete for agricultural markets against the dominant economic power of the United States, with its export subsidies, barter deals and sales for foreign currency.

The free world faces not only the military, but the economic aggression of the U.S.S.R. Military alliances and joint co-ordination for defence are not enough. There must be economic co-operation, which in turn demands recognition by larger nations of the effect of their economic policies on smaller nations. Freedom cannot afford to allow any of the free nations to be weakened economically.

We are co-operating in defence measures—why not to a greater degree in economic matters? The joint United States-Canadian Cabinet Committee on Trade and Economic Questions will meet in Washington in early October, and Canadians hope that this matter can be resolved by mutual agreement which will provide for a fair and reasonable solution of the problem of the disposal of wheat and other agricultural surpluses.

One other matter deserves comment in the interests of clarification. Capital from the United States has played an important role in the development of Canadian resources. We welcome this investment and intend to continue to provide the best foreign investment climate in the world. The heavy influx of American investment has resulted in some 60 per cent of our main manufacturing industries, and a larger proportion of our mine and oil production, being owned and controlled by United States interests. In that investment what Canadians ask is that full account be taken of the interest of Canadians in the policies that are followed in the direction and use of that capital.

There would be no potential harm in external ownership as long as companies engaged in these industries are developed in Canada's interests, and their policies take account in their direction of the interests of Canadians.

There is an intangible sense of disquiet in Canada over the political implications of large-scale and continuing external ownership and control of Canadian industries. The question is being asked: "can a country have a meaningful independent existence in a situation where non-residents own an important part of that country's basic resources and industry, and are, therefore, in a position to make important decisions affecting the operation and development of the country's economy?" Canadians ask that American

companies investing in Canada should not regard Canada as an extension of the American market; that they should be incorporated as Canadian companies making available equity stock to Canadians. That there is cause for questioning seems clear when I tell you that it is estimated that of American-controlled firms operating in Canada not more than one in four offers stock to Canadians.

There are other problems but time denies reference to them. What I have said is not spoken in a spirit of truculence or of petition. My purpose is to have removed causes for disagreement which, unsolved, may diminish the spirit of understanding which is characteristic of our relationship. We in Canada and the United States are such close neighbours and have so much in common that it is hard to realize that we are bound to have some differences. We are united in the great cause of freedom and democracy. In our military alliance there is the closest co-operation between us. In the fundamental things of life we have no differences. Our comradeship knows no closer alliance in the world. Let it not be said that we cannot achieve a similar spirit of co-operation in economic affairs.

#### Joint Heritage of Freedom

The message I am trying to convey is epitomized by the words used by President Eisenhower in the Canadian House of Commons on November 14, 1953:

"More than friendship and partnership is signified in the relations between our countries. These relations that today enrich our people justify the faith of our fathers that men, given self-government, can dwell at peace among themselves, progressive in the development of their material wealth, quick to join in the defence of their spiritual community, ready to arbitrate differences that may arise to divide them.

"Beyond the shadow of the atomic cloud, the horizon is bright with promise. No shadow can halt our advance together. For we, of Canada and the United States shall use carefully and wisely the God-given graces of faith and reason as we march toward it—toward the horizon of a world—where each man, each family, each nation lives at peace in a climate of freedom."

Our two countries, with Great Britain, have a joint heritage of freedom. We are united in our determination to preserve our heritage of spiritual values that are dearer than life itself. To preserve that steadfast and undiminished unity that saved us in war, our governments, our peoples, must give due regard at all times to the problems of each other with infinite respect, tolerance and consideration.

In the days ahead many grave decisions will face our peoples. In the last analysis, how Canadians and Americans and Britishers get along is a world test of "neighbourhood" in international relations.

In concord with the other free nations, the solidarity of Anglo-Canadian-American friendship is vital to the peace and well-being of the world and will provide the key to whether we succeed or fail in our great quest to maintain freedom for this and future generations.

#### THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY AWARDS

The Atlantic Treaty Association has announced a series of international awards for writings published in any of the 15 member countries of the Atlantic Alliance. These awards are intended to encourage the writing and publication of constructive literature of a high standard on all aspects of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Atlantic Community of Nations.

Prizes will be awarded in the field of journalism to the authors of the two best series or groups of articles published in daily or weekly newspapers or magazines between January 1 and December 31, 1957 "on the operation, problems or prospects of the Atlantic Alliance". The first prize will be £700 and the second £350. Prizes will also go to the authors and publishers of the two best books published between January 1, 1957 and November 15, 1958, "dealing with the defence of the Atlantic Community, its underlying principles and values and the development of political, military, economic, social or cultural co-operation within it". Both theoretical and practical studies are eligible. The first prize is £1400 and the second prize is £700, to be divided equally in each case between author and publisher.

The third category of award is for authors and publishers of the two best novels or books of short stories, published between January 1, 1957 and Nov-

ember 15, 1958, "dealing with problems of human understanding between two or more nations of the Atlantic Community, or between persons whose way of life is typical of that Community and persons of a different culture". The prizes (£1400 and £700) are to be divided between author and publisher.

The Canadian Atlantic Co-ordinating Committee, 230 Bloor St. West, Toronto 5, Ontario, is the Canadian member organization of the Atlantic Treaty Association and will offer substantial prizes for the best subject work in each class in Canada. The Committee will also constitute a national jury to judge the entries, designate the prize-winners and make the necessary regulations and announcements.

The published writings of the Canadian prize-winners will then be regarded as entries for the Atlantic Community Awards. The Council for the Atlantic Treaty Association will make these awards in accordance with the recommendations of international juries of distinguished persons of various Allied nationalities specially constituted for that purpose. The names will be announced before the end of the period set for each competition. All entries will be judged on their own merit without regard to the previous work of the author. However, the Council has indicated that it reserves the right to withhold any of the prizes if no work of outstanding merit is presented to the judges.

It is not necessary for authors to hold or express any particular point of view regarding the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The judges will, however, bear in mind the ideas and recommendations expressed in the report of the Committee of Three Ministers approved by the North Atlantic Council at its meeting on December 13, 1956. Although published work submitted to a national jury can be in the language of any member country, the published works of the national prize-winners are to be presented to the international jury in either English or French, the two official languages of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Canadian Atlantic Co-ordinating Committee will provide further detail and entry forms for these awards. Application may also be made to:—

The Secretary General, The Atlantic Treaty Organization, Benjamin Franklin House, 36 Craven Street, London, W. C. 2.

# APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. P. Tremblay posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to Ottawa, effective June 7, 1957.
- Mr. J. A. Irwin posted from duty with the International Civil Aviation Organization, Montreal, to Ottawa, effective June 30, 1957.
- Mr. W. K. Wardroper posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, to Ottawa, effective July 17, 1957.
- Mr. C. E. Chatillon posted from duty with the National Defence College, Kingston, to Ottawa, effective July 19, 1957.
- Mr. G. Mathieu posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective July 29, 1957.
- Mr. H. B. Stewart, MBE, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective July 29, 1957.
- Mr. C. J. Small posted from the University of Toronto (Language Studies), to Ottawa, effective July 29, 1957.
- Mr. J. D. M. Weld posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa, effective July 31, 1957.
- Mr. K. W. H. MacLellan posted from the Canadian Embassy, Berne, to Ottawa, effective August 2, 1957.
- Mr. L. H. LaVigne posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to the Canadian Embassy, Dublin. Departed Indochina August 5, 1957.
- Mr. E. H. Gilmour posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective August 9, 1957.
- Mr. B. A. Keith posted from the Canadian Military Mission, Berlin, to Ottawa, effective August 12, 1957.
- Miss C. S. Weir posted from the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, to Ottawa, effective August 14, 1957.
- Mr. K. Goldschlag posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective August 14, 1957.
- Mr. F. M. Meech posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective August 14, 1957.
- Mr. W. St. L. Durdin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective August 27, 1957.
- Mr. R. K. Henry posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective August 17, 1957.
- Mr. P. R. Duder posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective August 18, 1957.
- Mr. J. Montpetit appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 19, 1957.
- The Hon. G. A. Drew appointed Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom. Proceeded to London August 20, 1957.
- Mr. R. W. Murray posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective August 20, 1957.
- Mr. P. A. Howard posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to the Canadian Consulate General, New Orleans, effective August 26, 1957.
- Mr. G. F. Bruce posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, to Ottawa, effective August 27, 1957.
- Mr. J. E. M. Bryson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, effective August 30, 1957.
- Mr. A. R. Potvin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Montevideo, effective August 30, 1957.

#### **CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\***

#### A Selected List

#### Printed Documents:

- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Financial report and accounts for the year ended 31 December 1956 and report of the Board of Auditors. A/3591. N.Y., 1957. 51 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 6A.
- Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, 16 June 1956 15 June 1957. A/3594. N.Y., 1957. 139 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 1.
- Budget estimates for the financial year 1958 and Information Annex. A/3600. N.Y., 1957. 82 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 5.
- Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. Fifth Report to the Twelfth Session of the General Assembly. A/3624. N.Y., 1957. 31 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 7.
- Technical Assistance Committee. Annual Report of the Technical Assistance Board for 1956. E/2956, E/TAC/REP/97. N.Y., May 1957. 125 p. \$1.25. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 5.
- World Economic Survey 1956. E/2982, ST/ECA/44. 271 p. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1957.II.C.1 (Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs).
- New Sources of Energy and Economic Development. Solar energy. Tidal energy. Wind energy. Geothermic energy. Thermal energy of the seas. E/2997, ST/ECA/47. N.Y., May 1957. 150 p. \$1.25. Sales No.: 1957.II.B.1 (Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs).
- Study of Inter-Latin-American trade. (Prepared by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Latin America). E/CN.12/369/Rev.1. N.Y., 1957. 313 p. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1956.II.G.3 (Dept. of Economic Affairs, 1957).
- International Sugar Agreement of 1953 as amended by the Protocol opened for signature at London on 1 December 1956. E/CONF.22/8. 7 February 1957. 24 p.
- Economic Commission for Europe, the first ten years 1947-1957. E/ECE/291. Geneva, 1957. Chapters I XIV. Appendices A H.
- Non-Self-Governing Territories. Summaries of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1956.
  - a) East Africian Territories. ST/TRI/B.1956/2. N.Y., 15 July 1957. 61 p.
  - b) Caribbean and Western Atlantic Territories. ST/TRI/B.1956/6. N.Y., 1 July 1957, 131 p.

#### GATT

International Trade 1956. Geneva, June 1957. 278 p. \$2.00. Sales No.: GATT/1957-2.

#### 2 10001 10

Case of certain Norwegian loans (France v. Norway). Judgment of July 6th, 1957. Reports of judgments, Advisory Opinions and Orders. 1000 p. (bil.) Sales Number 163.

#### ILO

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- \* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto: University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York, UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67



NEW CHANCERY OPENED

HRH Prince Bernhardt of The Netherlands, centre, Mr. T. A. Stone, Canadian Ambassador to The Netherlands, left, and Mr. G. R. Pearkes, V.C., Canadian Minister of National Defence, leave the new Chancery of the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, after the official opening July 1, 1957.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# Prime Minister's Address to UN

Statement by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker in the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, on September 23, 1957.

MR. President, may I, not in a perfunctory manner, congratulate you on behalf of the Canadian Delegation on your election, and offer you our best wishes. Having known you throughout the years, I realize that the General Assembly's action was an expression of its faith in you as a man uniquely qualified for this high office by reason of your long and devoted service to the United Nations. At the same time, may I also pay the tribute of Canada to your predecessor, Prince Wan Waithayakon, who presided over a session of great length and stress with wisdom and skill.

In the last few months there has been a change of government in our country, but I hasten to assure the Assembly at once that, as in all democratic countries dedicated to peace, this does not mean that there has been any change whatsoever in fundamental international principles or attitudes. I say that because I have been asked on a number of occasions where Canada now stands with regard to the United Nations. My appearance here gives public evidence of Canada's stand. Indeed, it is the first time in twelve years that a Prime Minister has been present with our Foreign Minister, which is evidence of the fact that we stand on this question now where Canada has always stood since April 1945, and, I emphasize this, with the support of the party which is now in power. So far as Canada is concerned, support of the United Nations is the cornerstone of its foreign policy. We believe that the United Nations will grow stronger because it represents the inevitable struggle of countries to find order in their relationships and the deep longing of mankind to strive for and attain peace and justice.

We believe, too, that countries like Canada, acting in consultation with other friendly nations, can exert an influence far stronger than would be possible outside the United Nations. Indeed, our views of the value of this organization are epitomized by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report for 1956-57, in which he stated: "If properly used, the United Nations can serve the diplomacy of reconciliation better than other instruments available to the member states. All the varied interests and aspirations of the world meet in its precincts upon the common ground of the Charter."

#### The Commonwealth

Canadians have a special pleasure, too, in welcoming Malaya, the newest member of the Commonwealth, as a member of the United Nations. Last year another member of the Commonwealth, Ghana, was elected to membership. We believe that the emergence of these new nations is an indication of growth and expansion of the concept of self-government and of the manner in which nations, one after another, attain independence but still remain members of that association of free nations which is known as the Commonwealth, which represents many different areas, colours and cultures, which has no rules or regulations and no constitution, which is a unity forged by the sharing of a heritage of common ideals and a love of freedom under law.

Over the last years, hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa have achieved independence and sovereignty, for which the credit must go to the statesmen of the United Kingdom. It is incredible that the British should be described here on occasion as "imperial and colonial masters", in view of this far-seeing policy which grants self-government so widely, and I am confident that our friends from Ghana and Malaya would be glad to invite comparison with what has happened to Hungary and to many other freedom-loving nations which have been subjugated by the U.S.S.R. in the past four decades.

#### Relations with United States

But our membership in the Commonwealth, while fundamental to our destiny, does not detract in any way from the closeness and neighbourliness of our relationships with the United States. We are joined with our neighbours in the United States by what I have called before our "built-in stabilizers" for unity, our traditional respect for the rights of man and our unswerving dedication to freedom. I think it is clearly established and is irrefutable that, if the United States was aggressive and sought territorial advantage and fomented war, as its enemies contend, Canada would not have maintained its existence as an independent nation.

# North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Then there is another phase of our policy—Canada's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which in our opinion constitutes a major bulwark against the forces of agression and to which Canada will adhere regardless of threats from whatever source they may emanate.

If the notes delivered by the U.S.S.R. since July 4 to our friends in the Federal Republic of Germany, Turkey, the United Kingdom, France and Norway are indicative of any new trend in Soviet policy, then in our opinion there is more need today than ever before for the maintenance of the unity of NATO. The repetition of spurious propaganda by the U.S.S.R. that the existence of NATO is a threat to world peace and that the existence of NATO is the reason why permanent peace has not been established is a travesty of reason. Canada wants peace, and if NATO had aggressive designs anywhere in the world Canada would not remain a member of that organization. Believing as we do, we intend to continue to support it with all the power at our command.

## Disarmament

Now I intend to say a few words with regard to the question of disarmament, because it is a matter of first importance to this Assembly. After nine years of stalemate after San Francisco, in 1954 Canada joined in co-sponsoring resolutions to get resolutions on disarmament before the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations. If that was necessary then, it is more necessary today, when the total amount being expended for war materials for defence, mobilization and manpower totals some \$85 billion per year.

What mankind fears today more than anything else is that war will come about suddenly and precipitately, without warning and without there being any opportunity for defence. The whole question of surprise attack is of pre-eminent importance to people everywhere in the world. Until the Second

World War took place, a surprise attack was almost impossible. No nation could conceal the mobilization of its forces, but today, when a nuclear attack could be mounted in a few hours and secrecy maintained until the atomic bombers appeared on the radar screens, the danger of a secret and surprise attack is one of the things that all mankind fears. And the danger of a secret and surprise attack has been multiplied with the potential development of the intercontinental ballistic missile.

The fear of surprise attack is the cause of the major tension of these days. For that reason there is a sombre urgency about the work of this General Assembly. Experience has taught us that no country ever possesses a monopoly of any device. What one country has today, the other nations will have tomorrow, and the day is not far distant, if this continues, when there will be armouries of these rockets. While a few years ago a new era was introduced by the development of nuclear weapons, today an even more frightening and awful time faces mankind. That is why I say that it is a matter of sombre urgency that this Assembly should act, and act effectively, if we are to bring about the control of the use of this dread menace, the ultimate engine of destruction.

While it is only the great powers that can afford the vast expense to build these earth-spanning missiles, small nations are concerned. Canada is vitally concerned, for we are the closest neighbour of the United States and the U.S.S.R. Our strategic position in the world, embracing as it does the Arctic area in which Canada owns and exercises sovereignty over great areas, makes Canada one of the most vulnerable nations in any future war.

I do not intend today to deal in any detail with the terms of the disarmament proposals that were put before the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission by the four Western powers, but I feel it well to refer for but a moment to the question of suspension of tests of nuclear and atomic weapons.

The suspension as provided for in the Western proposals would be for a year, conditional on a convention on disarmament being entered into, and this would be renewable for a second year if satisfactory progress had been made towards a cessation of the production of nuclear weapons. But there are well-intentioned people—many people—who believe that a ban on atomic tests is a panacea for all the ills of mankind. In all the clamour there has been over this, some have lost sight of the fact that the suspension of tests is not going to stop the stockpiling of nuclear weapons or the atomic armaments race. The only way to do this is to divert fissionable material from the manufacture of weapons to peaceful uses, and the Western proposals very sensibly linked an agreement to do this with a continuation of the suspension of the tests.

While treating the suspension of nuclear tests as a matter for immediate action, the 11-point Western proposals made such suspension dependent on the establishment of nuclear watching posts in the territories agreed on of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and other countries. It must be admitted too that the need for inspection is not fully understood by many well-meaning people, largely because of a popular view that atomic or hydrogen explosions can be detected anywhere in the world. According to the scientific opinions that I have had, that is not so.

As far as we are concerned in North America, the danger of surprise attack on or from North America would be through the Arctic regions. Canada and the United States have no aggressive designs against the U.S.S.R. or any other nation. We have nothing to fear from inspection of the Arctic regions and I speak now for Canada when I say that. We unequivocally render and will continue to render available for inspection all our northern and Arctic areas.

In addition to inspection, the other Western proposals also included in the first stage a limitation on the size of armed forces; a ban on the use of nuclear weapons except in the case of defence; and "international supervision" to ensure that the production of fissionable materials should be for peaceful uses only.

We believe that these proposals are eminently fair and workable, but for some reason the U.S.S.R. has cavalierly and contemptuously refused to consider them seriously. Surely they must realize that in the climate of distrust and fear which exists paper declarations, however pious their purpose, are not acceptable and that a prerequisite to disarmament must be an adequate system of inspection and control. The promise to disarm and to control the use and production of nuclear weapons without effective inspection to ensure that the promise is kept makes a caricature of reality.

We believe that disarmament unsupervised by inspection will be dangerous to those nations which have the habit of keeping their pledged word.

Believing that inspection is of the essence, I issued at the time of submission of the Western proposals a statement including the following:

"... The Canadian Government has agreed, if the U.S.S.R. will reciprocate, to the inclusion of either the whole or a part of Canada in an equitable system of aerial inspection and will do its utmost to ensure that the system works effectively. We consider that a useful start in providing safeguards against surprise attack could be made in the Arctic areas."

On the other hand, the U.S.S.R. has produced a multitude of propaganda plans for disarmament but always on its terms and always on the basis that effective inspection is out of the question. It generates hope in mankind; it refuses on its part, though, to co-operate in any way except on its terms.

The Western nations have gone more than half-way on the subject of disarmament from the beginning of the meetings of the Sub-Committee. For some reason the Soviets have refused to give any ground and insist on its programme. And I say with all the sincerity that I can bring to my words that we in Canada, in the strategic position in which we are, are willing to go to the utmost limit of safety and survival to bring about disarmament. What value is there in the undertaking of the Soviets not to use atomic or hydrogen weapons for a period of five years unless full inspection is possible and provided for?

Disarmament proposals without inspection are, in our opinion, meaning-less. Inspection is the key, and I ask this simple question because I think the proposition is as simple as this. I ask the representative of the U.S.S.R.: Why do you oppose effective inspection? If you have nothing to hide, why hide it? I think in general that that represents the thinking of free men everywhere.

There were hopes expressed in the month of June last and earlier that the disarmament talks would be effective. They ended without agreement, but they did not entirely fail. The positions of both sides were brought closer. I think that Sub-Committee must continue to operate. There have been suggestions that the Sub-Committee membership should be broadened. We would be in accord with any suggestions that its membership be broadened providing that that step would lead or even give hopes of leading to a quicker and better solution of this grave problem. And we go further than that. Canada is prepared to withdraw from the Sub-Committee. It has worked on it from the beginning. It will do anything at all, take any stand whatever short of its safety and its survival in order to bring about what must come if mankind is to continue to live—and that is a measure, and a considerable measure, of disarmament.

We consider that a salutary effect might be achieved by adding other powers; they may be capable of rendering assistance with the processes of seeking agreement that we have not been able to achieve. But let me say this: That geography alone should not be the basis for choosing additional members, for all members are not equally equipped to contribute towards the agreement for which we all devoutly hope. We recognize the anomalies of our own status as a permanent member of this Sub-Committee. We know that, because of the fact that we are unable to produce, we have not stood on equal terms with the other members, for we lack that responsibility and direct interest which should be of the essence of membership. I will say no more of that.

# **United Nations Emergency Force**

I do want to say something, however, in connection with one other matter that is of vital importance today—the United Nations Emergency Force. UNEF has had a stabilizing and tranquillizing influence in the Middle East. I am not a newly convinced convert to such a force, for I brought the suggestion for it before the House of Commons of Canada in January of 1956. I argued at that time that such a force could prevent the outbreak of war in the area in question, which today is served by that Force.

The Canadian Government is naturally deeply gratified that UNEF has had so large a measure of success in its endeavours, and Canada is willing to continue its contribution as long as it is considered necessary by the United Nations.

Canadians have a special pride in the fact that a Canadian, General Burns, has done his duty in so superb a manner as to have earned the approval and praise of the most objective of observers. He has done his work at personal sacrifice. My hope is that he will be able to continue to serve as commander even though his own personal interests, which he has always placed in the background, might otherwise dictate.

Canada is not unaware of the fact that Canadian troops make up some 1,200 of the total personnel of 6,000. I repeat what I said a moment ago: Canada will continue to be a strong supporter of the continuance of UNEF until its work is done.

We then come to the question of expenditures. The question of providing the necessary monies for the continuance of the Force suggests that an assessment among all nations of the United Nations would be in keeping with the service to peace to which this Force has contributed so much and with the declarations of the Charter of San Francisco.

I go further and say that out of the experience of UNEF it should be possible to evolve a system by which the United Nations will have at its disposal appropriate forces for similar services where ever they may be required. The creation of UNEF has provided a pilot project, if I may use that expression, for a permanent international force. Malignant diseases, however, are not cured by tranquillizers, and for that reason I still hold the view that only by the establishment of a permanent United Nations force—and I realize the uncertain and faltering steps that must be taken to achieve this—can many of the hopes of San Francisco be achieved.

## **United Nations Must Succeed**

I now wish to comment on the United Nations itself. I was present in a humble capacity at San Francisco in 1945. I believe in the United Nations, not because it has always succeeded but because it must succeed; it must go on from strength to strength or we perish. But that does not mean that bringing before the Assembly weaknesses now shows any desire to undermine or corrode it. I believe that we do not serve its high purposes by pretending that all is well when it is clear to everyone that all is not well. I do not take the cynical view that the United Nations is a failure. There have been many successes in its endeavours to keep the peace. But the major question today is whether we have had enough success for the terrifying needs of this age. We have had successes and we have had failures, but it is questionable whether, under the shadow of the dread menace of the latest nuclear weapons, we can afford any more major failures.

I spoke of the work of the last session. Much solid work was done at that session, and many new members deployed their forces in the cause of peace. But the United Nations found itself incapable of finding a solution to the Hungarian question. That was not because of the Charter; that was in spite of the Charter. The ineffectiveness of the action taken last year by the Assembly to assure justice to the Hungarians arose because of the existence of double standards in the United Nations membership rather than from any weakness in the Charter. But there are no double standards provided for in the Charter. Double standards are found not in the Charter but in the performance of some of its members. Some abide by the decisions; others do not. And there is no use in pretending that in all cases we, through the United Nations, can force recalcitrant members to behave as the Charter dictates. It is equally foolish to believe that we would have such power if the Charter were amended.

I believe that if the United Nations is to maintain its capacity to exercise an ameliorating influence on the problems of mankind it must be a flexible instrument. The United Nations must not become frozen by the creation of hostile blocs, which will have the result of stultifying efforts to find real and sensible solutions. There has been at the present session, I think, quite a movement against the bloc system, particularly in the votes that are being cast. It is healthy that member states should group together on a basis of common interest, consult with one another and, at times, adopt common policies. That is common sense. With an expanding membership, there is much to be said for

like-minded nations adopting like-minded positions and putting them forward, provided that the groups do not become blocs which would strangle the independent thinking of their members and prevent the solution of problems on considerations of merit. For blocs tend to create counter-blocs and, in the end, defeat their purposes.

I am not accusing any bloc. But it is a fact that new groups have been formed in the United Nations which are perhaps the inevitable result of older blocs that were created earlier.

As far as Canada is concerned, it is the firm determination of my delegation to resist the trend towards bloc development. Canada is a party to many associations, all of which we value highly—with our colleagues in the Commonwealth, with our allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with our neighbours in the Americas and across the Pacific. We shall work together with these nations when we share common views or policies. But we will not be a party in any way to any bloc which prevents us from judging issues on their merits as we see them.

In conclusion, I profess the profound hope that we in the United Nations will dedicate outselves anew to the high purposes and hopes of twelve years ago.

The United Nations will be true to the principles of the Charter when every nation, however powerful, does not permit itself the luxury of violating its principles or flouting its decisions. I remember as yesterday the inscription over the doorway to the hall at San Francisco where the United Nations had its beginning: "This monument eloquent of hopes realized and dreams come true", which mankind hoped would be the achievement of its supreme task—the establishment of a just and lasting peace. That is still the responsibility of the United Nations. Past failures or frustrations or cynicism must not be permitted to impede us in bringing about disarmament and an end to the suicidal armaments race. Past Assemblies have earned names descriptive of their major activities. There was the "Palestine Assembly", the "Korean Assembly". Mankind would breathe easier if this Assembly might be known in future years as the "Disarmament Assembly".

# Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference

General agreement that a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference should be held in 1958 was reached at a meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers held at Mont Tremblant, Que., from September 28 to October 1.

Fourteen delegates of ministerial rank, representing 11 Commonwealth countries, took part in the discussions, and will recommend to their governments that a full-scale Commonwealth conference be held at a convenient place and time next year.

The ministers attending were as follows: Australia, Sir Arthur Fadden, KCMG, Deputy Prime Minister and Treasurer; Ceylon, Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, Minister of Finance; Ghana, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance; India, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister of Finance; Federation of Malaya, Sir Henry Hau Shik Lee, CBE, Minister of Finance; New Zealand, Mr. T. L. Macdonald, Minister of External Affairs; Pakistan, Mr. Syed Amjad Ali, Minister of Finance; Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Mr. D. Macintyre, CBE, Minister of Finance; Union of South Africa, Mr. J. F. Naude, Minister of Finance; United Kingdom, Mr. Peter Thorneycroft, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir David Eccles, KCVO, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. Reginald Maudling, Paymaster-General; Canada, Mr. Donald Fleming, Minister of Finance; Mr. Gordon Churchill, Minister of Trade and Commerce.

# Address of Welcome

Delegates to the conference were welcomed by Mr. Fleming, who said, in part:

In the name of the Canadian people and the Canadian Government I greet all the visiting ministers and delegations and bid them a very warm welcome to Canada and to this Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference.

In the eyes of Canadians this is a very significant occasion. Although it has been the custom for some years to hold a conference of the finance ministers of the Commonwealth countries in Washington at the conclusion of the annual meetings of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund, this is the first time that such a meeting has been held in Canada.

We feel highly honoured by the acceptance by all Commonwealth countries of our invitation to attend this Conference. Of the eleven countries ten are represented by their Ministers of Finance, and New Zealand by its Minister of External Affairs. In addition to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the United Kingdom has sent the President of the Board of Trade and the Paymaster General. I am happy to share the representation of Canada with my esteemed colleague, the Minister of Trade and Commorce. The number of Commonwealth countries is growing, and we are particularly happy to welcome the representatives of the newest self-governing nations of the Commonwealth, Ghana and Malaya.

I feel I am in distinguished company. With the exception of my colleagues from Ghana and Malaya, I am, as I said in Washington last Tuesday, "the newest recruit to that group of virtuous men commonly called ministers of finance who, in due course, become round-shouldered from bearing many burdens and taking responsibility for everything that goes wrong at home and abroad." The senior Minister of Finance among us is the Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Fadden, Minister of Finance for Australia, who has a remarkable record of survival. He has introduced ten budgets in a post in which the political mortality rate is proverbially high.

The Conference today, in keeping with the practice of other years at such meetings, will devote its attention to consideration of the review by the Chancellor of the Exchequer

# COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

Delegates of ministerial rank at the Conference of Commonwealth finance ministers held September 28 - October 1 at Mont Tremblant, Que., were, left to right above:

Front row: Syed Amjad Ali, Minister of Finance (Pakistan), Mr. J. F. Naude, Minister of Finance (Union of South Africa); Mr. Peter Thorneycroft, Chancellor of the Exchequer (United Kingdom); Mr. Donald M. Fleming, Minister of Finance (Canada); Conference Chairman; Sir Arthur Fadden, KCMG, Deputy Prime Minister and Treasurer (Australia); Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister of Finance (India); Sir David Eccles, KCVO, President of the Board of Trade (United Kingdom).

Back row: Mr. D. Macintyre, CBE, Minister of Finance (Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland); Mr. T. L. Macdonald, Minister of External Affairs (New Zealand); Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, Minister of Finance (Ceylon); Mr. Gordon Churchill, Minister of Finance (United Kingdom); Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Winister of Finance (Ghana); Shik Lee, CBE, Minister of Finance (Federation of Malaya).



of economic questions and the proposed free trade area. On Monday the Conference will commence its consideration of the Canadian proposals for expanding trade and economic relations within the Commonwealth.

Why has Canada asked the Commonwealth finance ministers to meet on Canadian soil? Why have we very earnestly submitted to this Conference proposals for expanding trade and economic relations among the Commonwealth countries? Fundamentally, it is because we believe in the Commonwealth and its destiny.

We survey the Commonwealth's growth and development, its history of constructive achievement, its contribution to peace, freedom, goodwill, friendliness, decency, stability and good faith in the world. I say to you that Canada is proud to be a member of this Commonwealth.

We recognize also that the Commonwealth has brought great advantages to Canada and to the world. Undoubtedly it has similarly brought advantages to every other country within its family circle. We all derive important benefits from our membership in it—mutual assistance, trade and economic advantages and other benefits which can be measured only in terms of the spirit of man. The stature of each in the world and in the councils of the nations has been enhanced by its membership in the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth link subtracts nothing from the complete independence which each of our countries cherishes; it asks us to sacrifice nothing of the individuality of each country. The remarkable fact is that somehow the Commonwealth seems to thrive on diversity. Our membership means not freedom minus something, but freedom plus something. Without subtracting anything from the importance of the other great international organizations of our time the Commonwealth attachment is in the view of those for whom I speak infinitely precious.

Why do we ask the Conference to discuss trade and economic relations? The Commonwealth countries are widely scattered across the face of the globe. Their material interests are often widely different, sometimes even divergent. Formidable difficulties beset our path. Canada is the only country represented here which is not on the sterling system. Facing some or all of the countries represented here are problems of exchange, trade imbalances, balance of payment difficulties, trade restrictions, and shortage of capital for essential development needs. Yet we Canadians believe that this family can do more than is yet being done to expand its common and mutual trade and economic interests and by joint action increase the mutual benefits it offers to its members; and that is what we propose very seriously to endeavour to do.

One of the advantages of being a member of a family is that we can talk frankly to each other. Let us talk to each other in just that way, as we devote our efforts to serving the goal and purpose of making our Commonwealth attachment more significant and beneficial to all

If this Conference contributes to strengthening and fructifying the Commonwealth I believe it will have contributed worthily to the noble causes of freedom, peace, prosperity and goodwill in the world.

# The Communiqué

The following communiqué was issued at the close of the discussions:

The meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers at Mont Tremblant ended today. The ministers welcomed the presence for the first time of two new members, the Finance Ministers of Ghana and the Federation of Malaya. The meetings were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding.

The following are the agreed conclusions on the three questions that were discussed:

#### 1. The Pound Sterling

A strong pound sterling is vital to the stability and economic progress not only of the Sterling Area and its individual members, but also of the world trading community as a whole. At this meeting the ministers warmly supported the recent statements on sterling made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in London and Washington, and and recognized that its strength depends upon the joint and individual policies of the members of the Sterling Area. Essentially this involves each member country living within its available resources. This does not—and should not—imply a static policy, for the resources of each country can be augmented by suitable policies directed towards strenghtening its competitive position, increasing its savings, and promoting freer and expanding trade and payments and a larger flow of international capital.

#### 2. European Economic Integration

The ministers reviewed the progress made towards the ratification of the Treaty of Rome, establishing the European Economic Community, and the effect of this Treaty on the interests of the Commonwealth. They noted that the Treaty would receive consideration in international organizations.

United Kingdom Ministers reported on the progress made following the United Kingdom initiative for the establishment of a Free Trade Area in Europe. The Commonwealth Ministers recognized that the establishment of an outward-looking Free Trade Area in Europe would broaden the advantages to be derived from economic integration in Europe, not only by the United Kingdom but by all the other participants. This was regarded as important as it could contribute to agreed Commonwealth policies of expanding world trade.

It was also agreed that there is need for effective machinery for continuous consultation among Commonwealth countries on matters related to the European economic Community and the proposed Free Trade Area.

United Kingdom Ministers reaffirmed the undertakings previously given by their Government about the safeguarding of Commonwealth interests in the United Kingdom market for foodstuffs, drink and tobacco.

#### 3. Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference

The ministers approved the proposal of the Canadian Government that a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference should be held at a convenient place and time in 1958 and agreed to recommend this proposal to their governments. The changing pattern in trade, production and development throughout the world presents all Commonwealth countries with new problems and new opportunities. They considered that the time is most opportune to assess these problems and opportunities jointly with particular reference to:

- (a) the significance for Commonwealth countries of changes taking place in world trade;
- (b) measures to expand trade between Commonwealth countries;
- (c) progress towards the common objective of freer trade and payments;
- (d) the progress and direction of economic expansion in the less-developed countries of the Commonwealth and the sources of capital and technical assistance that may aid in their further development;
- (e) economic and trade problems in regard to agriculture and other primary production;
- (f) the prospects and implications, especially for Commonwealth countries, of the European Economic Community and the proposed Free Trade Area;
- (g) arrangements for continuing Commonwealth consultations on economic matters

It was agreed that the detailed preparatory work for the Conference, including the formulation of the agenda and other procedural matters, should be entrusted to a committee of officials and that this committee should be convened in London early in 1958.

# Statement by Prime Minister

Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker issued the following statement October 1:

I am sure all Canadians will generally welcome warmly the announcement at the conclusion of the conference of Commonwealth ministers at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, today, that a conference which I have long advocated, to study Commonwealth trade and economic problems, will be held next year.

This conference will be the culmination of the proposals I placed before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference last June in London.

We are indebted to the Mont Tremblant Conference for the considered comments made in the final communiqué on the subject of the pound sterling and European economic integration.

My colleagues and I are grateful to the Ministers of Finance and of Trade and Commerce, and to the officials of their and other government departments concerned, who attended the Mont Tremblant meetings on behalf of Canada.

I extend especially warm greetings to all the delegates of the other Commonwealth countries, and I am looking forward to meeting them here on Wednesday. I trust their stay in Canada has been a pleasant one, and I wish them, their advisors, and their staffs, Godspeed on their journey home.

# **Canada-United Kingdom Trade Talks**

The following statement was issued October 4 at the conclusion of trade talks held in Ottawa by United Kingdom and Canadian cabinet ministers following the meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers:

The talks which have been proceeding in Ottawa between the Canadian and United Kingdom ministers on the subject of trade between the two countries ended today.

It was the agreed conclusion that an expansion in Anglo-Canadian trade is a primary object of policy of both Governments, and consideration was given to methods whereby this object can best be achieved. Among proposals discussed with this aim in view was the proposal of the United Kingdom Ministers for a free trade area with Canada. It was emphasized by the United Kingdom Ministers that this proposal involved not only the progressive removal of tariffs, but also a speedier reduction in the quantitative restrictions now applied by the United Kingdom against imports from Canada. It was also emphasized by the United Kingdom Ministers that their proposal was a long-term one and not designed to come into full effect save over a period of twelve to fifteen years. The United Kingdom Ministers recognized that this proposal raised serious and complex problems and difficulties. In view of the long-term nature of the proposal the United Kingdom Ministers did not ask the Canadian Ministers for an expression of their views on the proposal. The ministers for both countries therefore addressed themselves to the immediate problem of expanding the beneficial two-way flow of trade between Canada and the United Kingdom.

It was agreed that in a number of ways the Canadian Government can assist United Kingdom sales and earnings in Canada with full regard for the interests of Canadian producers, and can thereby assist, within the framework of existing United Kingdom policy and undertakings, towards the reduction of remaining United Kingdom restrictions against importations from Canada. These ways include:—

- (a) a review of Government purchasing in Canada, with a view to encouraging and facilitating sales by United Kingdom manufacturers of goods now imported from non-Commonwealth sources;
- (b) a revision of the Canadian tariff relating to exemption of tourist purchases by Canadians making visits overseas; and
- (c) a visit by a high-level trade delegation from Canada to the United Kingdom.
- 1. Canadian Government purchasing falls into three categories: defence purchases, ordinary civilian purchases by the Canadian Government, and other types of purchases including those of Crown Companies. Canadian Ministers undertook to institute a detailed review, to be made in collaboration with the United Kingdom Trade Commissioner Service in Canada, of those areas of Government purchasing where it seems reasonable to hope and expect that United Kingdom firms would be able to meet Canadian import requirements satisfactorily. The United Kingdom Ministers emphasized that they do not expect orders to be placed with United Kingdom suppliers unless their products are fully competitive.
- 2. As regards defence purchases, the position is likely to continue to be influenced by the long lead-time involved in existing defence orders and in developing new types of equipment, combined with limitations on defence expenditures. The Canadian Government will welcome any possibility of increasing purchases from the United Kingdom of equipment now imported from non-Commonwealth sources.
- 3. In regard to sales by United Kingdom firms of civilian items to Canadian Government departments and agencies, Canadian Ministers have undertaken that purchasing arrangements will be reviewed immediately. Close contact will be maintained with the United Kingdom Trade Commissioners across Canada who, in turn, will acquaint United Kingdom exporters with new opportunities that can be opened up, with respect to goods now imported from non-Commonwealth sources.
- 4. The Canadian Ministers undertook to call for a review of the purchasing arrangements of Crown Corporations and other Government agencies with a view to encouraging purchases from the United Kingdom, wherever this is practical and economical, of goods now imported from non-Commonwealth sources.
- 5. United Kingdom Ministers expressed the hope that some measure could be taken to encourage more Canadian tourists to visit the United Kingdom and make more purchases there. In this connection it was noted with satisfaction that, a few months ago, the

United Kingdom authorities had found it possible to make available a currency allowance of £100 to travellers from the United Kingdom wishing to visit Canada.

- 6. Canada now allows Canadians who are out of the country for at least forty-eight hours to import \$100 worth of purchases abroad duty-free every four months. This tourist exemption is of considerably less benefit to tourists making longer but less frequent visits overseas. The Canadian Ministers undertook to give sympathetic consideration to enlarging the benefit of this exemption to tourists visiting the United Kingdom and other overseas countries.
- It was agreed by the ministers for both countries that a high-level trade delegation from Canada should visit the United Kingdom at an early date with a view to stimulating purchases from United Kingdom sources of goods now imported from non-Common-wealth countries. This trade mission will include leading representatives of business, industry, labour, agriculture and other primary production from all areas of Canada.

The ministers for both countries expressed their gratification at the decision taken at Mont Tremblant earlier this week to hold a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference next year and look forward to fruitful results of benefit to all countries of the Commonwealth.

#### AUSTRALIA-CANADA AGREEMENT

An agreement between the Commonwealth of Australia and Canada for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to income taxes was concluded at Mont Tremblant, Que., on October 1, 1957.

The agreement was signed by Sir Arthur Fadden, KCMG, Deputy Prime Minister and Treasurer of Australia, and Mr. Donald Fleming, Minister of Finance of Canada. Mr. W. R. Crocker, Australian High Commissioner, and Mr. Gordon Churchill, Minister of Trade and Commerce of Canada, also participated in the signing ceremony.

The agreement provides generally that each country retains the right to tax income leaving that country, while at the same time undertaking to grant relief from taxation on income in respect of which a tax has already been imposed in the other country.

This agreement will come into force on the date on which the instruments of ratification are exchanged.

# **Canada and the United Nations**

# Twelfth Session of the General Assembly

The Twelfth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations convened in New York on September 17. In its first two weeks the Assembly elected a new president and other officers, unanimously approved the admission of the Federation of Malaya as the 82nd member of the United Nations, decided once again not to seat representatives of the People's Republic of China, and elected Canada, Japan and Panama to two-year terms in the Security Council.

During the general debate, which began on September 19, representatives of the member states expounded their countries' views on the international situation and on items on the Assembly's agenda of particular interest to them. Prime Minister John Diefenbaker spoke for Canada on September 23.(\*)

On September 26 the Assembly unanimously endorsed a recommendation by the Security Council that the term of office of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold be renewed for another five years beginning April 10, 1958.

The composition of the Canadian Delegation is as follows: Representatives—Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs (Chairman of the Delegation); Mr. Wallace B. Nesbitt, Member of Parliament for Oxford, Parliamentary Assistant to the Prime Minister (Vice-Chairman of the Delegation); Dr. R. A. MacKay, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations; Mrs. Harry S. Quart, MBE; Mr. Frank Lennard, Member of Parliament for Wentworth; Alternate Representatives—Mr. H. O. White, Member of Parliament for Middlesex East; Mr. T. Ricard, Member of Parliament for St. Hyacinthe-Bagot; Mr. Douglas Jung, Member of Parliament for Vancouver Centre; Mr. Escott Reid, former Canadian High Commissioner to India; Mr. W. D. Matthews, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mr. Benjamin Rogers, Canadian Ambassador to Peru.

Advisors for the Delegation are drawn from the Department of External Affairs, the Department of Finance and the Canadian Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York.

#### Elections

Sir Leslie Knox Munro, of New Zealand, was unanimously elected President of the Assembly, succeeding Prince Wan Waithayakon. Up until the day the Assembly began it was expected that Sir Leslie would be opposed by Dr. Charles Malik, of Lebanon; however, Dr. Malik withdrew his candidacy at the last moment. Representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the U.S.S.R., China, Ceylon, Paraguay and Tunisia were elected Vice-Presidents.

The following were named Chairmen of Committees: First Committee (Political and Security) Djalal Abdoh, (Iran); Special Political Committee, Emilio Arenales Catalan, (Guatemala); Second Committee (Economic and Financial) Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia); Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Mrs. Aase Lionaes, (Norway); Fourth Committee

<sup>(\*)</sup> See page 282 for text of Prime Minister Diefenbaker's address.

(Trusteeship) Thanat Khoman, (Thailand); Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) W. H. J. Van Asch Van Wikej, (Netherlands); Sixth Committee (Legal) Dr. Santiago Perez Perez (Venezuela).

Burma, Canada, Iceland, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union were named to the Credentials Committee.

On October 1 Canada was elected by 72 votes out of 78 to a seat in the Security Council of the United Nations for a two-year term beginning January 1, 1958. Panama, with 74 votes, and Japan, with 55 votes, were also elected to the Council for two-year terms. Canada had also served on the Security Council in 1948 and 1949.

# Admission of Malaya

The Federation of Malaya, which had come into existence as an independent entity on August 31, 1957,(\*) was the only nation seeking admission to the United Nations at the beginning of the twelfth session. Its admission had been unanimously recommended by the Security Council and the resolution endorsing this recommendation, co-sponsored by all the members of the Commonwealth, was unanimously passed by the Assembly. The admission of Malaya brought the total membership of the United Nations to 82.

In a speech supporting Malaya's admission to the United Nations, the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. Smith, said in part:

A few weeks ago, a member of the Canadian Government, the Honourable J. M. Macdonnell, was present as a representative of my country at the impressive ceremonies at Kuala Lumpur on the occasion when Malaya became one of the independent members of the Commonwealth of Nations. At that time, the Canadian Government expressed its pleasure in welcoming Malaya as another independent member of that Commonwealth. I reiterate that welcome today to the distinguished representative of Malaya who has taken a seat in the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is most gratifying to me personally that my first utterance in the General Assembly should be, on this happy occasion, to welcome a new member of the Commonwealth to membership in the United Nations. The Canadian Government considered it an honour to take part in the historic ceremony at Kuala Lumpur, and it is for me a great privilege and pleasure to express today Canada's gratification over the election of Malaya to membership of the United Nations.

Progress toward the goal of self-government and full independence in Malaya has been an orderly and constitutional development, purposefully supported and assisted by the United Kingdom at every stage. This evolution is one which Canadians are especially able to appreciate and understand. We qualify very readily as expert witnesses in this context. Our own growth to nationhood has followed the peaceful pattern of gradual adjustment of responsibilities and relationships in a friendly and co-operative way. And it is, I think, fair to observe that the relationship between Canada and the United Kingdom which developed over the years of our evolution to nationhood has set, to some extent, the pattern for what is now the worldwide association of free nations to which we are proud to belong, and that is another example of the Britannic policy that produces growth from colony to nation rather than the retrogressive or backward step of going from nation to colony. In warmly welcoming Malaya to full sovereignty, national freedom, and membership in the United Nations, the Canadian Delegation is also applauding the United Kingdom for the enlightened attitude which has helped the Malayan people in their own efforts to achieve this happy result. Speaking for Canada, I can say that we are sure that this new state will make a most useful contribution to the work of the United Nations and therefore to the long-sought goal, the peace of the world.

# Adoption of the Agenda

On the second day of the session the Assembly began considering its agenda. The General Committee of the Assembly had not approved a recommendation by India that the Assembly consider "the representation of China

<sup>(\*)</sup> E. A. Bulletin, September 1957. See also page 301.

in the United Nations". Instead, the Committee had adopted a proposal put forward by the United States, which declared a moratorium on any discussion regarding the seating of Communist China. On September 24, the Assembly by a vote of 47 to 27 with 6 absentions approved the Committee's decision not to discuss the question of Chinese representation. Canada and all other Commonwealth countries, except India and Ghana, voted with the majority.

The General Assembly also approved without opposition the inclusion of an item on Cyprus under the heading "the Cyprus Question".

Items relating to Algeria, West Irian, the treatment of Indians in South Africa and race conflict in South Africa were also included in the agenda. The representatives of the Union of South Africa opposed the inscription of the two South African items.

#### Disarmament

During the general debate several representatives, including the United States Secretary of State, the Soviet Foreign Minister, the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary and the Belgian Foreign Minister, as well as Prime Minister Diefenbaker, devoted a substantial proportion of their statements to disarmament. The agenda item on disarmament now consists of four parts: (a) the report of the Disarmament Commission; (b) expansion of the membership of the Commission and its Sub-Committee; (c) collective action to inform the peoples of the world as to the dangers of the armaments race; and (d) discontinuance under international control of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons. In anticipation of the disarmament debate in the First Committee a number of draft resolutions pertaining to these matters were circulated by the Delegations of Belgium, India and the Soviet Union.

# Special Session on Hungary

On September 13, the General Assembly of the United Nations, by a vote of 60 in favour to 10 opposed, with ten abstentions, condemned the U.S.S.R. for its ruthless armed intervention in Hungary in October and November 1956, and denounced both the U.S.S.R. and the present regime in Hungary for their continued defiance of United Nations resolutions on Hungary (1).

The condemnation of Soviet actions in Hungary was embodied in a resolution introduced on September 10 during the resumed eleventh session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Assembly had been convened to consider again the events which took place in Hungary last year and to dicuss the report issued on June 20, 1957 by the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary (2). The resolution was co-sponsored by 36 member nations, including Canada, and in its final form read as follows:

The General Assembly.

Recalling its resolution 1132 (xi) of 10 January, 1957, establishing a Special Committee, consisting of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay, to investigate, and to establish and maintain direct observation in Hungary and elesewhere, taking testimony, collecting evidence and receiving information, as appropriate,

Having now received the unanimous report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, (2)

Regretting that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities in Hungary have failed to co-operate in any way with the special committee,

<sup>(1)</sup> External Affairs Bulletin—November 1956 and January 1957.
(2) External Affairs Bulletin—June-July 1957.

- 1. Expresses its appreciation to the Special Committee for its work;
- 2. Endorses the report of the Special Committee;
- 3. Notes the conclusion of the Special Committee that the events which took place in Hungary in October and November of 1956 constituted a spontaneous national uprising;
- 4. Finds that the conclusions reached by the Special Committee on the basis of its examination of all available evidence confirm that:
  - (a) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in violation of the United Nations Charter, has deprived Hungary of its liberty and political independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental human rights;
  - (b) The present Hungarian regime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;
  - (c) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has carried out mass deportations of Hungarian citizens to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;
  - (d) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has violated its obligations under the Geneva Conventions of 1949;
  - (e) The present authorities in Hungary have violated the human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Treaty of Peace with Hungary;
- 5. Condemns these acts and the continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly.
  - 6. Reiterates its concern with the continuing plight of the Hungarian people.
- 7. Considers that further efforts must be made to achieve the objectives of the United Nations in regard to Hungary in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly.
- 8. Calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities in Hungary in view of evidence contained in the report to desist from repressive measures against the Hungarian people; to respect the liberty and political independence of Hungary and the Hungarian people's enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms, and to ensure the return to Hungary of those Hungarian citizens who have been deported to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
- 9. Requests the President of the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly, H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithayakon, as the special representative of the General Assembly on the Hungarian problem, to take such steps as he deems appropriate, in view of the findings of the Special Committee, to achieve the objectives of the United Nations in accordance with resolutions of the General Assembly, to consult as appropriate with the Special Committee during the course of his endeavours, and to report and make recommendations as he may deem advisable to the General Assembly;
- 10. Decides to place the Hungarian item on the provisional agenda of the Twelfth Session of the General Assembly.

The representative of Hungary endeavoured to have the discussion terminated on the grounds that the report violated article 3, para 7 of the United Nations Charter, i.e. that the matter under discussion came entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary. The President of the Assembly, however, ruled that consideration of the item should continue. The representatives of the U.S.S.R., India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and Poland also spoke against the resolution.

On September 12, Canada's Permanent Delegate to the United Nations, Dr. R. A. MacKay, made the following statement:

The Canadian Delegation is one of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution now before this resumed session of the 11th General Assembly. I wish to set out briefly why we are supporting this resolution, and what we hope can be achieved.

The United Nations has already considered repeatedly and at length the events which took place in Hungary last year. Time and again the United Nations has called upon the Government of the U.S.S.R. to cease its intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary and to permit the Hungarian people to select their own government in their own way, and to determine their own institutions. At an early stage action taken by the United Nations was in response to an urgent appeal from the legitimate government of Hungary. As we all know that government was stifled by armed intervention of the Soviet Union and a regime answerable only to the U.S.S.R. was installed. The General Assembly

also took action at its second emergency session and its 11th regular session to organize relief for the victims of the violent events in Hungary and to provide homes for Hungarian refugees. More than 35,000 have found a new home in Canada.

To our great regret, the Soviet authorities, as well as the new Hungarian government which they installed by their intervention in Hungary, have flouted the opinion of the world community expressed in various resolutions adopted by large majorities in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The U.S.S.R., and its puppet Hungarian government, have chosen instead to shield themselves behind the myth that the violence in Hungary resulted from some kind of intervention from the Western side. This explanation made last autumn, and repeated again ad nauseam in this present session, is, I submit, an insult to the intelligence of this Assembly.

Our hope last autumn was that the U.S.S.R. would heed an indignant world and would reconcile itself at least to important adjustments in the direction of national autonomy and recognition of genuine sovereignty for the Hungarian state. Unfortunately, the U.S.S.R. lost the opportunity last autumn to put this problem on the way to a moderate and constructive solution. We have no evidence that since then it has taken any real steps in this direction.

Since no response was forthcoming to the United Nations efforts to meet the emergency situation of last year, this Assembly established the Special Committee whose report is now before us. The main facts of a spontaneous national movement towards independence in Hungary and the suppression of this movement by Soviet armed force were already painfully clear to everyone. The Special Committee has now documented these basic facts in its highly detailed account of the day by day, and even hour by hour, events in Budapest last October and November (Canada made a modest contribution to the information in the reports by facilitating the receipt of evidence by the Committee from some of the large number of Hungarian refugees now in Canada). I wish to take this opportunity to express my delegation's thanks to all the members of the Committee—to the Hon. Mr. Anderson of Denmark, who was its Chairman; to Ambassador Shann of Australia, its rapporteur; to Ambassador Gunewardene of Ceylon; to Ambassador Slim of Tunisia; and to Ambassador Febregat of Uruguay. The significant fact is that this Committee, so widely representative of various groupings within the United Nations, has submitted a completely unanimous report.

The Committee's report is a sober and factual account of what happened in Hungary during those tragic days last year. Its conclusions flow simply and directly from the mass of facts obtained from a great number of witnesses. No one can honestly and seriously challenge the truth of the terrible story which the Special Committee has put before the world. The common people of Hungary—students, workers, ordinary soldiers—took action, at first by completely peaceful demonstrations, to demand internal reforms and freedom from foreign domination. The Soviet-dominated security police began the violence by firing on a peaceful assembly of the common people of Hungary. In response to this a whole people rose up, in what has been called a miracle of unity, to sweep away a corrupt and foreign-dominated regime. For a few brief days Hungary had a government responsive to the will of the people of Hungary. In those days the new Hungarian government began successfully to restore order and to revive freedom in Hungary.

But from the very beginning of these events the ominous shadow of the Red Army was cast over Hungary. Soviet troops and tanks moved across the frontier in even greater numbers. In spite of a Soviet pretense of willingness to negotiate with Premier Nagy for the withdrawal of all Soviet forces, at about midnight on November 3, we read in the report, General Serov, Head of Soviet security forces, arrested the Hungarian negotiators, and Soviet tanks moved forward into the streets of Budapest. What followed was a ruthless and brutal attack on the people of Hungary. A great power, the U.S.S.R., sent its armed forces to crush and destroy a popular movement for freedom in a small neighbouring country. On the basis of this terrbile intervention a new regime was installed in Budapest. The Hungarian nation has been reduced to the status of a colony of the U.S.S.R.

The draft resolution, of which Canada is a co-sponsor, and which I am certain will be approved by a very large majority, is not a negative, destructive or propagandist document. It is a realistic document. It indicates clearly the essential responsibility of the U.S.S.R. for what has happened and is happening in this part of Eastern Europe. It does not envisage any action which is not in accord with the legitimate national interests of the U.S.S.R.

The sponsors have not sought in this resolution to do anything to intensify discord between rival power groups. But the Assembly cannot fail to condemn continued refusal to comply with its resolutions, nor can it fail to condemn the flagrant and cruel disregard of human rights which members of the United Nations pledge themselves to uphold. We endorse the conclusions in the Committee's report. In proposing that a special representative of the General Assembly should be nominated to take such steps as he deems

appropriate to achieve the objectives of the United Nations we are seeking to emphasize a constructive and forward looking approach to this difficult question. We can think of no one more suitable to carry this responsibility than the distinguished President of this

The Soviet Union is one of the great powers of the world. It has a special position in the United Nations as one of the permanent members of the Security Council which I suggest entails special responsibilities. In advancing and supporting this resolution, it is our hope that it will help to induce the U.S.S.R., one of the most important members of our organization, to take steps to permit a moderate and reasonable adjustment of the situation in Hungary, so that the legitimate aspirations of the Hungarian people for independence and sovereignty may be met. Justice for Hungary must be a continuing concern of the United Nations.

## Other UN Activities

Trusteeship Council—On September 13 the Trusteeship Council met to consider the future of French Administered Togoland. The Council based its discussions on the Report submitted by the United Nations Commission to French Togoland on which Canada was a member. On September 19 the Council decided to transmit this report to the Assembly, and on the following day it adopted its report to the Assembly.

Security Council—On September 24, the Security Council resumed consideration of the Kashmir question.



MEET IN OTTAWA

Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, chats with Chief Kola Balogun, Minister of Research and Information of the Federal Nigerian Government, during the Chief's visit to Ottawa early this month.

# **Malayan Independence Ceremonies**

By R.W. Clark

As the clock on the Secretariat Building in Kuala Lumpur began to toll the hour of midnight on August 30, a military band on the Padang (Town Square) broke into the strains of "God Save the Queen", and the Union Jack on the Secretariat Building was slowly lowered for the last time. A moment later, the same band played Malaya's new "Negra Ku" (My Country) and the new eleven-striped Malayan flag was proudly unfurled to the cheers of the thousands of citizens gathered around the Padang. The official Proclamation of Independence was not read until the following morning but, to the majority of the Malayans assembled in front of their Moorish-styled, white and cream Secretariat Building, this simple ceremony marked the end of British "domination" which had begun in 1786 when the Sultan of Kedah ceded the island of Penang to the East India Company.

As the Malayan flag billowed out under the spotlights, Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of this tenth member of the Commonwealth of Nations, gave a brief impassioned speech, to which the cheering audience responded with the cry "Merdeka!" (Independence). Although there had been rumours that the flag-lowering ceremony might be the occasion for an anti-British demonstration by radicals of the Malayan independence movement, the remainder of the midnight rally passed in an orderly manner and in a mood of subdued excitement.

This mood of subdued excitement appeared to prevail throughout the majority of the events in the week-long celebration of Malayan independence. It was obvious that many among the thousands of Malayans who had congregated in Kuala Lumpur, while welcoming the new status of their Federation, were aware of the problems facing the fledgling nation. The excitement was therefore tempered by the knowledge that nearly 2,000 hard-core Communist terrorists remained in the jungle and that Malaya's future as a multiracial state would present further difficulties. The Malayan leaders, however, in their speeches, referred with pride to the advances made by the Federation since July, 1955 when the first federal elections were held, and prophesied that "from henceforth every loyal Malayan may hold his head high."

#### Reason for Pride

The Malayan leaders had just reason for pride, because their leadership had allowed Malaya to advance towards self government far more rapidly and more smoothly than even the most optimistic observer would have been willing to forecast ten years earlier. At that time Malaya had been suffering crippling raids from roaming bands of Communist terrorists, numbering almost 8,000 members at the peak of the campaign. Utilizing various techniques, including a vigorous military campaign, and a number of progressive social and economic policies, the Federation Government had broken the back of the "emergency." The new government, which took office after the 1955 elections and which was based on an alliance between the major political parties of the three largest racial groups (Malay, Chinese and Indian), sent a delegation to a Constitutional Conference in London in January, 1956. As a result of this



AT MALAYAN CEREMONIES

Mr. James Macdonnell, Minister without Portfolio, right, who represented Canada at the celebration to mark the attainment of independence by the Federation of Malaya and its accession to the Commonwealth of Nations, as he is about to be presented to HRH the Duke of Gloucester, representative of the Queen at the ceremony.

Conference, in June of the same year the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission (Reid Commission) commenced work. The report of this Commission, published in February 1957, recommended a form of constitution for a fully self-governing and independent Federation of Malaya. A further conference in London in May reached final agreement on independence for the Federation. August 31, therefore, was the culmination of a relatively rapid rise to self-government.

The Malayan Government had invited many other governments to share in its historic moment by sending delegations to Kuala Lumpur to witness the ceremonies. As a result, a group of Canadians, headed by Mr. J. M. Macdonnell, Minister without Portfolio, Special Envoy to the Malayan Independence Ceremonies, were present at the birth of the first South-East Asian member of the Commonwealth. Other members of Canada's delegation included Mr. G. R. C. Heasman, Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr. F. G. Ballachey, of the Department of External Affairs, and Mr. M. P. Carson, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner in Singapore. Also

present were Mr. R. W. Clark and Miss K. Richardson, of the Department of External Affairs, and four newspapermen: Mr. Robert Taylor, *Toronto Daily Star;* Mr. Langevin Cote, *Toronto Globe and Mail;* Miss Dorothy Howarth, *Toronto Telegram;* and Mr. Robert Lansdale, Federal News Photo Service. The group travelled to and from Malaya in the RCAF C5 aircraft which had been used for similar trips in the past.

# Visits by Mr. Macdonnell

Mr. Macdonnell, as the first cabinet minister of the new Government to visit this area since the recent elections, took this opportunity to pay brief official or non-official calls in various countries en route. Visits of one day or more were made in Honolulu, Manila, Singapore, New Delhi, Karachi and London. The C5 also made overnight or refueling stops in Minneapolis, San Francisco, Wake, Guam, Beirut, Shannon and Gander.

The most memorable part of the brief visit to Hawaii was probably the tour of Pearl Harbour in a United States Navy launch. Sharp memories of December 1941 were recalled by the sight of the rusting hulk of the "Arizona". The harbour has, of course, been restored, and the very extensive installations gave the visitors some idea of the target which must have been available to the Japanese bombers.

At each stop en route the Minister and his party were impressed with the genuine hospitality of the local inhabitants and with the willingness of any Canadian representatives resident in the area to do everything possible for the Canadian Delegation. Both these characteristics were visible in Manila, where the group enjoyed a brief rest stop.

In Singapore the touring Canadian Minister visited the local Boys' Town, a high school and vocational training school run by the Brothers of St. Gabriel, many of whom come from the Province of Quebec; stopped at the Ford Assembly Plant which is a subsidiary of the Ford Motor Company of Canada; and inspected the new Polytechnic Institute which, when completed, will receive \$50,000 worth of technical equipment from Canada. The short visit to Singapore was concluded with a reception given by local Commonwealth and consular representatives in honour of visiting delegations en route to Kuala Lumpur. Among the well-known residents of Singapore who attended this function were the Governor, Sir Robert Browne Black, the Chief Minister, Mr. Lim Yew Hock, and the former Chief Minister, Mr. David Marshall.

# Smoothness and Efficiency

Kuala Lumpur, of course, was the highlight of the trip. The most outstanding feature of the celebrations became apparent as soon as the C5 landed at the Malayan capital—this was the smoothness and efficiency with which every function was carried out. The ceremonies were masterpieces of forethought and planning and augured well for the future of the new government. From the time that the Canadian aircraft taxied up to the modern air terminal, which had been draped with red, white and blue bunting and flew the Canadian Ensign for the occasion, until the Delegation boarded the aircraft once more, everything possible was done to ensure the comfort and enjoyment of the visitors. Malaya had a good representation of distinguished visitors for its birthday. The Queen, recognized as Head of the Commonwealth by the new Federation, was represented by their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess

of Gloucester, accompanied by His Royal Highness Prince William. Among the other distinguished visitors were the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike; the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom, the the Right Honourable, the Viscount Kilmuir; the French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Maurice Faure; the Minister for External Affairs for Australia, Mr. R. G. Casey; the Minister for External Affairs for New Zealand, Mr. T. L. Macdonald, and the Under-Secretary of State for the United States, Mr. Christian A. Herter.

Kuala Lumpur was decked in festive fashion for the occasion. The city of 300,000, which celebrated its 100th birthday this year, had been scrubbed, polished and painted until it gleamed, and then bunting, flags, and decorative lighting had been distributed to complete the party atmosphere. The city bulged at the seams with visiting delegations from approximately sixty states and with thousands of Malayans who had flocked into the capital. And yet, in spite of the fact that the huge crowds might be expected to bring chaos, the planning done beforehand resulted in a minimum of delay or confusion. The happy, jostling crowds moved easily and expectantly from one event to another during the celebrations.

Ceremonies and celebrations had been scheduled to fill most of the waking hours from August 30 until September 4 when the Canadian Delegation departed. It is impossible to paint in words the colour, pageantry and spectacle that filled the days and nights. In addition to the flag-lowering ceremony mentioned earlier, four other outstanding ceremonies took place. The Malays are a sports-loving people and as a preliminary to their independence they opened their dream-stadium. From a beflagged dais under the huge winged canopy of the brick and stone oval, Tunku Abdul Rahman declared the Merdeka Stadium open and the structure resounded to the cheers of 25,000 school children and visitors. Then 1,500 children in white shorts and singlets ran onto the field to present a massed drill display. The new stadium was the site, on the following morning, where the moving ceremony of the Proclamation of Independence took place. Here, after the playing of "God Save the Queen" as a final tribute to Her Majesty the Oueen at the close of an era in Malayan history, the Duke of Gloucester presented the Chief Minister with the Constitutional Instrument of the Transfer of Power and then the Tunku read the Proclamation of Independence to the assembled thousands. Another of the most colourful ceremonies took place on September 2 when the Supreme Ruler of Malaya, His Majesty The Yang di-Pertuan Agong, was installed. With much of the pomp and splendour which one would imagine took place in ancient Malay courts, the new ruler was presented with the Chogan Alam (the mace symbolic of temporal power), the Chogan Agama (the mace symbolic of spiritual power) and a variety of weapons each with significance buried in Malay lore. His Majesty accepted the power and authority of Kingship by unsheathing the Kris, or long sword of state, kissing the naked blade and returning it to its sheath. The final ceremony, which marked full independence, occurred on the following day when, before the assembled representatives of the various nations, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong formally opened the Federal Legislature of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, the official name of the new country.

Meanwhile, receptions, dinners, garden parties and similar functions occupied the time between ceremonies and a full programme of games and

sports drew crowds of followers. Visiting delegates were taken on tours of the gaily decorated capital; the departing High Commissioner, Sir Donald Mac-Gillivray, entertained at King's House; a State Banquet, at which native entertainers presented samples of Malayan singing, dancing and of "bersilat", the traditional Malay art of self-defence, was held at the Supreme Ruler's palace or Istana; thousands of Malayans crowded the Padang to watch 2,000 men and women of the armed forces in their smart ceremonial uniforms march proudly past the reviewing stand; a fireworks display costing \$200,000 (Malayan) lit up the sky over Kuala Lumpur; the Chief Minister entertained at a gay garden party and at a formal dinner; a magnificent lake pageant gave the visitors an idea of the exciting early history of the Malay States, and a stirring massed band concert by more than ten military bands provided a musical touch for the celebrations. All these and more provided the visitors with glimpses of the pride with which the Malayans greeted their independence and with unforgettable memories of Malayan hospitality.

#### Distinctive Canadian Note

The Canadian Envoy and his party, in addition to attending as many of these functions as possible, attempted to add a few distinctive Canadian notes to the celebrations. On September 1, Mr. Macdonnell gave a luncheon at the Selangor Club for members of the Malayan cabinet and prominent Government officials. The guests included the Deputy Prime Minister, the Honourable Dato Abdul Razak bin Hussein, the Minister without Portfolio, Ambassador to United States, and Delegate to the UN General Assembly, the Honourable Dr. Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, and the Minister for Agriculture, the Honourable Abdul Aziz bin Ishak. The following afternoon, Mr. Macdonnell entertained at a small reception to meet Canadians in Malaya and Malayans who had trained in Canada under the Colombo Plan. The Minister also visited the Kuala Lumpur Technical College, where he presented a collection of technical text books to officials of the Technical High School and announced a Colombo Plan gift of a larger collection of similar books to the College. He then paid a visit to the laboratory of a Canadian scientist, Dr. R. G. Lockard, who is conducting an investigation into a rice disease known as "red rice".

Mr. Macdonnell also announced the nature of the Canadian Government gifts to the new nation. These gifts included two writing tables and chairs which are being prepared from Canadian materials for presentation to the reading room of the Parliamentary Library, a Canada Council Scholarship, valued at \$2,000 annually, for study in the arts, humanities and social sciences, and a small library of Canadiana for the Malayan External Affairs Library. Mr. Macdonnell personally carried the greetings of the Canadian Government and people to the new Chief Minister and to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong when he called on each during his stay in Kuala Lumpur.

In both New Delhi and Karachi the Canadian Minister had an extremely busy schedule, calling on various government officials and attempting to gain some impressions of the first two Asian members of the Commonwealth. While in India Mr. Macdonnell had brief discussions with the President, Dr. R. Prasad; the Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan; the Prime Minister, Mr. J. Nehru; the Minister of Defence, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, and the Minister of Finance, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari. Between meetings Mr. Macdonnell was able to pay a short visit to the Lok Sabha (equivalent to the House of

Commons) and inspect a typical Indian village. In Pakistan, Mr. Macdonnell called on the President, General Iskander Mirza; the Prime Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy; the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Malik Firoz Kahn Noon, and the Minister of Finance, Syed Amjad Ali.

The Canadian Delegation departed from Malaya tremendously impressed by the smoothness and efficiency with which the ceremonies and celebrations took place. The new nation had obviously experienced an auspicious beginning and, although it would probably be faced with difficulties in its early years, (Continued on Page 309)



PRESENTS CREDENTIALS —NFB Photo

His Excellency Mongi Slim, Ambassador of Tunisia to Canada, left, is seen with the Deputy Governor General, the Hon. Patrick Kerwin, P.C., Chief Justice of Canada, centre, and Mr. Jules Léger, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, after presenting his letter of credence in a ceremony held September 9 at the Supreme Court of Canada.

# **40th Conference of the ILO**

The International Labour Organization (ILO), which was established in 1919 and was originally associated with the League of Nations at Geneva, in 1946 became a Specialized Agency of the United Nations. Its purpose is to promote the improvement of working and living conditions throughout the world and to this end it formulates and adopts international labour standards known as ILO conventions and ILO recommendations. The former, when ratified by governments, have the status of international treaties.

The 40th Conference of the International Labour Organization met in Geneva from June 5-27, 1957 under the presidency of Mr. H. E. Holt, Australian Minister of Labour and National Service. The Conference was attended by a record number of more than 900 delegates, advisers and observers from 73 of ILO's 78 member countries. Since the holding of the 39th Conference in 1956, three countries—Ghana, Nicaragua and Paraguay—had joined ILO, and Venezuela had withdrawn from membership.

The constitution of the ILO is unique in providing for tripartite representation at all its meetings. National delegations to its annual conference are composed of four delegates, two representing government, one representing employers, and one representing workers. The Canadian Government was represented at the 40th Conference by Mr. G. V. Haythorne, Assistant Deputy Minister of Labour, and Mr. P. Goulet, also of the Department of Labour. Mr. C. Jodoin, President of the Canadian Labour Congress, represented Canadian workers, and Mr. W. A. Campbell, Vice-President and Secretary of Canadian Westinghouse Co., Ltd., represented Canadian employers. These delegates were accompanied by technical advisers.

# Director-General's Report

The ILO's Director-General, Mr. David Morse, submitted to the Conference his annual report in two parts: Part I was devoted to the impact of automation and other modern technological advances on labour and social policy; Part II described, in greater detail than the reports of previous years, the work carried out by the ILO in the preceding year. The Conference devoted a major part of its meetings to discussion of the Director-General's report. Commenting on this discussion, the Director-General said that his foremost concern in raising the question of automation was to show that technological progress did not in itself cause unemployment. He thought that the discussion had re-emphasized the importance of labour-management co-operation.

The Director-General's ten-year term of office, which was due to expire in 1958, was extended by unanimous vote for a further period of five years.

#### Credentials

The credentials of some of the delegates to the Conference were objected to by a number of delegations, but the objections were rejected by the Credentials Committee, except for one pertaining to the Hungarian Delegation. The Committee advised against action with regard to the credentials of the Hungarian Delegation pending a United Nations decision on the legality of the Kadar Government. However, in the plenary session, the Conference rejected

the credentials of the Hungarian worker delegate and the Hungarian employer delegate, but, in effect, accepted those of the Hungarian Government delegates. the vote of protest on these credentials being lost when the proposal (94-88, with 52 abstentions) failed to receive a two-thirds majority. All members of the Canadian Delegation voted to reject the credentials of the Hungarian employer and worker delegates. However, the Canadian Government representatives abstained in the vote to exclude the Hungarian Government delegates, since they held the view that the question of principle involved should first be decided by the United Nations General Assembly and not by one of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations.

Three of the Canadian delegates, Mr. Haythorne, Mr. Jodoin and Mr. Campbell, led a panel discussion on the role of governments in labour-management relations. This type of meeting, the first of its kind held by the ILO, was deemed a great success by those attending the Conference.

## **ILO Governing Body**

One of the most important items before the 40th ILO Conference was the selection of the 30 non-permanent members of the Governing Body who will serve for the next three years. The Governing Body—the executive council of the ILO—consists of 20 government representatives, 10 employer representatives and 10 worker representatives. The 10 states of chief industrial importance having permanent seats on the Governing Body are Canada, China, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and United States. Government representatives of the following 10 member states were elected for a three-year term: Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines and Sweden. The workers' group elected their 10 representatives from Australia, Brazil, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Pakistan, Mexico, United Kingdom, and United States, and the employers' group elected their 10 representatives from Australia, Chile, France, India, Italy, Iran, Mexico, Sweden, United Kingdom and United States. In addition, deputy and substitute members of the three groups were elected for the period 1957-1960, including a deputy employer member and a deputy worker member from Canada.

## Conventions and Recommendations

The 40th Conference adopted three conventions and two recommendations —a forced labour convention, an indigenous and tribal populations convention supplemented by a recommendation, and a weekly rest (commerce and offices) convention supplemented by a recommendation.

The ILO convention on forced labour, approved by a vote of 240-0 with one abstention, could be regarded as supplementing the forced labour convention of 1930 although it does not constitute a formal revision of the earlier international instrument. The 1957 forced labour convention will require governments which ratify it to suppress and refrain from using forced or compulsory labour as a means of political coercion or education, or as a method of using labour for economic development, or as a means of labour discipline, as a punishment for having taken part in strikes, or for any form of discrimination.

The ILO convention on the protection and integration of indigenous and tribal populations in independent countries was approved by a vote of 179-8, with 45 abstentions. The two Canadian Government delegates abstained on the vote while the Canadian employer and worker delegates voted for the convention. Its lengthy provisions set out a general policy to be followed towards these indigenous peoples and also give special attention to land ownership, education, social security and health matters. While voting for the ILO recommendation on this subject, the Canadian Government delegates explained that they had abstained on the vote on the convention because they considered it much too detailed for general application.

The third convention adopted dealt with weekly rest in commerce and offices. It was adopted by a vote of 176-127, with 31 abstentions. The Canadian Government and worker delegates voted in favour while the Canadian employer delegate voted against the adoption of this convention.

#### **Technical Assistance**

The Conference also examined the technical assistance activities of the ILO in 1956. Some of this work is done with funds from the regular budget of ILO, but the greater part of it is carried on with money placed at the disposal of the ILO by the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (ETAP). During 1956 the ILO had 289 experts working in 13 countries of the less-technically-developed areas of the world, and awarded 297 fellowships and study grants. The Organization also spent a total of about \$3,250,000 in 1956 on various kinds of technical assistance in order to provide vocational training, rehabilitation for handicapped workers, employment service organization and other improvements in the training and use of manpower. For 1957, the ILO has been allotted \$3,500,000 by ETAP to carry on its effective and valuable programme of improving work skills and increasing the productivity of labour and, with \$500,000 from ILO's regular budget, the total technical assistance funds to be expended in 1957 by the ILO will run close to \$4 million.

The 40th Conference approved a budget of nearly \$7.9 million for ILO in 1958. Canada's assessment, which is computed at the rate of 3.56 percent of the total budget, will amount to a contribution of \$268,203.

(Continued from Page 306)

most visitors shared with the Malayan leaders a faith in the future of democracy in Malaya. The Federation has set for itself no easy task, as expressed by the Deputy Prime Minister: "In less than a generation we shall be able to weld all the people into a united Malayan nation, and the barriers and barricades which now exist will disappear." In this task Malaya will have the support of Canada and the other members of the Commonwealth. Probably the main impression gained throughout the tour was that this Commonwealth had much to offer its members and the world and that it possesses continued and growing possibilities of usefulness.

# **Truce Supervision in Cambodia**

THE work of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia is drawing to a close. In its fifth interim report,\* covering the period from October 1, 1955 to December 31, 1956, the Commission notes that its only remaining responsibility is to check the entry of war material into the country and that the strength of the Commission has, therefore, been reduced to one fixed team located in the capital, Phnom Penh. When the Commission was established in 1954, there were five fixed and four mobile teams in Cambodia.

The Commission in Cambodia, with its counterparts in Laos and Vietnam, was established by the Geneva Conference in July, 1954. The Conference resulted in three agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, respectively, each agreement providing for the establishment of a separate international commission with responsibility for the control and supervision of the application of the provisions of the agreement. Representatives of Canada, India and Poland serve on each of the commissions, with the Indian representative acting as chairman.

The agreement for Cambodia set forth the procedure for the withdrawal of foreign armed forces and "foreign military personnel" from the territory of Cambodia. It also contained provisions for the demobilization of the Khmer resistance forces and for their reintegration into the national community, as well as for a ban on the introduction of fresh troops, military personnel, armaments, and munitions. The main responsibilities given to the Commission were to control the withdrawal of foreign forces, to see that the frontiers were respected, to control the release of prisoners of war and civilian internees, and to supervise the application of a declaration by the Cambodian Government which stated that foreign aid in war material, personnel, or instructors would not be solicited "except for the purpose of the effective defence of the territory".

By 1955 the Commission had completed the military phase of its task under the Cease-Fire Agreement and had turned its attention to the political phase—the integration into the national community of the former Khmer resistants, and the holding of general elections. The ex-resistants had already been demobilized, granted amnesty, and offered identity cards as citizens in good standing in the realm, but there was still some misunderstanding, suspicion, and fear of reprisals in the air which the Commission helped to dissipate by its investigations of complaints. As a result, all citizens were able to resume constitutional political activity and to participate in the electoral campaign.

Elections were held on September 11, 1955, and the party of the former King Norodom Sihanouk won all 91 seats, with about 83 per cent of the popular vote. The Commission reported to the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference that "the elections passed off peacefully" and that the electoral "settlement foreseen under Article 6 of the Geneva Agreement had been completed".

<sup>\*</sup>External Affairs Supplementary Paper No. 57/8.



CONFER IN CAMBODIA

Mr. Lorne LaVigne, left, former Commissioner of the Canadian Delegation to the International Commission in Cambodia, seen at the Palace with HRH Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia, during a meeting on aspects of the Commission's truce supervisory activities.

The Commission's tasks then diminished and by October 1955 personnel had been reduced by 40 per cent.

During the period reviewed by the fifth interim report, Cambodia became a member of the United Nations and its Government declared a policy of neutrality in its external relations. In a discussion of the political situation in Cambodia, the report notes that the Royal Government of Cambodia has fulfilled its obligation to take all necessary measures to reintegrate all citizens into the national community without discrimination and to guarantee to them the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms provided in the constitution of the Kingdom. The Government also promulgated a third amnesty pardoning various ex-Khmer resistance force members.

Border problems between Cambodia and Vietnam are discussed in the fourth chapter of the report and the Commission expresses its satisfaction that, during the period reviewed, members of the Royal Government of Cambodia and the Government of South Vietnam had held direct talks in an effort to settle some of their problems.

In the chapter on foreign aid in war materials, military bases, and alliances, the Commission reports that during 1956 the Royal Government furnished statements of existing ammunition, armaments, vehicles and signals equipment held by the Royal Khmer Armed Forces. "The Commission, having carefully considered the information made available by the Royal Government, unan-

imously agreed that the information furnished by the Royal Government appeared to be a genuine and an earnest effort on their part to comply with the terms of the Geneva Agreement," the report says.

The report also mentions a declaration received by the Commission in December, 1956 to the effect that no military agreement had been concluded or even envisaged between the Government of Cambodia and the Peoples Republic of China, a declaration arising out of rumours circulating outside Cambodia that Prime Minister Chou En-Lai of China, when visiting Cambodia in November of that year, had furnished military aid to Cambodia.

Another aspect of the Commission's work described in the report concerns the stopping of hostile propaganda between Cambodia and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the establishing of friendly relations between the governments of the two countries.

At a meeting in Phnom Penh, on April 20, 1956 the Canadian Commissioner, Mr. Arnold Smith, tabled a resolution calling for the dissolution of the Commission on May 15, 1956. Presenting the Canadian Government's view that the Commission's work was completed and that it could therefore cease to exist, Mr. Smith said:

A consideration which should be prominent in our minds is that Cambodia, as a sovereign and independent state, must not be saddled unnecessarily with a body whose functions are to supervise and control its actions. It is inevitable that the presence of the Commission involves a check on Cambodia's exercise of her sovereignty. That was for a period necessary, as part of the Cease-Fire Settlement; and it was accepted voluntarily and with good grace. But it should not go on when it is no longer needed. The International Commission was, for a time, necessary to give confidence and to dissipate the distrust which the years of fighting had made so sharp. But today the confidence exists; no one, I think, today distrusts Cambodia's policies or intentions.

The departure from Cambodia of the International Commission for Supervision and Control will be one more step in this country's march toward untrammelled independence and sovereignty.

The withdrawal of the International Commission for Cambodia would provide international recognition that Cambodia is the outstanding success story of the Indochina settlement. We think it would be desirable to mark, and to give official international recognition to, the fact that both the Royal Government of Cambodia and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have satisfactorily performed the obligations which they assumed toward each other under the Geneva settlement.

Furthermore, the early departure of our Commission from Cambodia with its tasks well done and fully accomplished, can, I suggest, have a salutary and encouraging effect on the parties to the Agreements in Vietnam and Laos; since they would thus realize that the Commissions in those countries plan on remaining there only so long as is required for the performance of important and substantial tasks of keeping the peace and consolidating the Cease-Fire.

The Canadian proposal was discussed at subsequent meetings. Both the Indian and Polish Commissioners expressed the view that the Commission could not be dissolved without regard to the progress of the Commissions in Laos and Vietnam. The Canadian resolution was therefore not put to a vote; its text and the relevant discussions are included as annexes to the interim report.

When the Commission was established in 1954, 32 Canadians were members. In October 1955 Canadian representation was reduced to 23 and in December 1956 to 13. Members of the Canadian Delegation are drawn from the Department of External Affairs and from the armed services.

# APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. P. E. Uren appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 4, effective September 1, 1957.
- Mr. G. W. J. Charpentier posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, effective September 2, 1957.
- Mr. A. J. Boudreau appointed Canadian Consul General at Boston. Proceeded to Boston September 3, 1957.
- Miss F. Gagnon posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective September 3, 1957.
- Mr. L. A. H. Smith and Mr. J. I. Gow appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers 1, effective September 3, 1957.
- Mr. W. F. Bull appointed Canadian Ambassador to Japan. Arrived in Tokyo September 5, 1957.
- Mr. P. M. Roberts posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective September 5, 1957.
- Mr. O. A. Chistoff posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, effective September 5, 1957.
- Miss J. A. Horwood posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, to Ottawa, effective September 5, 1957.
- Mr. G. L. Magann, Canadian Ambassador to Switzerland, retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service, effective September 6, 1957.
- Mr. P. L. Trottier posted from the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective September 7, 1957.
- Mr. M. J. O. E. Heroux posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective September 7, 1957.
- Mr. D. W. Stevenson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective September 10, 1957.
- Mr. K. A. McVey posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective September 11, 1957.
- Mr. H. O. Moran, MBE, appointed Canadian High Commissioner in Pakistan. Proceeded to Karachi September 13, 1957.
- Miss A. T. Hardy posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective September 13, 1957.
- Mr. P. A. E. Johnston appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 3, effective September 16, 1957.
- Mr. T. B. B. Wainman-Wood posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, effective September 19, 1957.
- Mr. P. R. Jennings posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, to the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, effective September 19, 1957.
- Mr. T. F. M. Newton posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective September 19, 1957.
- Mr. F. G. Ballachey posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 19, 1957.
- Mr. R. E. Collins posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, effective September 20, 1957.
- Miss D. J. Armstrong, Mr. J. Brossard and Mr. R. W. MacLaren appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers 1, effective September 23, 1957.
- Mr. C. E. Glover posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective September 24, 1957.
- Mr. P. E. J. Charpentier posted from the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, to Ottawa, effective September 24, 1957.
- Mr. C. J. Marshall appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 25, 1957.

- Mr. L. Houzer posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, effective September 29, 1957.
- Miss B. M. Fitzpatrick has retired from the staff of the Canadian Consulate General, New York, after spending 43 years in the public service.

# **CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\***

#### A Selected List

- a) Printed Documents:
- Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization (16 June 1956 15 June 1957). A/3594/Add.1. N.Y., 1957. 7 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 1A.
- Information Annex III to Budget Estimates for the financial year 1958. A/3600/Add.1. N.Y., 1957. 33 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 5A.
- Annual Report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board. A/3611. N.Y., 1957. 33 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 8.
- United Nations Refugee Fund. Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1956 and Report of the Board of Auditors. A/3622. N.Y., 1957. 10 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 6C.
- Special Report of the Committee on South West Africa. A/3625. N.Y., 1957. 8 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 12A.
- Report of the Committee on South West Africa. A/3626. N.Y., 1957. 43 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 12.
- Economic Applications of Atomic Energy. Power General and Industrial and Agricultural Uses. (Report of the Secretary-General). E/3005, ST/ECA/48. N.Y., May 1957. 108 p. Sales No.: 1957.II.B.2.
- Resolutions adopted at the twenty-fourth Session (Geneva, 2 July 2 August 1957) of the Economic and Social Council. E/3048. N.Y., August 1957. 32 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-fourth session, Supplement No. 1.
- Report of the Preparatory Commission of the International Atomic Energy Agency. GC.1/1, GOV/1. N.Y., 1957. 55 p. (booklet).
- Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council. Supplement 1952-1955. ST/PSCA/1/Add.1. N.Y., 1957. (12 December 1956). 180 p. \$1.75. Sales No.: 1957.VII.1.
- The aging of populations and its economic and social implications. ST/SOA/Series A/26. (Population Studies No. 26). N.Y., December 1956. 168 p. \$1.75. Sales No.: 1956.XIII.6.
- Housing through non-profit organizations. Seminar sponsored by the United Nations and the Government of Denmark in collaboration with the Organization of American States for participants from Latin American countries. Copenhagen, September-October 1954. ST/SOA/SER.C/10. N.Y., September 1956. 121 p. \$1.25. Sales No.: 1956.IV.7.

#### TT.O

- Proposed *International Convention* concerning the protection of performers, manufacturers of phonographic records and broadcasting organizations. (Documentation prepared by the ILO for the information of governments). Geneva, 1957. 39 p.
- \* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications. The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax: McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto: University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal: and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec Certain mineographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67

#### UNESCO

- John Amos Comenius, 1592-1670. Selections. Introduction by Jean Piaget. Paris 1957. 193 p. \$3.25.
- Committee of Experts on Neighbouring Rights. Monaco, 1957. (UNESCO Copyright Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 1, 1957). Paris 1957. 199 p. (Eng.-Fr.-Sp.).
- Training of primary teacher training staffs. (XXth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1957). 202 p. \$2.50. UNESCO, Paris/IBE, Geneva. Publication No. 182.
- Expansion of school building. (XXth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1957). 244 p. \$2.50. UNESCO, Paris/IBE, Geneva. Publication No. 184.

#### WHO

- Executive Board, Twentieth Session, Geneva, 27 and 28 May 1957: Minutes. Geneva, 1957. 98 p. Resolutions. Annexes. Geneva, August 1957. 35 p. Official Records of WHO, No. 80.
- b) Mimeographed Documents:
- Fifth Report of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission. DC/113. 11 September 1957. 3 p. Annexes 1 13.
- Report of the International Law Commission covering the work of its ninth session. A/CN.4/110, 4 July 1957. 37 p.
- Fourth Report of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission. DC/112. 1 August 1957, 2 p. Annexes 1 to 12.
- Economic Commission for Latin America. Annual Report to the Economic and Social Council, covering the period 15 May 1956 29 May 1957. E/2998, E/CN.12/451. 29 May 1957. 230 p.
- Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. E/3015 (A/3585), 6 June 1957, 92 p. Annexes I to III.
- Financing of economic development. The international flow of private capital, 1956. (Report by the Secretary-General). E/3021. 21 June 1957.



SUPPLEMENTARY INCOME-TAX CONVENTION

On September 26, 1957 Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, on behalf of the United States, and Mr. N. A. Robertson, Ambassador of Canada in Washington, and Mr. Donald Fleming, Minister of Finance of Canada, on behalf of Canada, exchanged the instruments of ratification with respect to the supplementary income-tax convention of August 8, 1956 between the United States and Canada. The convention was brought into force by this exchange.

The convention, which was signed at Ottawa on August 8, 1953, further modifies and supplements the convention and accompanying protocol of March 4, 1942, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of income taxes, as modified by the supplementary convention of June 12, 1950. The convention became effective with respect to taxable years beginning on and after January 1, 1957.

This new convention reflects further experience in connection with tax problems arising from the application of the existing treaty provisions for the avoidance of double taxation and from the economic relations between the two countries.

From left to right, above: Mr. Fleming, Mr. Dulles, and Mr. Robertson.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II as she reads the Speech from the Throne opening the First Session of the 23rd Parliament. With her is HRH The Prince Philip.

# **External Affairs In Parliament**

# Speech From The Throne

THE First Session of Canada's 23rd Parliament was opened October 14 by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. It was an historic occasion in that it was the first time that the Parliament of Canada has been opened by a reigning Sovereign.

The delivery by the Queen of the Speech from the Throne was the climax of a triumphant visit paid to Ottawa by Her Majesty and HRH The Prince Philip.

That part of the Speech from the Throne devoted to Canada's international relations was as follows:

You have come here to form this new Parliament from across a great land, a land far wider than either of those older countries that first gave it birth. I am proud to contemplate the great heritage of this nation—the minerals, the forests, the lands, the waters, the sources of power and energy which fire your ever-growing industries. But I am more proud to contemplate the spirit and ideas which brought this country to nationhood, and now, drawing reinforcement and enrichment from many lands and peoples, have given Canada a national character peculiarly her own.

Yet in this age no nation can live unto itself. Through the overcast of international affairs the bright constellation of the Commonwealth illumines our times. The continuing admission of nations newly guided to self-government both broadens and strengthens our diverse Commonwealth as more of us come to share the great inheritance of those institutions and ideals which make our association a quiet but pervasive force for good in an unquiet world. This was manifest when the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth met in London last June to talk of great affairs; and again, only a few days ago when on Canada's invitation, the Finance Ministers met at Mont Tremblant and in a comradely spirit laid plans for a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference to take place next year.

A similar spirit has been evident in the Colombo Plan, which is a part of the high venture of the peoples of South and South-East Asia as they move along the path of national development, and which my government will continue to support.

My Ministers believe that Canada's active participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is essential for the preservation of peace. You will accordingly be asked to maintain modern defence forces in being which, together with those of our allies, will continue to act as a deterrent to attack upon any part of that alliance.

While Canada plays a full part in these particular associations, my Ministers remain convinced that in the wider forum of the United

Nations we must also continue to seek such agreements as will preserve security and bring about a wide measure of disarmament. Indeed we must continue to hope that through the United Nations the aspirations of men and women for peace and security will be fulfilled.

### Colombo Plan Contribution

Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker announced in the House of Commons October 22 that, subject to the approval of Parliament, Canada's contribution to the Colombo Plan in 1958 would be \$35 million.

Text of the Prime Minister's statement was as follows:

Mr. Speaker, in connection with a question asked by the hon. member for Essex East (Mr. Martin) relative to the prospective Canadian contribution to the Colombo Plan and also questions that were asked by some other hon, members, I wish to advise that, subject to the approval of Parliament, Canada will contribute \$35 million to the Colombo Plan in 1958

For some years now the basic Canadian contribution to the Colombo Plan has stood at \$26.4 million. In order to meet certain additional expenditures in connection with the Warsak Project in Pakistan and the Canada-India Reactor, this amount was supplemented by a further \$8 million both this year and last. We have now decided to do away with this idea of a basic contribution to which additional amounts are added. We shall therefore seek the authority of Parliament to provide that the total vote for Canada's regular Colombo Plan programme be, as I stated a moment ago, \$35 million for this year.

In connection with the expenditures being made thereunder we have agreed first, to provide \$1 million worth of flour to the Government of Ceylon. The proceeds of the sale of this flour will be used by the Government of Ceylon for various development projects.

Second, the Government of Pakistan has drawn our attention to the very serious floods that occurred recently in West Pakistan and to the resulting need for food grains. We have therefore offered \$2 million worth of wheat to the Government of Pakistan out of Colombo Plan funds and the Government of Pakistan has indicated that this would be very welcome. This wheat will be shipped very shortly.

In India, we have proposed to the government of that country that the balance of counterpart funds held by the Indian Government which have been created by the sale of Canadian commodities supplied under the Colombo Plan will be used to meet the further rupee costs of the Canada-India Reactor. These counterpart funds amount to the equivalent of \$2,900,000.

In connection with other proposals concerning the Colombo Plan programme, they will be announced in due course after they have been discussed with the governments concerned. Might I add that later today the leader of the Canadian Delegation to the Colombo Plan Conference at Saigon, Hon. W. J. Browne, will be announcing in that country what I have stated here.

# **Discussions with United Kingdom Prime Minister**

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of the United Kingdom visited Ottawa on Friday evening October 25 and part of Saturday October 26, accompanied by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Foreign Secretary, following their discussions with President Eisenhower and other officials of the United States.

During their stay they discussed with Prime Minister Diefenbaker and members of the Cabinet the questions that had arisen in Washington.

Prime Minister Diefenbaker made the following statement on the visit in the House of Commons October 28:

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, accompanied by their officials, visited Ottawa on Friday evening and part of Saturday after their conversations in Washington and we—certain of my colleagues and myself—had the opportunity to discuss the questions that had arisen in Washington.

Since the meeting of the Prime Ministers in London in June I have been in close touch with Mr. Macmillan and naturally I welcomed the opportunity to discuss matters of common interest.

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Foreign Secretary described the conversations which they had had with President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles. With the leave of the House I should like to table the communiqué issued in Washington on October 26 by the Prime Minister and the President of the United States.

Hon. members, I am sure, have been impressed by the obvious importance of this meeting and its significance in the world today. As we chatted with the Prime Minister we were greatly impressed by his appreciation of the interdependence of the free nations. That attitude is fully shared by this government. The discussions that took place in Washington were not intended to reach conclusions on matters of detail, and far less was it intended to arrive at formal and signed agreements. Just as I said a moment ago in answer to my friend the hon. member for Algoma East (Mr. Pearson), the destination was indicated, the direction was determined, but the means to achieve either were not in any way finalized.

I believe this conference between the Prime Minister and the President in Washington has made possible great forward steps not only by the partnership of the United Kingdom and the United States, but also in the fact that it provides an assured opportunity for many countries to broaden and strengthen their peace and security within NATO. I think the communiqué makes it clear—and our conversations certainly supported that impression—not only that the Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom were in close agreement in their approach to the basic problem of the free world but, in addition, that they determined to open a clear road on which Western countries could go forward in interdependence and co-operation.

The hon, gentleman would not expect me to comment in detail, but I would draw the attention of the House to many passages in which practical measures of co-operation are indicated. Stress is once more laid on the importance of disarmament and also, in the absence of effective disarmament, on the furtherance of collective defence arrangements. Thus to the agreed ideology of the free nations there can be added a greater sharing of scientific knowledge accompanied and reinforced by co-operation in the economic field.

As Canadians we welcome this further increase of common understanding and, I believe, imaginative thinking on the part of two great powers with whom we are so closely associated The results achieved in Washington will have particular significance in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which will be one of the principal means through which practical results can be achieved.

The hon, member mentioned the December meeting. No final determination has been made as yet regarding the attendance of heads of government, although I think we can look forward with certainty to such a meeting taking place. As he said, I propose to attend the meeting. I understand also that proposals may be sent out to the heads of NATO countries to be present at the important discussions which will inevitably take place at that time.

As far as the discussions are concerned which took place here on Friday and Saturday, they are of a confidential character and I am sure the hon, gentleman will understand that they could not properly be repeated in full detail in this House. However, I feel that a great step forward has been made, and that any of those separations that kept us apart at any time since 1945 have been closed as a result of the meetings that have taken place. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States met as friends who were in the war together. They met with the objective of bringing about that unity which assured peace in the days of war, and peace with victory.

Today, as a result of the meeting there, I am extremely hopeful that the essential character of what may prove to be a milestone on the pathway to security of the free world has been attained. The objective unites us. The dangers of the present give us a cohesion similar to that which existed in the days of war. With unity and firm determination I believe that the Washington meeting will in the years ahead represent a step worthy of the best in both the nations represented, and that it will in general, in its objective, be acceptable to all those nations which are joined together in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.



PRIME MINISTERS MEET

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of the United Kingdom was received warmly on his arrival in Ottawa October 25 after conversations with President Eisenhower in Washington.

From left to right, above: Mr. Graham McInnes, Chief of Protocol, Department of External Affairs; Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, and Mr. Macmillan.

# United States-Canadian Joint Committee On Trade and Economic Affairs

THE THIRD meeting of the United States - Canadian Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs was held in Washington on October 7 and 8. Previous meetings of the Committee were held on March 16, 1954 in Washington and on September 26, 1955 in Ottawa.

The Committee was established as a result of an Exchange of Notes on November 12, 1953. It was intended to serve as a forum for periodic consultation between those Canadian and United States Cabinet members who had a major responsibility for questions of economic policy. Specifically the Committee was entrusted with the following functions:

- (1) To consider matters affecting the harmonious economic relations between the two countries;
- (2) In particular, to exchange information and views on matters which might adversely affect the high level of mutually profitable trade which has been built up;
- (3) To report to the respective Governments on such discussions in order that consideration may be given to measures deemed appropriate and necessary to improve economic relations and to encourage the flow of trade.

In addition to Mr. Donald Fleming, Minister of Finance, who acted as Chairman, the Canadian Delegation to the most recent meeting of the Committee included Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Douglas S. Harkness, Minister of Agriculture, and Mr. Gordon Churchill, Minister of Trade and Commerce. The United States Delegation was chaired by Mr. John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State, and included Mr. Robert B. Anderson, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Ezra Taft Benson, the Secretary of Agriculture, and Mr. Sinclair Weeks, the Secretary of Commerce.

In accordance with normal practice the Canadian Ambassador in Washington and the United States Ambassador in Ottawa, as well as senior officials from both sides, were present at the meeting of the Committee.

This was the first opportunity for the United States members of the Committee to exchange views on trade and economic subjects with members of the new Canadian Government. The discussions covered a wide range of problems in which the two countries have a current interest. In particular, the meeting enabled Canadian Ministers to raise matters which have been causing special concern in Canada and to which the Prime Minister of Canada had already had occasion to refer in his speech at Dartmouth on September 7.

## Surplus Wheat Disposal

Foremost among these matters is the United States programme for the disposal of surplus wheat by the payment of subsidies and by such means as barter and sales for local currency. The extent to which this programme may

be held to have affected Canada's normal commercial exports of wheat is indicated by the fact that, while United States exports rose from 347 million bushels of wheat to 547 million bushels between the crop years 1955-56 and 1956-57, Canadian exports over the same period fell from 309 million to 261 million bushels.

The Canadian Government's view of these wheat surplus disposal programmes on the part of the United States was put in the following terms by the Prime Minister when speaking at Dartmouth:

A pressing concern in Canada is the question of the United States agricultural disposal programme, and in particular that of wheat and wheat flour, which has been more vigorous and more aggressive in the last two years, and which denies fair competition for markets. Canada has a carryover of wheat which amounted to over 700 million bushels this year. It is vital to Canada's economy that some 300 million bushels of wheat be exported every year.

Canada can compete for her share of the market of the world, providing other nations follow recognized competitive practices. The share of the world market for wheat by the United States has been increasing in recent years by its policies of surplus disposal, and that increase has come about mainly at the expense of Canada's export trade, which has been decreasing. The surplus disposal legislation of the United States has made it difficult, if not impossible, for Canada to maintain its fair share of the world's market. Canada cannot compete for agricultural markets against the dominant economic power of the United States, with its export subsidies, barter deals and sales for foreign currency.

At the meeting of the Joint Committee in Washington, the Canadian Delegation reiterated this position with special emphasis on the harmful effects which barter transactions had on normal commercial marketings of wheat by exporting countries. For their part, the United States Delegation reiterated their commitment "in all surplus disposal activities to avoid, insofar as possible, interfering with normal commercial marketings". They also agreed that continuing consultation between the United States and Canada in this matter would help "to keep to a minimum any harmful effects of surplus disposal activities". With respect to barter transactions, an assurance was given to the Canadian Delegation that under the barter programme as revised earlier this year "each barter contract must result in a net increase in exports of the agricultural commodity involved".

Another matter of specific concern to Canada which was taken up at the Washington meeting was the current review of United States duties on lead and zinc. Attention was drawn to the possibility that these duties might be raised and to the serious difficulties Canadian exporters of these metals would face as a result of such a step. For their part the United States Delegation pointed to the problem confronting their domestic producers of lead and zinc. They also explained that any tariff action taken "would have the primary objective of maintaining a normal relationship between imports and domestic production" and would conform with the procedures laid down in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

# Trade and Payments

On more general lines, the Committee considered the trade and payments relationships between Canada and the United States. The Canadian Delegation stressed the great importance for Canada of developments in United States commercial policies in the light of the very high proportion of Canada's trade that was being conducted with the United States. They pointed out that "the volume and variety of goods entering into this trade made Canada by far the

most important commercial customer of the United States and vice versa". The position in 1956 had been that "well over \$4 billion worth of United States goods—or approximately one-quarter of the total cash exports of the United States—were sold in Canada". By contrast, Canada's own exports to the United States in that year had amounted to less than \$3 billion. Both countries agreed that in formulating their trade policies it was important for each of them to "show careful regard for the interests of the other".

A matter of equal importance to Canada which was raised at the Washington meeting relates to United States investment in Canada's natural resources and in important sectors of the manufacturing industry. The Canadian Ministers took the opportunity at Washington to put in its proper perspective the concern that is being expressed from time to time in Canada regarding the nature and extent of this investment. They explained that the inflow of United States capital into Canada was welcomed and its contribution to the growth of Canada's economy recognized. At the same time they expressed "the hope of the Canadian Government that all United States companies participating in the expansion of the Canadian economy would develop and maintain closer and mutually beneficial relationships with the people of Canada'.



AT CANADIAN PAVILION

A group of visitors, including Dr. Ludger Westrick, State Secretary, Economic Ministry, Federal Republic of Germany, and Dr. Gerhard Friehe, Director of the Berlin Fairs, are shown a display of Canadian-made living room furniture in the Canadian Pavilion at the Berlin Industrial Fair. The visitors are escorted by Mr. R. C. O'Hagan, Vice-Consul, Canadian Military Mission, Berlin.

# **International Claims**

Most governments today are faced with many problems of international claims whose scope and complexity have been greatly increased by two World Wars, the depression between these wars, and the adoption by certain governments of a policy of nationalizing or expropriating property. This article will endeavour to show what principles have guided states in the protection abroad of the interests of their nationals, how the types of claims currently being dealt with arose, and how they have been, and are being, dealt with by international organizations and by Canada.

In the past one hundred years governments have increasingly been concerned with requests by their own nationals for assistance in the protection of life, limb or property abroad. They have also been concerned with an evergrowing number of claims for restitution of property arbitrarily taken, or for compensation in respect of death, personal injury, maltreatment or loss of or damage to property. From time to time funds have been collected from foreign governments, and international and domestic tribunals or commissions have been established in order to make an equitable distribution of such funds amongst the eligible claimants. Historically, one of the better known of these tribunals was that which functioned for several years in the United States and dealt with claims for compensation from United States citizens who had suffered from the depredations of the Confederate raider "The Alabama"; as this ship had been constructed and fitted out in England, the British Government, after years of negotiation, eventually agreed to place a lump-sum at the disposal of the United States for distribution to the claimants. There are many other instances of tribunals having been established to adjudicate upon losses arising out of bombardments, civil wars, revolutionary uprisings and boundary incidents. In consequence, over the years certain fundamental principles regarding claims have found general recognition in the practice of these tribunals and of states. One of these principles is that one state will only intervene with another state—that is sponsor a claim—on behalf of a person who was a national of the sponsoring state at the time of the alleged wrong or injury; another principle is that intervention usually takes place only when municipal or local remedies have been exhausted and in cases in which there has been discrimination or a denial of justice; however, these and other principles have been modified in many treaties and other international agreements.

#### First World War Claims

The First World War saw a loss of life and destruction of property on a scale hitherto unknown, not only among the armed combatants but also among civilians. In addition, the complicated structure of international trade was seriously dislocated and many well-known currencies, such as the German mark and the Austrian crown, ceased to have any value for all practical purposes. The problem of reparation bulked large in the minds of the framers of the Treaty of Versailles. As funds were received from Germany, recipient countries established tribunals to distribute them. Thus, in Canada, there were four successive Reparations Commissions, the last one making its final report in March 1933. Among other things, these Commissions had to hear and adjudicate upon claims arising out of the sinking of the "Lusitania" in 1915.

Broadly speaking, claims which occupy attention at the present time can be divided into three main classes: claims arising out of contracts and other obligations entered into before the outbreak of the Second World War, sometimes referred to as pre-war debt claims; those arising out of the war itself, or war claims; and those arising out of post-war nationalization, expropriation or other taking of property. Specific claims may, of course, arise at any time; an example is the Canadian claim which was recently presented to the Bulgarian Government and which arose out of the deaths of four Canadians in the crash of an Israeli airliner shot down by Bulgarian air defence forces on July 27, 1955.\*

#### Pre-war Debt Claims

As Germany had always been a prominent trading nation, was partitioned after the Second World War and had borrowed extensively between the two World Wars, the settlement of that country's pre-war indebtedness gave rise to most complicated problems. Beginning with the Dawes Loan of 1924 and ending with the Young Loan of 1930 scores of foreign loans were floated abroad, and especially in the United States by the German Government itself, by German states and municipalities, and by German industrial enterprises and churches. Inevitably, with the sudden onset of the depression, some of these debtors defaulted. Matters became more critical when the main German banks were obliged in September 1931 to enter into the so-called Standstill Agreement to defer payment of short-term credits. In June 1933, after the advent of the Nazi régime, normal business relationships with Germany were further impeded by the institution of the Conversion Office for German Foreign Debts, which represented a serious form of foreign exchange control. The position of Germany's foreign creditors became more and more difficult, and the outbreak of the war put an end to the intermittent attempts which had been made to ease their plight.

By the time the war ended Germany had no government and no resources in foreign exchange, many accounts credited in the territory of the Axis powers to Allied nationals or governments had been taken over by the Axis custodians of enemy properties, and many debtors had disappeared or were in territory under Soviet control. However, after the monetary reform of 1948 and because of large-scale Allied—especially American—aid, a German debt settlement became a practical proposition. It became a reality in 1953 when the Federal Republic of Germany and twenty other countries, including Canada, signed the Agreement on German External Debts following a five months' conference in London and some two years of preparatory work. This Agreement represented a considerable achievement, for not only had German capacity to pay to be fully taken into account, but many divergent opinions among the creditors themselves concerning the settlement had to be resolved. As a result of this Agreement most German external bonds were reserviced, and arrangements made for dealing with Standstill Agreement claims, blocked Deutsche mark accounts, payments into the Conversion Office, currency options, Reichsmark and goldmark debts and gold clauses in foreign currency loans as well as old commercial claims and innumerable similar claims. An Arbitral Tribunal and Mixed Commission, to which the Signatory Governments can refer matters in dispute, was also established.

<sup>\*</sup>See Department of External Affairs Press Release No. 17 of March 21, 1956.

#### Second World War Claims

The settlement of claims arising out of the Second World War presented problems even more intractable than those that followed the First World War. An effort was made to deal with this question on a territorial basis, i.e. with each country accepting responsibility for the settlement of claims arising out of incidents occurring on its own territory (this is the basis recognized in the various peace treaties). Although in theory this approach appeared practicable, in practice it left much to be desired: for example, some countries provided little or no compensation for their own nationals, let alone for foreigners; some solution had to be found for meritorious claims for losses on the high seas, of which the sinking of the S.S. "Athenia" was an outstanding example, especially for Canada; and several countries, while providing compensation for damage to tangible property, provided no compensation for damage to intangible property.

A source of funds is obviously a condition precedent to the settlement of any type of claim. For Canadian war claims arising out of the Second World War, the principal source arose out of the Final Act of the Paris Conference on Reparation from Germany. This Act, which is often referred to as the Paris Agreement on German Reparation or, simply, the Paris Agreement, was signed in Paris in December 1945 by the governments of certain countries, including Canada, which had participated in the war against Germany. It provided for the establishment in Brussels of the Inter-Allied Reparation Agency (IARA) which has an Assembly and an international Secretariat. Nineteen governments are members of the IARA, whose function is to allocate German reparations among the member governments in accordance with the provisions of the Paris Agreement. The chief forms of reparation made available are industrial capital equipment, German external assets, merchant shipping, captured enemy supplies and Russian reciprocal deliveries which consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials which the U.S.S.R. had undertaken to deliver in return for industrial equipment and other materials received from the Western Zones of Germany.

Under the Paris Agreement German reparation was divided into A and B Categories. German external assets within the jurisdiction of the members of the Agency, as well as those of certain neutral and ex-enemy countries, comprised the major portion of Category A, which also included all other forms of German reparation except those included in Category B. Category B included the industrial and other capital equipment removed from Germany, merchant ships, and inland water transport. Each member government was given a percentage entitlement, this being determined on the basis of the material damage its economy had suffered, loss of human life, and contribution to the general war effort. In allocating current reparation, efforts have been made to allow for partial renunciations and to correct, so far as possible, imbalances caused by overdrafts or underdrafts. Canada's chief course of German reparation is, and always has been, German external assets.

Ultimately, in Canada, the whole question of war claims was reviewed by the Advisory Commission on War Claims,\* the majority of its recommendations being accepted by the Canadian Government. A War Claims Fund was established into which funds received under the Paris Agreement and the

<sup>\*</sup>War Claims, Report of the Advisory Commission, February 25, 1952.

Treaty of Peace with Japan have been, and are being, paid. As it was impossible to foretell how much would eventually find its way into this Fund, let alone the total of the claims which would eventually be found to be valid, a strict system of priorities was established, in particular with regard to property claims. In practice, this system has worked well: under it, all death, personal injury and maltreatment claims have been paid in full, while all valid property claims up to an amount of \$30,000 have been paid. In considering claims the Commission followed, where applicable, the accepted principles of international law, due attention being paid to the decisions of the tribunals which dealt with such claims after the First World War. Thus, a claimant, in order to be eligible, had to be a Canadian, as defined, at the time of the act complained of, as well as at the time of presentation of the claim. This stipulation eliminated the property claims of many persons who emigrated to Canada immediately before and after the war.

Corporations presented a special problem owing to the size of their claims and the fact that so many were resident or non-resident-owned investment or foreign business corporations. The solution was to stipulate that, in order to be eligible, the corporation had to have had a Canadian charter and to have been carrying on active trading operations in Canada either itself or through one or more subsidiaries at the time of the loss or damage as well as at the time of presentation of the claim. However, where the corporation itself was not eligible, shareholder claims were admissible on the same basis as individual claims.

Death and personal injury claims followed the principles in use in Canadian courts, except that in cases involving injuries awards were restricted to items of pecuniary loss, actual or estimated. Awards have also been made to members of the Armed Forces of Canada and civilians who suffered exceptional hardship in enemy concentration, prisoner-of-war or internment camps. The classes of property claims were varied, but here again the decisions of former tribunals were of the greatest value. Exchange rates presented peculiar difficulties. As regards valuations, except for money claims, pre-war valuations were used, the basis being market, and not replacement, value. It was also necessary to take into consideration payments made, or likely to be made, from other sources, e.g. payments received from foreign governments under peace treaties or under equal treatment agreements on war damage compensation.

In the case of war claims against Italy, the stipulated treaty procedure of submission of individual claims by the Canadian Government to the Italian Government, and the reference of disputes to a conciliation commission, was not followed; instead, a lump-sum payment of 290 million lire from the Italian Government was negotiated, the distribution of this sum amongst interested claimants being left to the Canadian War Claims Commission and the Minister of Finance. As regards Japan, the stipulated treaty procedure has been followed, the claims having been submitted by the Canadian Government to the Japanese Government. Such Japanese claims are of two classes, firstly, claims in respect of property losses in Japan arising out of the war and, secondly, claims arising out of the Sino-Japanese "incident" of 1937-1941. In the former class of claim the treaty provides for the submission of any dispute to a Property Commission in Tokyo, which has a neutral chairman.

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# Role of the United Nations

Excerpt from the Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization from June 16, 1956 to June 15, 1957. Mr. Dag Hammarskjold's term of office as Secretary-General has been renewed for five years beginning April 10, 1958.



-Karsh Photo

Dag Hammarskjold

The events of the past year have, I believe, cast a clearer light upon the role of the United Nations in these times. The Charter, read as a whole, does not endow the United Nations with any of the attributes of a super state or of a body active outside the framework of decisions of member governments. The United Nations is, rather, an instrument for negotiation among, and to some extent for, governments. It is also an instrument added to the time-honored means of diplomacy for concerting action by governments in support of the goals of the Charter. This is the role the Organization has played, sometimes successfully, sometimes with disappointing setbacks, throughout its life.

From time to time complaints are heard about the limitations upon the Organization's power. It has even been suggested that, unless these limitations

are corrected, the usefulness of the United Nations is so questionable that the main effort of the governments in the search for peace should be concentrated in other directions.

This view does less than justice to the contributions of the United Nations in its short life. Especially, it fails to take into account that the real limitations upon action by the Organization do not derive from the provisions of the Charter. They result from facts of international life in our age which are not likely to be by-passed by a different approach or surmounted by attempts at merely constitutional reform.

To turn aside from the United Nations now because it cannot be transformed into a world authority enforcing the law upon the nations would be to erase all the steady, though slow and painful, advances that have been made and to close the door to hopes for the future of world society, toward which present efforts and experiences should be at least a modest stepping stone.

We should, rather, recognize the United Nations for what it is-an admittedly imperfect but indispensable instrument of nations in working for a peaceful evolution toward a more just and secure world order. The dynamic forces at work in this stage of human history have made world organization necessary. The balance of these forces has also set the limits within which the power of world organization can develop at each step and beyond which progress, when the balance of forces so permits, will be possible only by processes of organic growth in the system of custom and law prevailing in the society of nations.

### **Processes of Adjustment**

These processes of adjustment take time. Systems of alliance, maintained side by side with the United Nations in recognition of the prevailing balance of forces, may serve a useful purpose during the period through which we are passing. However, most of us agree that such systems of alliance, like other traditional means of diplomacy and defense of the national interest, are limited in their value as safeguards of the present and future security and welfare of our countries. Nations and groups of nations will never again be able to live and to arrogate judgment unto themselves in international affairs in ways which once were a matter of course.

The greatest need today is to blunt the edges of conflict among the nations, not to sharpen them. If properly used, the United Nations can serve a diplomacy of reconciliation better than other instruments available to the member states. All the varied interests and aspirations of the world meet in its precincts upon the common ground of the Charter. Conflicts may persist for long periods without an agreed solution and groups of states may actively defend special and regional interests. Nevertheless, and in spite of temporary developments in the opposite direction under the influence of acute tension, the tendency in the United Nations is to wear away, or break down, differences, thus helping toward solutions which approach the common interest and application of the principles of the Charter.

I believe that the criticism of the system of one vote for one nation, irrespective of size or strength, as constituting an obstacle to arriving at just and representative solutions tends to exaggerate the problem. The General Assembly is not a parliament of elected individual members; it is a diplomatic meeting in which the delegates of members states represent governmental policies, and these policies are subject to all the influences that would prevail in international life in any case. Smaller nations are not in the habit of banding together against the larger nations whose power to affect international security and well-being is so much greater than their own. Nor do I see justification for talk about the responsible and the irresponsible among the nations. Finally, the two-thirds rule applied to all major decisions in the General Assembly should serve as a reasonable assurance to those who may not fully share the views that have been here expressed.

In this connection, it is worth recalling that the "uniting for peace" resolution, in establishing a procedure intended to safeguard the application of the relevant provisions of the Charter—Articles 10, 11, 12 and 51—in support of the maintenance of peace, did not constitutionally transfer to the General Assembly any of the enforcement powers reserved to the Security Council by the Charter. Enforcement action by the United Nations under Chapter VII continues to be reserved to the Security Council. The relative role and significance of the Assembly and the Council, in practice, reflect general political conditions playing within the constitutional framework which, thus, was maintained in line with the basic concepts of the Charter.

With its increase in membership, the United Nations more fully mirrors the realities of the present world situation than ever before, although necessarily the picture given in the debates and votes in the United Nations can be truly evaluated only after a careful analysis. The United Nations reflects, but is in no sense a cause of, the renaissance of Asia. The awakening of Africa, and the other great changes that are under way in the balance of power and relationships of the peoples are likewise part of the dynamics of history itself. As always, they bring with them many grave problems of adjustment. These all too easily may become the occasion for arousing passion, fear and hatred, and lead in turn to violent upheavals and to the ultimate disaster of war in this atomic age.

The functions of debate and vote are an essential part of the processes by which the United Nations can assist the governments in avoiding these dangers and in guiding the development in constructive and peaceful directions. But if it is accepted that the primary value of the United Nations is to serve as an instrument for negotiation among governments and for concerting action by governments in support of the goals of the Charter, it is also necessary, I believe, to use the legislative procedures of the United Nations consistently in ways which will promote these ends. In an organization of sovereign states, voting victories are likely to be illusory unless they are steps in the direction of winning lasting consent to a peaceful and just settlement of the questions at issue.

Full weight should also be given to the fact that the processes of adjustment and negotiation which the institutions of the United Nations make available to the member governments embrace much more than the public proceedings of its councils and Assembly. In the diplomacy of world organization the quiet work of preparing the ground, of accommodation of interest and viewpoint, of conciliation and mediation, all that goes into the winning of consent to agreed solutions and common programs, this forms a basis upon which the United Nations can become an increasingly influential and effective force to aid the governments in pursuit of the goals of the Charter.

There are, I believe, promising and practical opportunities for improving the practices and strengthening the institutions of the United Nations in this area of multilateral diplomacy. Especially in the past two years we have begun to explore these opportunities in a number of ways with generally positive results. I hope this evolution of emphasis and practice will be pursued and broadened in the future. This seems to be a more urgent task than to attempt formal constitutional changes, the consideration of which the Committee of the whole Assembly, charged with studying the problem of time and place for a Charter review conference, at all events unanimously wished to postpone until a later stage.

# **United Nations Day Observed**

Appropriate observances were held in Canada on the occasion of United Nations Day, October 24.

A statement was issued by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker emphasizing the importance of the United Nations in the world today, and a radio address was given by Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The United Nations flag was flown from the eastern flag pole of the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings, and the flags of all United Nations member countries were displayed in front of the Parliament Buildings.

During the course of United Nations Day, the Dominion Carillonneur gave a recital which featured the national anthems of the countries whose nationals are officials of the Twelfth Session of the General Assembly; President of the Security Council; President of ECOSOC; President of the Trusteeship Council, and President of the International Court of Justice.

The national service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation carried special programmes in connection with United Nations Day. The International Service of the CBC broadcast a documentary programme on Canada and the United Nations over some of its transmissions, and special commentaries marked the occasion on other transmissions.

As in previous years, the United Nations Association in Canada and other Canadian non-governmental organizations encouraged the holding of non-official celebrations throughout Canada. Special speakers addressed groups across the country and in many communities there were ceremonies at which United Nations flags were raised.

## Statement by Prime Minister

Mr. Diefenbaker's statement was as follows:

October 24 is United Nations Day—the twelfth anniversary of the ratification of the United Nations Charter and of the coming into being of the organization whose aims and ideals portray the kind of world for which we are striving.

This anniversary gives me a welcome opportunity to emphasize the important place that we assign to the United Nations in the realm of international relations. The United Nations was established to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations and to achieve international co-operation in solving problems of an economic, social or humanitarian nature. The Charter laid down these objectives and created the machinery designed to carry them to completion. In the twelve years of its existence, the United Nations has developed this machinery and adjusted its methods to meet the demands of a troubled world. The organization has had its difficulties and its setbacks. But in many important and dangerous issues its influence for peace has been so strong, and its facilities for conciliation so effective, that we must recognize its preservation and development as essential to our hopes for a more peaceful and prosperous world. It is encouraging to note that accumulating experience is constantly adding to the organization's ability to act as an effective instrument of mediation and of international co-operation in a great variety of fields.

The very important but often unheralded economic and humanitarian aspects of United Nations work are an excellent example of the forward strides which can and have been made. Outstanding in this field is the aid to under-developed countries which has been given through United Nations programmes of technical assistance and the advances in social and physical well-being which have been achieved throughout the world by the Specialized Agencies.

Because the United Nations is but the sum of its parts, we cannot expect fruitful and satisfactory results from its deliberations unless we ourselves are prepared to give full support to its aims and to its decisions. Therefore, we should today renew our determination to strengthen and develop the United Nations as the main safeguard for peace in this troubled world.

#### Mr. Smith's Address

The following is the text of Mr. Smith's radio address:

Today the 82 member countries of the United Nations are celebrating the 12th anniversary of the founding of this world-wide organization.

The men who met twelve years ago in San Francisco to draft the United Nations Charter were determined, after the experience of two world wars, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. They believed, as we do today, that this end could only be achieved by uniting their strength to maintain international peace and security, by ensuring that armed force should not be used to resolve disputes, save in the common interest, and by bringing about co-operation among nations to root out those evils—political, economic and social—which are the fundamental causes of war. These objectives were embodied in the United Nations Charter which first set out the aims and ideals to be achieved and then established the machinery designed to attain these objectives.

What is the role of the United Nations in the world today? The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, has aptly described it as an instrument of multilateral diplomacy. The United Nations is not a court of law or a parliament or a super-state. It is a place where one takes problems and seeks to negotiate equitable solutions. It is a flexible instrument of negotiations which can help to stop and prevent war and which can also help in all sorts of ways to hammer out solutions to other problems. But these things cannot be achieved without wise diplomacy by the members directly concerned and the assistance and goodwill of others. We should beware of asking too much of the United Nations. We should not avoid our responsibilities by placing them in the lap of the General Assembly with the idea that it is some kind of voting-machine equipped to solve all problems by some automatic process. The United Nations is an aid to diplomacy, not a substitute, and its existence does not do away with the necessity for developing national policies or pursuing the aims of the Charter by multilateral means.

Responsibility for the settlement of disputes which have led or may lead to armed conflict was vested by the United Nations Charter in the Security Council. This body was able in its first years to bring influence to bear to end hostilities in Indonesia and Kashmir, and later, because of the absence of the Soviet representative, to take effective action against aggression in Korea. The veto has, however, tended to hamper the Security Council in carrying out its responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace. Faced with this situation, the General Assembly has devised procedures which allow it to step in when the Security Council fails to act. The Suez crisis is a case in point. The General Assembly is, however, an effective instrument for peace only when the members concerned have that essential ingredient—goodwill. Failure to understand this factor led last year to charges that the United Nations applied a "double standard" to the Middle East and Hungarian questions. It is true that member states have sometimes displayed "double standards" by completely ignoring some Assembly resolutions while demanding that others be obeyed. But we are not thereby justified in levelling this charge at the United Nations itself.

The United Nations has a useful role to play in what the Secretary-General has aptly referred to as the "renaissance of Asia" and the "awakening of Africa", two of the post-war phenomena which are having a profound influence on the world today. Assembly discussions of the problems facing the powers responsible for colonial administrations have sometimes led to acrimonious debate and criticism which has not always been well-founded. On the whole, however, those discussions have brought to more and more of the members of the United Nations a sense of participating in the process by which the administering nations are leading their dependent territories to independence or self-government. The United Kingdom has given a lesson to the world in this regard. Beginning with Canada, she has launched nine new nations. In this very year, Ghana and Malaya have become new stars in the Commonwealth constellation.

In assessing the usefulness of the United Nations and the role which it can play in the world today, we often tend to forget the unpublicized but valuable work that it is doing in the economic and humanitarian fields. Solid achievements are being chalked up every day by the agencies which are dedicated to the stamping out of disease, to the improvement of the world's food supply and to the care and re-settlement of refugees, to mention only a few examples. Through our membership on the Economic and Social Council, Canada has been closely connected for the past two years with the more de-

tailed workings of these various programmes. We have seen how difficult it is sometimes to equate the justifiable demands of the under-developed countries with the resources which the more advanced countries can make available to assist them. But we have also seen how it is possible, by careful planning, to achieve a programme designed to yield the greatest results. A good example of such co-operation amongst nations is the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance which has been devised to meet one of the most important needs of less-developed countries—that is, the need to acquire practical knowledge of the mechanical skills and advanced technology required for the development of a modern economy. In the social and humanitarian field, as opposed to the economic, the United Nations is slowly building a framework of agreements which can do much to protect the human rights and fundamental freedoms which we in Canada take for granted, but which, unfortunately, are still not enjoyed by millions of our fellowmen.

The United Nations has the failings of all representative bodies in this imperfect world. It reflects the picture of what we are today and reproduces in its council chambers the struggles and cross-currents which characterize the twentieth century. But it provides, at the same time, an opportunity to ease these struggles and to lessen the tensions which otherwise may stretch to the breaking point. We should work even harder to build up and to strengthen the moral authority of the United Nations so that the forces within it which work in opposition to its aims will cease to have influence. This attitude is fundamental to Canadian foreign policy. We intend to continue to work vigorously at the United Nations to create the kind of atmosphere which will enable all the nations and all the peoples of the world to achieve peace. The Canadian public deserve and Canadians everywhere want no less than that.

# **Syrian Complaint at United Nations**

In a letter of October 15, 1957 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Syrian Delegation to the United Nations requested an urgent meeting of the General Assembly to consider the inscription of an item on the agenda entitled: "Complaint about threats to the security of Syria and to international peace." The letter enclosed a Syrian memorandum which referred to "the heavy, unprecedented and unwarranted concentration of Turkish troops . . . in close proximity to the Syrian-Turkish border" and to "other foreign pressures on the Syrian people and Government". Stating that the situation required United Nations measures because Syrian diplomatic initiatives had failed to realize "fruitful results", the memorandum recommended the establishment by the General Assembly of an impartial and international commission to investigate the situation on the Syrian-Turkish border.

In a letter of October 16, 1957 to the President of the General Assembly, the Delegation of the U.S.S.R. supported the Syrian proposal in terms which implied that the "other foreign pressures" mentioned in the Syrian memorandum (which had mentioned only Turkey by name) were intended to refer to the United States. The Soviet letter alleged that the United States was "prodding Turkey to commit aggression against Syria". A United States press release stated that it welcomed Assembly consideration of the situation in the Middle East and that a prompt investigation of developments should help to ease tensions, "as well as clarify who it is threatens peace in the area".

On October 18, 1957, the General Committee, having heard statements by both the Syrian and Turkish representatives, decided to recommend to the General Assembly the inclusion in the agenda of the Syrian item. The Syrian spokesman repeated the gist of the Syrian complaint and stated that no reply to Syrian protests to Turkey had been received until October 17, 1957. The Turkish representative pointed out that Turkey had stated its peaceful intentions in the Middle East, during the opening debate of the twelfth session of the Assembly and at other times, but that Turkey welcomed the inclusion of an item concerning the Middle East. Later the same day, the General Assembly, by a vote of 66 in favour, none against, with one abstention (Liberia), adopted the General Committee's recommendation.

### Debate in Assembly

The debate on the item began on October 22, 1957 in plenary session, at which time the Turkish representative, leading off on a point of order, suggested informally that, in view of Turkish acceptance of an offer by King Saud of Saudi Arabia to mediate between Turkey and Syria, an appropriate delay in the consideration of the item would be in order. The deputy head of the Syrian Delegation stated his delegation's opposition and called for the continuation of the debate in order that "a full investigation" might take place (although subsequently he stated that mediatory efforts would not be excluded by a continuation of the debate). In the absence of a formal motion for delay at this stage, the discussion of the Syrian complaint commenced with statements of the views of various delegations, including those of Syria, Egypt, the U.S.S.R., Turkey and the United States. However, the representative of Paraguay then formally proposed a postponement of the discussion, "thus permitting the results of the Saudi Arabian initiative to become known". At

the request of the Syrian Delegation, the Assembly adopted instead, by 39 votes (including Canada) to ten, with 32 abstentions, a compromise motion to adjourn the debate for a period not exceeding three days.

The debate recommenced on October 25 and continued (the following week) on October 28, 29 and 30, coming to a conclusion on November 1, 1957. On the substance of the Syrian complaint, which, as the Syrian Foreign Minister's address to the Assembly on October 22 showed, was now clearly aimed at implicating the United States Government in the complaint against Turkey, there was a wide range of opinion expressed in various statements. On the question of Turkish troop concentrations, a majority of delegations participating in the debate left no doubt as to their firm belief in Turkey's peaceful intentions, although a number acknowledged that Syria was nevertheless entitled to have recourse to the United Nations if it was not satisfied as to Turkish intentions. On the broader issue of United States involvement. the debate was characterized by lengthy and vigorous attacks on the United States and the West by delegations from the Soviet bloc, to which the United States representative, amongst others, said, regretfully, he was forced to reply. The Western response, in general, dwelt on the theme that the "crisis" alleged to exist was an artificial one; and that the threat to peace arose not from any real threat of hostilities occurring on the Turkish-Syrian border but from tensions deliberately created by Soviet activities in relation to Syria and other countries in the Midlde East. A number of delegations expressed their disapproval of the way in which the debate had been allowed to spread to include "cold war" implications.

In these circumstances, the objective of the debate, which logically ought to have been consideration of the appropriate means for meeting the Syrian request for General Assembly action, tended to be lost from sight. The Soviet delegate charged that procedural manoeuvring and other delaying tactics had been used by the Western delegations in an attempt to sidetrack the Syrian complaint. However, in fact it was not until October 30 that the Syrian Delegation formally submitted a specific resolution calling for the establishment of a fact-finding commission. In addition, the Syrian attitude had not been definitively expressed on the Saudi Arabian mediatory proposal; on suggestions that the Secretary-General's good offices might be sought; or on the contention, advanced by several delegations, that, if the Syrian request merited the urgent attention that had been alleged, it should have been directed to the Security Council.

In the light of these considerations and as a result of informal discussions among interested delegations, the Delegation of Japan, shortly after the tabling of the Syrian draft resolution on October 30, formally proposed, jointly with the Delegations of Canada, Denmark, Norway, Paraguay, Peru and Spain, a second draft resolution. In this it was proposed that the General Assembly should express its confidence that the Secretary-General, without prejudice to efforts being made under Article 33\* of the United Nations Charter, would be available to undertake discussions with representatives of Syria and Turkey and could proceed, if necessary, to the countries concerned in connexion with the performance of his task.

<sup>\*</sup>Article 33 enjoins parties to a dispute that is likely to endanger international peace and security, to seek, first of all, a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

#### Canadian Statement

In support of this joint resolution, the Canadian representative, Mr. W. B. Nesbitt, M.P., made the following statement:

The Government and people of Canada have been watching with increasing concern the developments during the past few months in the Middle East and particularly the situation in and around Syria. Earlier this year we were encouraged to believe that we could look for an improvement in conditions in the area. We have been deeply gratifed, as the Canadian Prime Minister indicated in the general debate, that the United Nations has had some measure of success as a calming influence in some parts of the Middle East. In these circumstances our concern about recent developments is given greater emphasis.

Like others in this Assembly Hall, the Canadian Delegation has followed with careful interest the course of the dabate on the item submitted by the Government of Syria. In listening to the statements made by representatives of those states more directly concerned with the matter, we have been able to shape our opinions about what action, if any, the Assembly should take.

In the first place, we were not opposed to having the item raised in the Assembly. We shared the opinions of those delegations which have argued that the Assembly may discuss any questions related to the maintenance of international peace and security and we would not quarrel with the view that any member state, but particularly the smaller states, should be entitled to bring to the attention of the United Nations any cause of anxiety about its security and independence. Our assumption would be that the state concerned would be the best judge of where its best interest lay in a matter of this kind, but that in seeking assistance from the United Nations the interested government would act with responsibility and moderation. We have frequently expressed in this Assembly our belief that the United Nations will grow in strength and stature if we, as member governments, are prepared to heed the appeal of nations—and this applies with perhaps greater force among the smaller nations—who seek here to establish order in their relationships and on a basis of peace and justice.

Having said this, however, I would not wish my remarks to be interpreted as meaning that the Canadian Delegation believes that the complaint of Syria on this occasion is well-founded. It is evident that the Government of Syria views the situation along its borders with anxiety and concern, but for our part we are satisfied that the Government of Turkey has not behaved, and has no intention of behaving in any sense, in the irresponsible manner suggested in the explanatory memorandum submitted with the Syrian item, and in the statement of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Syria during this debate. In this connection I should like to endorse what the distinguished representative of the United States had to say on Friday about Turkey as a loyal member of the United Nations.

On several occasions during the course of this debate, the Assembly has heard the solemn assurances of the Government of Turkey about its intentions. We believe that these assurances are entitled to receive our respectful attention. The distinguished representative of Turkey has given some account of the anxiety which his government and his people have been experiencing because of recent developments in neighbouring countries. These comments from the representative of Turkey are surely relevant to our discussion here and particularly in view of the violent remarks which we have heard from the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.

Our intention at this time is not to engage in polemics or propaganda, but we cannot fail to note the lack of restraint which has characterized the statements of the Soviet Delegation during this debate. These have led us to question the motives and intentions of the Soviet Government in supporting the complaint of Syria. The Canadian approach to this item would be to deal with it calmly and constructively and we therefore deplore utterances here and statements elsewhere which, through their very lack of restraint, tend to aggravate not only the debate in this Assembly, but the situation in the area. However, in saying this, we are fully aware that unwarranted charges and accusations cannot be left unanswered, as the distinguished representative of the United States made clear in his intervention on October 25.

It was emphasized in the General Committee that the Syrian item involved a situation which all members of the United Nations should try to discuss in an atmosphere of calm and confidence. We regard this as good advice. We believe too that the Assembly would be wise to consider this matter carefully with a view to bringing about a reconciliation, rather than an intensification, of conflicting views. In other words, we should seek to allay any apprehension and anxiety which might prevail in the states immediately concerned. By doing this, we would help to allay those wider anxieties which naturally stem from deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. We have been happy to see that others share our preference for a constructive approach to the Syrian item.

In these circumstances we warmly welcome the generous initiative of His Majesty King Saud because clearly His Majesty's main interest has been to ease undesirable tensions between two neighbouring states. It would be our view that the distinguished ruler of a third Middle Eastern state could effectively lend good offices to a situation of this kind. It would be entirely consistent with the Charter of the United Nations if the Syrian complaint, which has brought into sharp focus serious charges and countercharges, as between Syria and Turkey, were to be dealt with through regional processes. If we interpreted his remarks correctly, we understood the distinguished representative of Afghanistan to express the same view in his thoughtful and welcome statement of October 22. We have no doubt that this opinion is shared by many other delegations in this Assembly.

The Assembly should note with approval, we suggest, the repeated assurances and practical demonstration that the Government of Turkey has been fully prepared to accept the worthy offer of King Saud. It is surely incumbent on all member states to explore fully all channels of negotiation, mediation, conciliation or other peaceful means for resolving their differences. As we see it, the Government of Turkey has acted in accordance with its Charter obligations in the response to the initiative of His Majesty King Saud. We have been informed that this offer still stands. We hope we are right in assuming that the Government of Syria has not rejected it. The Canadian Delegation joins with others who have urged the Syrian authorities to weigh carefully the advantages of accepting the offer. Because of the uncertainties of the moment, we believe that the Assembly should be prepared to consider as well other means of dealing with the situation. In consultation with other delegations, and in the light of views expressed during this debate, we have reached some conclusions about a possible course of action.

If, for whatever reason, the parties are unable to agree to avail themselves of this regional process for settling the present matter, there are other means, as implied in the Charter. Several speakers in this debate have suggested that the Secretary-General, acting within the scope of the responsibilities given to him in the Charter, might be able to assist the parties to reconcile their differences and in this way to bring about an easing of tension, a situation of quiet. We have no hesitation in supporting that suggestion and in commending it to the Assembly and to the parties concerned.

In doing so, we have no wish to circumscribe the kind of action which the Secretary-General might take to achieve the aims I have mentioned. With the goodwill and coperation of those most concerned and in the relaxed atmosphere which should prevail now that the situation has been fully aired in the Assembly, the Secretary-General should be able to make a helpful contribution.

I wish only to emphasize that the Canadian Government has complete confidence in the Secretary-General's diplomatic skill and patience. As we all know, he is no stranger to the political conditions which exist in the Middle East. We are sure that governments in the area share our appreciation of the Secretary-General's helpfulness during difficult negotiations. Accordingly, we believe that it would be wise not to tie the Secretary-General's hands in this matter but to allow him the opportunity, consistent with his responsibilities under the Charter, to explore the situation fully with the parties and with such others as may appear useful, all in order to bring about an easing of tension in the area.

It was for these reasons that the Canadian Delegation joined with others in cosponsoring the draft resolution which has been introduced in the Assembly this morning. I need not describe the proposal because the document is self-explanatory and because it has been ably explained by the distinguished representative of Japan. I wish only to underline that our joint proposal is not in any sense a preferred alternative to, nor a move competitive with, the other efforts which have been made to deal with the present matter. On the contrary, and as I have indicated in this statement, we regard those efforts as highly commendable.

In these circumstances we urge that if those other efforts should prove unavailing, the "United Nations diplomacy of reconciliation", mentioned in the introduction of the Secretary-General's annual report, be permitted to take effect. What the Canadian Delegation has been looking for in this debate is an improvement in the actual situation, a means of making progress. We are confident that the approach which we and others have supported will serve those ends. We earnestly hope that this is the view of the great majority of delegations here.

(Continued on page 352)

# **United Nations Commission for Togoland**

By J. L. Delisle

Delegate of Canada on the Commission

On January 23, 1957, by Resolution 1046 (XI), the General Assembly of the United Nations decided to send a six-man commission to Togoland under French administration to study the situation resulting from the application of the Statute of Togoland granted by France, in August 1956, to that Trust Territory. The Commission was also to examine the manner in which the Statute was being applied. It was asked to submit to the Trusteeship Council, in due course, a report on its investigations, along with comments and suggestions. The establishment of this body was a result of debates which had taken place at the United Nations during the eleventh session of the General Assembly, when France, the administering power, had signified its intention of terminating the trusteeship agreement concluded in 1946 with the United Nations with respect to Togoland.

A short time after the adoption of the above-mentioned resolution, Prince Wan Waithayakon, President of the General Assembly, designated the six following countries, on the basis of equitable geographical distribution, to make up the membership of the Commission: Canada, Denmark, Guatemala, Liberia, the Philippines and Yugoslavia. It was the first time that Canada had participated in the work of a United Nations commission making investigations in a trust territory. The designated countries later appointed the following persons as their delegates on the Commission: Charles T. O. King, Liberia; Jean-Louis Delisle, Canada; Hermod Lannung, Denmark; Jose Rolz-Bennett, Guatemala; Victorio D. Carpio, the Philippines; Alexsandar Bozovic, Yugoslavia. When Mr. Lannung had to resign, shortly after his arrival in Togoland, he was replaced by Mr. Lars Tillitse. At the Commission's first meeting, the distinguished Liberian representative, Mr. King, accepted the chairmanship of the Commission at his colleagues' request. Most members of the Commission already knew one another, having taken part in the work of the Fourth Committee of the eleventh session of the General Assembly. Their task was greatly facilitated by the courtesy and cordiality which at all times marked their relations.

The Commission was to perform its work over a period of some three months. After preliminary meetings in New York early in May, during which the work was planned and the places to be visited were determined, the Commission proceeded to Paris, where one week was spent in conversations with the French authorities. Late in May, the Commission left for Lomé, Togoland, where it arrived on May 30 after a flight over the Sahara and brief stops at Niamey, capital of the French Niger, and Cotonou, capital of Dahomey.

The Commission spent a full month in Togoland, dividing its time about equally between the capital city and the various regions of the country, and was warmly welcomed everywhere both by the authorities and the population as a whole. Although, in its desire to gain the fullest possible knowledge of the country, the Commission had set itself a rather elaborate programme, it succeeded in carrying it out entirely. It visited the territory from end to end, stopping at numerous centres, meeting a large number of political personalities, and giving hearings to a great many groups and associations.

The mission was in Togoland toward the end of the rainy season in the south and the beginning of the rainy season in the north. Though the rainfall was not heavy, it brought welcome relief from the tropical heat.

### Description of Togoland

Togoland is a strip of territory about 75 miles wide and 375 miles long which extends from the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, in the south, to the French territory of Haute Volta in the north. In area, it is about as large as Nova Scotia. Its western neighbour is Ghana and its eastern neighbour Dahomey, a French territory. It will be recalled that Togoland, as a German colony until the early stages of the First World War, included also the territory which became British Togoland, now an integral part of Ghana. The centre of the country is crossed by the Togo Range, which extends from the south-west to the north-east and has an average height of 2,300 feet. These mountains long raised a barrier against the migrations of neighbouring populations as well as, to a certain extent, against European influence. However, highways and air transport have now conquered this obstacle. The northern slopes of the range overlook a plain along which the Oti River flows toward the Volta River. The southern slopes reach a plateau which gradually falls away toward the coastal plain. The seaboard is one long sandy beach partly isolated from the mainland by a series of lagoons, one of which forms quaint Lake Togo, a popular resort.

Togoland is almost exclusively an agricultural country. The main food crops are manioc, maize, yam, rice, and sorghum, and leading exports are cocoa, coffee, copra, palm-oil, peanuts, and cotton. No plantation in Togoland is operated by Europeans. Production is entirely in the hands of the natives, who cultivate the land on a collective basis, as individual ownership generally is non-existent. The population consists of slightly more than one million Africans and only about one thousand Europeans. The Negro population is made up of about thirty tribes. Those of the northern region are mainly of Sudanese Voltaic-type origin, and those of the south, such as the Ewes and the Minas, are of the Benin negroid type, of Eastern Nigerian origin.

#### The Commission at work

After paying visits to the Prime Minister of the autonomous Republic of Togoland, Mr. Nicolas Grunitzky, and to the High Commissioner of the French Republic, Mr. Spénale, the Commission set to work. It held study meetings with the Prime Minister and his cabinet as well as with officials of the various Government departments. It also had meetings with the High Commissioner. It gave hearings to a large number of delegations representing different associations and the various political parties. It was invited to a session of the Legislative Assembly and established contacts with the members of the Assembly both at a study meeting in Lomé and in the course of visits in the various parts of the country. In this way, the Commission was able to obtain all necessary information on the significance and scope of the new Statute, on the manner in which it is being applied, and on the spirit according to which it is interpreted. The Commission did not limit itself to receiving statements and petitions from the opposition parties; it was also present at political meetings held by those parties on the occasion of its visit to Togoland. Furthermore, in order to acquire an even more complete knowledge of the country, the mission visited various agricultural, educational and medical establishments. It was able to see for itself that very useful work is being achieved in those various fields.

In the course of its investigations, the Commission visited most of the regions and ethnological groups of the country. For instance, it paid two different visits to the administrative circle of Anécho, whose name as well as that of several other localities—Porto-Séguro is another outstanding example—recalls the coming of the Portuguese in the 18th century, during the period of the slave trade.

The City of Anécho, located on the coastline a short distance from the border of Dahomey, boasts a very old tradition and is considered the cradle of Togoland. The members of the Commission were received there by the Regent and the traditional ministers of the king of Anécho. A reception was also offered in their honour by the rival dynasty of Adjigo, which has joined the strongest opposition party. During a subsequent visit, the Commission travelled through the Ouatchi back-country, a very fertile agricultural plain where maize and manioc fields unfold to the horizon.

Another important region in the southern part of the country is that lying north-west of Lomé, where Tsévié and Palimé, the two main cities of the Ewes, are located. The Ewes, 175,000 strong, are the second racial group in Togoland, after that of the Cabrais-Lossos in the north. The Ewes are mostly farmers and planters. Their largest group is in Ghana, where they number more than half a million.

During their visit to Central and Northern Togoland, the United Nations representatives operated from the chief towns of the various circles, travelling in teams through the neighbouring regions. Thus a team from Atakpamé, capital of the Central Circle, travelled west to the country of the Akpossos, where the growing of cocoa is particularly flourishing. It was on the territory of Atakpamé that French and British troops forced the capitulation of the German troops in September 1914.

Proceeding north, the mission then visited the settlement zone of East Mono, where numerous families of Cabrais peasants from the over-populated northern regions have been regrouped by the French and Togolese authorities. A few hours were also spent at the Cotton and Exotic Textiles Research Institute, at Kolécopé, which is maintained entirely by the administering power.

In the Sokodé Circle, the mission visited scientifically-cultivated plantations of commercial trees such as teak, kapok, and oil-palm, set out in many places on what was formerly a treeless plain. Sokodé is a pleasant city in a mountainous and forested area. The Commission was greeted there by a delegation of traditional chiefs in Muslim robes riding frisky small Arab horses. Many traces are to be found here of Arab invasions from the north in past centuries. Muslims are numerous among the local inhabitants, the Cotocolis, and mosques are to be seen in a few cities.

The Commission then spent a day in the country of the Bassaris, along the border of Ghana, where big game is plentiful. Then it moved north to Lama-Kara, the centre of an agricultural region which is well-known for the intensive cultivation conducted there, often on the mountainside, by the hard-working Cabrais peasants. To complete its northern trip, the Commission formed two groups, one of which visited the Circle of Mango while the other pushed ahead to Dapango, the centre of the administrative division bearing the same name which touches on the French territory of Haute Volta. The



COMMISSION HEARS PETITION

Mr. J. L. Delisle, third from left, seated, and other members of the United Nations Commission on French
Togoland, hear a petition presented by the Committee for Togoland Unity Party at a meeting held near
the Great Mosque at Sokodé.

main racial groups here are the Mobas and the Gourmas. After meeting the authorities and interested groups, the Commission returned to Lomé. For the second half of its return trip the Commission travelled by auto-rail over the railroad built at the time of the Germans.

In many communities, the Commission attended sessions of various organs of regional or municipal government. Numerous receptions and picturesque popular festivities were held in its honour. It was greeted everywhere with much consideration by a favourable and co-operative populace. The geographical and racial diversity reflected by the composition of the Commission seemed to arouse vivid interest and enhanced respect. The fact that the Commission's chairman was himself an African made the Togolese understandably proud.

# The Commission's Report

On June 30, the Commission left Togoland for the European Office of the United Nations, in Geneva, where it prepared its report. This document was completed late in July and made public about one month later. It was submitted to the Trusteeship Council by the Commission chairman on September 12.

The main body of the Report (T 1336 and Corr. 1), which was adopted unanimously by the members of the Commission, describes in detail the interpretation given to the Statute by the administering authority and the Togolese Government, respectively, as well as by the interested political

parties. Togolese governmental institutions, their operation and their relations with the administering authority are also reviewed, as well as the position of the political parties and, generally, the conditions under which they operate.

Chapter V contains the comments and suggestions of the Commission. In this chapter the Commission expresses the view that Togoland "possesses a large measure of internal autonomy or self-government" and that, while there are still important restrictions in view of the keeping of certain powers and jurisdictions by France, the new Statute "represents a very significant step in the achievement of the objectives of Article 76 of the Charter". The fields reserved to France relate mostly to foreign relations, defence, currency and external trade, the judiciary, the codified systems of criminal and commercial law and the labour code. These fields, according to both the French and the Togolese Governments, on the whole are either financially or technically burdensome.

Amendments made to the Statute since its entry into force in August 1956 have added considerably to Togoland's autonomy. In the opinion of the Commission the Statute has been broadly interpreted and liberally applied to such a point that jurisdictions expressly reserved to the French authorities have been curtailed in large measure by this interpretation. The Togolese Government, for its part, exercises control over most internal matters and its jurisdiction extends generally to all fields not specifically reserved to the administering authority. While noting that the Togolese have no power to amend the Statute unilaterally, even in those internal fields handed over to them, and that it may be desirable that the Togolese Government assume that power, the Commission recognized that the territory will evolve constitutionally towards an increasing transfer of powers to the Togolese authorities. The Commission noted that the Togolese Government has the fields under its jurisdiction well in hand and that, in the carrying out of its plans for economic and social development, it relies on economic, financial and technical assistance from France. The Commission pays tribute to the many constructive aspects of the work performed by the administering authority in the economic, social and educational spheres.

The Commission reports that it found among the people "a highly developed political consciousness and a lively interest in the political future of the territory", although with these factors is to be noted a certain tension between the opposed political parties. The main problem in this field is that of ensuring the right of assembly at the local level in tribal communities, a problem related to the more general one of introducing modern democratic methods in social systems of this type. The Commission hopes that elections by direct universal suffrage will be held as provided for in the Statute; this might contribute to the establishment of a more stable political atmosphere and give wider popular support to the institutions set up under the Statute. The Commission considers that the political development of the territory and its relations with France should be decided upon freely in full agreement with the wishes of the Togolese people. It expressed the opinion that the presence of armed forces and of a French gendarmerie constitutes "a substantial potential limitation" of the autonomy enjoyed by Togoland, and it recommends that the agreement between France and Togoland governing the maintenance of these forces be defined in the Statute.

The Commission's report was very favourably received by most members of the Trusteeship Council. The Council examined the Report and decided, by a resolution adopted on September 19, to transmit it to the General Assembly to serve as a basis for the consideration of the Togolese question during the current session of the Assembly. The Commission did not express a view on the maintenance or termination of the trusteeship, leaving that question to the discretion of the Assembly. However, it expressed the opinion that, "at an appropriate time the people of the territory would need to be consulted by appropriate means" concerning their desires for the future status of the Territory.

One thing in Togoland which impressed the members of the Commission was the immense prestige of the United Nations in that part of West Africa. Everywhere, the Commission was greeted with the cry of "Long live the United Nations!". The great organization apparently constitutes in the eyes of the Togolese people an international reality worthy of the greatest respect.

The Commission took pleasure in mentioning in its report the excellent co-operation and the close social relations between the French and the Togolese, as well as the ease and courteous character of social contacts. The Commission commended both groups for this.

Another fact noticed by the Commission, one that speaks highly for the Togolese, is the keen desire of their young people to take advantage of the modern educational facilities placed at their disposal, and their serious application to their studies. As the Commission did not fail to observe in its Report, such a fact augurs well for the future of Togoland.

#### DISARMAMENT

Statement by Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, in the First Committee of the United Nations, on October 23, 1957.

Mr. Chairman, in my first intervention in the Political Committee I have pleasure in extending to you my warm congratulations on your election as our presiding officer.

My Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker, in his statement in the general debate on September 23, has made known the anxiety with which the Canadian Government views the dark prospect of growing arsenals of increasingly apocalyptic weapons. As we reflect on the awesome prospect of man's ability to destroy himself, we renew in Canada our determination to prove, before it is too late, that statecraft has not lagged too far behind science. All of us in this room and all our governments must continue to search for sure means to secure the peace of the world. Yet as we survey the antagonisms which rend the world we find an array of well-nigh over-whelming problems. It would be idle to suppose that at this session of the General Assembly we can bring about a settlement of all these controversies. We may hope, nevertheless, that our endeavours will serve to start a reversal in the trend of world events so that we may, as we are pledged to do under the Charter—"save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". When those words were written, despite the appalling devastation which a global war had wrought, those at San Francisco in 1945 could not realize that soon means of destruction would be created which would make us uncertain that the world would ever see those succeeding generations. We have indeed a more fundamental task than that envisaged in the Charter—not merely to save the world from the scourge of war but to save the world from destruction.

#### Debate on Survival

As some representatives have rightly said, our debate in this Assembly is not merely about disarmament, but about human survival. We have yet to prove that we are capable of the radical adjustment in our thinking which the modern age demands. We are still using, Mr. Chairman, the outworn vocabulary of international rivalry in the age of intercontinental missiles and the beginning of ventures into outer space. Modern science requires us to achieve a solidarity of purpose as human beings in the great venture of exploring these new developments in science for the benefit of mankind.

The Soviet Union makes a simple appeal—ban the use of nuclear weapons altogether, or for five years, and then eliminate them entirely, and I must confess, in common with many others throughout the world, that this proposition has an immediate attraction and appeal. An end to any possibility of the use of nuclear weapons is certainly our objective. Why then, it is fair to ask, can we not now accept this simple appeal? The answer is that a promise not to use nuclear weapons is good only until one nation decides to break it.

There is at present no reliable means of ensuring the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

A disarmament agreement must be based on something more substantial than mere promises. All nations must know (and be able to rely on that knowledge) that other nations will not continue to keep and develop such weapons in spite of their pledged word to get rid of them. We must be convinced that no nation is planning or preparing the destruction or crippling of another, and each of the nations must, by its deeds and not by mere declarations, persuade the other nations of the world that its weapons will never be used except for defence We must have mutual trust and confidence, but it must be based on the cold, hard terms of a binding agreement under which real safeguards have been established If the nations of the world had the faith in one another on which moral obligations without such safeguards would have to depend, they would not now be caught in the dire armaments race.

Throughout the United Nations disarmament talks the U.S.S.R. has been notably reluctant to come to grips with the question of inspection. Instead, they have frequently accused other countries of using arguments of inspection as an excuse for avoiding disarmament. We were considerably encouraged by the fact that at least in principle the Soviet attitude on controls in the last year or so had improved considerably, and I believe this was a major factor in the hopes during the past year that at least a partial disarmament agreement might be soon achieved. It was, therefore, with deep dismay that we heard in the latest Soviet pronouncement the same old contemptuous reference to the guarantees of inspection and control which mark the difference between empty declarations and serious disarmament undertakings.

know that the deep suspicions which divide the great nations today make any agreement on inspection and controls slow and difficult, but countries which are genuinely peaceful in their intentions and whose armed forces and armaments are honestly defensive and not aggressive should be able to accept this essential condition of disarmament. As my Prime Minister put it, "If you have nothing to hide, why hide it"? Canada, for example, has agreed to open its territory to whatever inspection may be mutually accepted by the parties to a disarmament agreement. We have explicitly agreed to aerial inspection of all or part of our country under a fair and equitable system for warning against surprise attack. Soviet spokesmen have rather sarcastically written off inspection of Canada's Arctic regions (included in one of the zones suggested), but this area is of course significant in this context, both as a possible route of surprise attack and as an area for a beginning of such inspection which would be

free of some of the complications of more heavily populated regions.

Even if we are agreed in principle on the necessity for controls, there are innumerable questions of technical detail which would need clarification and agreement. The immense amount of work still to be done in this field was strikingly illustrated by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom in his statement in the general debate when he listed many of the vital inspection questions to which we would need to find exact answers.

#### **Must Express Views**

By the will of the United Nations, Canada has accepted the obligation to serve on the Sub-Committee in the hope of making some contribution to the disarmament problem. While the Great Powers represented on the Sub-Committee, which have the responsibility and power associated with the production of nuclear weapons, must play a decisive part in reaching an agreement, other countries, which like ourselves, do not produce such weapons, have the right and the duty to express their views on an issue which, as I said earlier, affects all mankind. To some extent, Canada, the only smaller country on the Sub-Committee, shares the point of view of the majority of member states which might be classed as middle or smaller powers. During the course of this debate we have already heard, from many delegations not represented on the Sub-Committee, thoughtful and important statements on disarmament. To name only a few, Mr. Chairman, the Delegations of Japan, Belgium, India and of Mexico in their interventions have called attention to significant aspects of this problem. We have also heard the significant statements of the Great Powers and in particular the lucid and cogent exposition of Mr. Moch yesterday morning.

Following the lead of some of these earlier statements, we must come to grips with the real difficulties which now beset disarmament negotiations. Recriminations and rehashing of old controversies, from whichever side put forward, are in our opinion inappropriate. The issue is too grave to furnish material for propaganda points.

In this connection, I must say that our delegation deplores certain statements contained in the speech by the Soviet representative in this Committee. They are, I suggest, unworthy of this debate. I refer in particular to Mr. Gromyko's implication in his speech in this Committee that the Western democracies were responsible for the Second World War. While I do not wish to dwell on the ill-fated German-Soviet pact which did so much to launch that war, I must say again that we consider these communist attempts to falsify history as out of place in discussion of the disarmament issue.

When we begin to examine the essential problems before us, we must face the fact that the world failed in its efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons at a time when the inspection necessary to guarantee such an under-

taking presented considerably less difficulty than it does today. The distinguished representative of India has commented on the absence from the twenty-four-power draft resolution of reference to the elimination of nuclear weapons. The explanation, of course, is that this particular draft resolution deals with those limited objectives in disarmament which could be achieved at once or soon. Unfortunately the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, for which there are at present no adequate safeguards, cannot be regarded as immediately attainable. Nevertheless we have not abandoned as a goal the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. If the means of inspection adequate to guarantee such an undertaking can be devised it would certainly be part of my Government's recommendation for a comprehensive disarmament agreement. But, I reiterate, it is not helpful to approach this goal by way of unsubstantiated declarations and unenforceable agreements such as a promise never to use nuclear weapons.

#### **Immediate Responsibility**

Our immediate responsibility now is to do whatever may be possible to decrease stockpiles of such weapons and to ensure the use of fissionable materials for peaceful purposes. We believe that a beginning could be made in this direction. At the same time, and I emphasize this point, constructive efforts must continue through the United Nations to reduce world tension and to solve dangerous problems as they arise and so to make certain that these weapons of terrible destruction are never used. At this point, although I do not for a moment suggest any political conditions for the first stage disarmament plan which we espouse, we are again up against the inevitable link between progress on disarmament and progress on the other difficult international issues which divide the world. Disarmament in any comprehensive sense must go in step with settlement of these other grave inter-national problems. Without any slackening of our efforts to make a beginning in disarmament we must also seize every opportunity for settlement of these other problems. One of the ways in which the United Nations has already made a great contribution to world peace has been the provision of neutral and impartial United Nations observation or inspection forces in tense and troubled areas. The United Nations must be ready whenever appropriate situations arise-and of course whenever the circumstances are favourableto consider further action of this kind which at the very least inhibits dangerous move-ments of forces and may even save the peace of the world and thus give us the time and the atmosphere in which to continue disarmament negotiations. I need hardly add that Canada has always made a full contribution to United Nations undertakings of this sort.

It has been our wish in the Canadian Delegation to participate in a constructive approach to this central question of international security, and in our participating, I repeat, we have the role of a middle power. We be-

And Care

lieve that there are many measures of disarmament which are capable of inspection and control and which could genuinely add to our security because all participating countries could be reasonably sure that other states are living up to their obligations. Among these measures are reductions in forces and conventional armaments and also agreement to provide that henceforth all production of fissionable materials will be solely for peaceful purposes. These are two of the main themes in the draft resolution before the Assembly co-sponsored by four members of the Sub-Committee and a large number of other nations.

Two other measures, included in that resolution, could do a great deal to allay our present anxieties. These are, first, a suspension of testing of nuclear weapons, particularly the largest-scale hydrogen weapons, and second, some variant of the several proposals which have been made for a system of advance warning against surprise attack by means of reciprocal air and ground inspection. The Delegation of India has tabled proposals for scientific commissions to go into some of the detailed problems of inspection and control. These suggestions merit careful examination, particularly with reference to these last two measures.

Canada is one of the sponsors of the twenty-four-power resolution I have mentioned. We urge its adoption. Nevertheless we must remain sensitive to every possibility of improving it. Let us not be inflexible. We of Canada certainly do not say that the particular proposals with which we are now associated are the only means by which at least some progress can be made towards disarmament.

The Soviet Delegation has been particularly indifferent—even hostile—to the proposal to use all production of fissionable material for peaceful purposes. We are at a loss to understand this Soviet objection to any cut-off date on the production of weapons from fissionable material. It seems to us strange that despite their many declarations in favour of "banning the bomb" and prohibiting its use, they are not more interested in finding a workable proposal for stopping the manufacture of such weapons, particularly when such a proposal is preceded as it would be under our resolution by the suspension of test explosions.

#### Suspension of Tests

Speakers in this debate have properly devoted considerable attention to suggestions for suspension of tests of nuclear weapons with suitable control posts and technical equipment in the areas where such tests have been made. The latest proposals in the Sub-Committee, which I have mentioned and which Canada co-sponsored, do provide for suspension of tests as the very first thing to be done in our plan for initial steps of disarmament. Under this plan tests could be sus-

pended for two years. The Assembly should note that the sponsors of this proposal have made a real effort to match the proper international concern about the testing of nuclear weapons. As you are all aware, Canada does not produce nuclear weapons. Therefore, we have not ourselves conducted any of these tests. Thus, we are in this respect in the same position as the great majority of the other nations represented here. Whatever the correct view may be as to the possible harmful effects of radiation and fallout, I think none of us would want to discount the anxiety on this score felt by the peoples of all nations. However, in the present international circumstances of tension and fear, it is inevitable, unless we do something now, that the major powers will seek to augment and improve their weapons, and this involves tests. While we are certainly not opposed to any fair and reciprocal measures to be taken as soon as possible with respect to tests of nuclear weapons, we are also convinced that some more fundamental action must also be agreed upon and must be taken.

We all have this much in common, that we share an interest in survival. Let us then so order our endeavours that we may ensure that the engines which are capable of putting our survival in hazard are made the servants and not the masters of man. But if the wonderful devices for harnessing the forces of nature which science has contrived are to be used to alleviate and not to increase human misery and destitution, we must organize political machinery which will direct these discoveries into the ways of peace. I cannot believe that this is a simple matter which can be done by the stroke of a pen or the passage of a resolution. But I am convinced that such an achievement is within our capacity and within our grasp.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I ask sincerely this question. What is the alternative? Are we once again to end our discussions in deadlock? We should ask ourselves, each of us, have we all really faced up to the meaning of this for the peoples of the world—for all mankind? Prime Minister Diefenbaker, in participating in the general debate, concluded his statement with the heartfelt wish that this Assembly might become known in future years as the Disarmament Assembly. My final word is a plea directed primarily to the Great Powers, which must bear the main responsibilities, for at least a beginning in actual measures of disarmament. Canada has co-sponsored plans for partial disarmament but, I repeat, we do not regard them as necessarily the last word. Further negotiation in the interests of world peace is the bounden duty of all of us. At the beginning, the experience gained and the confidence created by our first steps in disarmament—however limited—could lead us on towards our goal, which is the elimination of nuclear weapons. The stake is the very survival of the human race.

### APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. M. D. G. Baudouin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective September 26, 1957.
- Mr. A. J. G. Couvrette appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective October 1, 1957.
- Mr. H. W. Walker posted from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to Ottawa, effective October 2, 1957...
- Mr. E. W. T. Gill appointed Canadian High Commissioner in Ghana. Proceeded to Accra October 4, 1957.
- Mr. J. E. G. Blais posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective October 9, 1957.
- Mr. R. S. MacLean posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective October 10, 1957.
- Mr. W. F. A. Turgeon, QC, Canadian Ambassador to Portugal, retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service, effective October 15, 1957.
- Miss C. S. Weir posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective October 15, 1957.
- Mr. W. M. Wood posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective October 18, 1957.
- Mr. D. W. Munro posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to Ottawa, effective October 21, 1957.
- Mr. J. R. Francis posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective October 22, 1957.
- Mr. D. R. Taylor, DFC, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective October 24, 1957.

### TREATY INFORMATION

#### **Current Action**

#### Bilateral

#### United States of America

Convention between Canada and the United States of America further modifying and supplementing the Convention and accompanying protocol of March 4, 1942, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of Income Taxes, as modified by the supplementary Convention of June 12, 1950.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Washington September 26, 1957. Entered into force September 26, 1957.

#### Australia

Agreement between Canada and Australia for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

Signed at Mont Tremblant October 1, 1957.

### Union of South Africa

Agreement between Canada and the Union of South Africa for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to income tax.

Signed at Ottawa September 28, 1956. Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Pretoria October 11, 1957.

Entered into force October 11, 1957.

Agreement between Canada and the Union of South Africa for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to succession duties.

Signed at Ottawa September 28, 1956.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Pretoria October 11, 1957. Entered into force October 11, 1957.

#### Multilateral

Convention concerning customs facilities for touring.

Acceded to by Canada, June 1, 1955. Entered into force September 11, 1957.

Protocol amending the Preamble and Parts II and III of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, done at Geneva March 10, 1955.

Entered into force October 7, 1957.

# The following Convention and Agreements were signed at Ottawa October 3, 1957.

Universal Postal Union Convention, Ottawa, 1957.

Agreement concerning Insured Letters and Boxes;

Agreement concerning Postal Parcels;

Agreement concerning Postal Money Orders and Postal Travellers' Cheques;

Agreement concerning Transfers to and from Postal Cheque Accounts and the Supplement dealing with the Negotiation through Postal Cheque Accounts of Securities made payable at Postal Cheque Offices;

Agreement concerning Cash on Delivery items;

Agreement concerning the Collection of Bills;

Agreement concerning Subscriptions to Newspapers and Periodicals;

Agreement concerning Savings Banks.

#### PUBLICATION

Canada Treaty Series 1955 No 27. Agreement between the Government of Iraq and the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India and Pakistan regarding War Cemeteries, Graves and Memorials of the British Commonwealth in Iraq resulting from the war of 1939-1945.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\*

#### A Selected List

- a) Printed documents:
- Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. A/3585/Rev.1. N.Y., 1957. 66 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 11.
- Report of the Economic and Social Council covering the period from 10 August 1956 to 2 August 1957. A/3613. N.Y., 1957. 105 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 3.
- Report of the United Nations Staff Pension Board on the Fourth Actuarial Valuation of the Fund as of 30 September 1956 and Second Review of the Basic Tables of the Fund. A/3642. N.Y., 1957. 14 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 8A.
- Report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1956 to 15 July 1957. A/3648. N.Y., 1957. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 2.
- Report of the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency for the period 1 July 1956 to 30 June 1957. A/3651. N.Y., 1957. 35 p. & Map. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 17.
- Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. A/3672. N.Y., 1957. 12 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 13.
- Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs. Table of contents and subject index to Volumes I V. N.Y., 1957. 316 p. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1955.V.2(Index).
- \* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations Publications. The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau. Montreal or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of British Columbia Book Store, Cancouver; University of Montreal Book Store. Montreal: and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec, Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York, UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau. Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67

ICJ

Case concerning the guardianship of an Infant (Netherlands v. Sweden). Order of August 19, 1957. 5 p. (bil.).

National Employment Services. Belgium. Geneva, 1957. 128 p.

UNESCO

Catalogue of colour reproductions of paintings 1860-1957. Fourth edition, (revised and enlarged). Paris, July 1957. 365 p. (French-English-Spanish) \$4.00.

Social Change in Poland. (International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1957) Paris 1957. Pp. 157-273.

Some applications of behavioural research edited by Rensis Likert and Samuel P. Hayes, Jr. (Science and Society). Paris 1957. 333 p. \$3.25.

The university teaching of social sciences statistics. (Teaching in the Social Sciences). Paris, 1957. 209 p. \$2.75.

World Illiteracy at Mid-Century. A Statistical Study. (Monographs on Fundamental Education - XI). Paris, 1957. 200 p. \$2.00.

b) Mimeographed document:

Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Report to the Economic and Social Council on the twelfth session of the Commission, held in New York from 29 April to 31 May 1957. E/3010, E/CN.7/333. 19 June 1957. 106 p. Annexes I to VI.

#### CORRIGENDUM

In the March 1957 issue of External Affairs, the following statement was printed in an article dealing with Kashmir found on pages 102-103: "On India's Republic Day, January 26, Prime Minister Nehru announced the formal accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union".

This statement should have read: "On India's Republic Day, January 26, the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir, representing those sections of the State on the Indian side of the United Nations cease-fire line, had dissolved. On the same day the constitution adopted by this Assembly came fully into effect, defining the 'existing relationship of the State with the Union of India as an integral part thereof'. This constitution was based on the Instrument of Accession which had been signed by the Maharajah of Kashmir in October 1947".

The Department of External Affairs regrets any misunderstanding which may have arisen as a result of this inadvertent error.

#### Nationalization Claims

Although many classes of pre-war debt and war claims have been settled, or are in the course of settlement, the same cannot be said for nationalization claims. Most of these claims, which were relatively unknown prior to the First World War, concern property in Eastern Europe. After the Second World War, a number of Eastern European States embarked upon extensive nationalization measures affecting, among other things, industrial and agrarian property. A considerable amount of the property expropriated or taken over by the governments of these countries had been owned by aliens, among whom were a number of Canadians.

Mention should also be made of one class of claim not included in the above review. These are the claims of persons who were persecuted on racial religious or political grounds before or during the war, and who lost life, limb or property as a result. Both the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria have passed legislation to provide relief in some cases and the Federal Republic has concluded bilateral agreements to this effect with Israel and with various Iewish organizations.

Finally, it should be noted that some classes of claims can probably never be settled, if only because they represent losses in respect of which compensation has rarely, if ever, been granted. Prominent among such claims are those in respect of the disappearance of, or the depreciation in, the purchasing power of currencies, or in respect of funds blocked abroad in accordance with the normal foreign exchange control practice of the country concerned.

(Continued from Page 339)

#### Vote not Pressed

On November 1, the discussion of the draft resolutions was foreshortened by an appeal by the Indonesian Delegation to the sponsors not to press their drafts to a vote, since the Assembly, because of the intricacy and delicacy of the issues involved, was "not in a position to propose any definite line of action or to pronounce a judgment in this matter". The Syrian and Turkish representatives having indicated that this proposal was acceptable to them, the President of the Assembly closed the discussion with a statement that he was confident that the Assembly would regard the final position as a satisfactory outcome of the debate.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs Ottawa, Canada

# **External Affairs in Parliament**

# Aspects of Canadian Foreign Policy

Excerpts from a statement by Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, in the House of Commons on November 26, 1957.



-Milne Studios Ltd.

Mr. Sidney E. Smith

1957 has a practical bearing on the health and happiness of Canadians and on the welfare and progress of Canada.

We cannot expect in this field of

I know the people of this country are indeed interested in the foreign policy of Canada . . . and I also know that other governments are equally interested in the actions and policies of this Government. We have been considering in this House, and we shall be considering in this House, matters of great moment which might be described as domestic or national. I am not discounting in any measure the importance and significance of these matters when I observe that the solution of the grave problems which confront the nations of the world in

external affairs to find ready made solutions. Only the eradication of fear

and the establishment of mutual confidence among the nations will provide the basic solution, and the government will endeavour in every way to bring this about. Second, to bring about this state of affairs we shall need steadiness, strength and patience.

In view of the fact that today I am making my first statement on foreign policy, and having regard to the fact that there are many new members of the House, freshmen like myself, I propose to outline in somewhat general terms some of the relations and relationships of Canada with other nations. In common with Canadians of all political persuasions I take pride in the advancement of our country to a position of respect and influence in the international field. We are regarded as a leading country of middle-status in the world. Our role is an important one in the Commonwealth, in the affairs of the United Nations, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in all the other various organizations to which Canada adheres. That is a position which Canada has attained by reason of its growing strength, its sense of responsibility and its willingness to accept responsibility; and I believe it is also due to the exercise by Canadians of a certain wisdom and maturity of judgment.

Natural resources and the development of those resources which Canada has achieved have helped to give us a prestige out of all proportion to the size of our population. Our sacrifices in two world wars, and then in recent years in

securing the peace in Korea, the Middle East and Indochina, have added to that prestige; our contributions, of which I will speak later, toward raising the standard of living in various parts of the world, and our contributions toward the alleviation of want and suffering have, too, enabled Canada to speak with confidence and authority.

Moreover, I think we bring to the consideration of the solution of international problems peculiar qualities which Canadians possess. We are the heirs of a European civilization, and I would think, having regard to the development of our national scene, that we have a national, or perhaps I should say a natural, tendency and gift for compromise. We are possessed of an idealism which has been somewhat modified by the skepticism which Canadians must have when they realize that the solution of any problem cannot come about by miracles but only as the result of persistent and hard endeavour.

take up my new office as Secretary of State for External Affairs. As I enter this field I assure this House that, having regard to the firm foundations which have been laid in respect of our foreign affairs by successive governments, I will endeavour to build on these foundations and, as a member of this Government under the leadership of the Prime Minister, I will do my best to help in building something distinctive and valuable upon these foundations.

In this context it is clear that Canada must seek to understand the aspirations of other countries; Canada must endeavour to apprehend the motives of other nations, whether they be ill or good, and work closely with friendly nations. But all the while Canadians must think for themselves, and Canada's foreign policy should not be merely a pale reflection of the views of other countries.

### **United Nations**

My first assignment after I became a member of the Government was to go to the United Nations. I think that was an excellent introduction for me because it enabled me to study at first hand, at the beginning of my political and diplomatic career, the machinery, the aspirations and the objectives of that great Organization.

There was in the United Nations, I found, a curiosity with respect to the attitude of the new government in Canada toward the Organization, and I can best describe the views of this Government by repeating to this House the words of the Prime Minister when he spoke to the General Assembly on September 3, 1957. He stated: "We stand on this question now where Canada has always stood since April 1945. And I emphasize this, with the support of the party which is now in power. So far as Canada is concerned, support of the United Nations is a cornerstone of its foreign policy. We believe that the United Nations will grow stronger because it represents the inevitable struggle of countries to find order in their relationships, and the deep longing of mankind to strive for and attain peace and justice." That is the stand of this country towards the United Nations.

Our confidence in the United Nations, Mr. Speaker, is not blind. It is, we know, an imperfect instrument . . . The United Nations is not, as the Secretary-General stated in his last annual report, a supra-state, and how can we

expect the United Nations to be better than those who constitute it? The United Nations is, indeed, a microcosm of an imperfect world, a world now in the shadow of nuclear weapons. However, the United Nations has had its successes, and I think it warrants the designation or description that it is the work shop of world diplomacy.

... Amidst all the portents and dark threats of 1957, I suggest to you, Sir, that the United Nations is the greatest hope for peace. If the United Nations were not in existence I do think mankind would have to invent something like it in order to afford a forum in which 82 nations could sit down together and discuss face to face their differences and their agreements.

It is a gratifying yet a sobering thought for us that Canada will take its seat for the second time on the Security Council. That will happen on January 1, 1958.

I was particularly pleased that my first task at the United Nations was to endorse the admission of Malaya and to welcome that country as the newest member state of that Organization. The United Nations has now become a more universal body, and many of its new members have risen from the status of colony to that of nationhood. It afforded me even greater pleasure to say on that occasion that I saluted Great Britain, because here was another case that we in Canada know so well of Great Britain encouraging a colony to become a nation. I could not refrain from observing that this had been the historic, the outstanding record of Great Britain, while the U.S.S.R. reversed that process of developing colonies into nations by reducing nations to colonies.

Canada has worked and will continue to work with these new members of the United Nations, and as far as my experience is concerned it has been a joy to co-operate with them.

### Disarmament

Among the topics which were discussed at the United Nations this year was the question of disarmament, which was perhaps the major topic. I and members of the Canadian Delegation at the United Nations had some reason to be not entirely satisfied about the consideration in the twelfth session of the United Nations of that topic which means so much to mankind. The 24 powers did put forward a resolution that was drafted by the Subcommittee on Disarmament on August 29, 1957, and that resolution did receive endorsation by the General Assembly. In fact the U.S.S.R. was not able to line up any votes in opposition to that resolution except those of its own satellites. It is true that there were some who abstained from voting on that 24-power resolution, but I judged that in many cases the abstention was due not to any opposition to the resolution but because they really thought any resolution put forward and adopted by the United Nations would be ineffective, as the U.S.S.R. said it would not co-operate in further negotiations under that resolution. . . .

After we had obtained for that resolution approval from the General Assembly which was unanimous but with abstentions, the U.S.S.R. said it would not participate in the discussions of the Disarmament Commission or of the Subcommittee. We were greatly disappointed to hear that, because in getting that resolution so admirably supported in the United Nations we felt we had a vote . . . that would carry some weight with the U.S.S.R. because it reflected a world-wide opinion that they should reconsider their rejection of the Western proposals.

We tried to make it clear to the United Nations that the resolution that was so widely supported by the General Assembly was not necessarily in our opinion the only means whereby disarmament could be promoted. On October 23, 1957, I spoke in the Political Committee and asked our Russian friends to look at the resolution; not to regard it as coming from us in a take it or leave it manner, but to accept it on our assurance that it would be a basis for further negotiations. . . . After the U.S.S.R. stated definitely that it would not negotiate any further, the Soviet Delegation did put forward the suggestion that the Disarmament Commission should be made up of the 82 member nations of the United Nations, and indeed that the complexion of the General Assembly itself should be reflected in the new Disarmament Commission.

We all felt that this was a manifestly impractical proposition, and we were bound to conclude that it was merely a propaganda move. It would be entirely unwieldy for 82 nations to sit down and discuss the problem in one meeting or series of meetings on disarmament. That was, however, put to the General Assembly by the U.S.S.R. and it was rejected by the General Assembly.

Even after that Canada, taking the lead in some cases and in other cases co-operating with other friendly powers, tried again to find a well-balanced and reasonable group by way of a suggestion for the composition of the Disarmament Commission that would satisfy the U.S.S.R. Finally there was put before the General Assembly a proposal for the extension and enlargement of the Disarmament Commission to include the members of the Security Council, 11, and Canada, and in addition 13 other countries. That was adopted by the General Assembly to the extent that three-quarters of the governments of every group in the United Nations endorsed it. That proved unacceptable to the U.S.S.R., although at one point in our negotiations we did hope that it might be acceptable to them.

Now that the enlarged Disarmament Commission has been established the U.S.S.R. says it will not participate in its discussions, and our only hope is that it will reconsider its views so we can sit down together to the end that the armament race will not be continued, because as I endeavoured to tell the Political Committee of the United Nations — and I have no desire to indulge in scare headlines here today — the issue is in effect and in essence human survival.

In all these arguments in the Committee and in the General Assembly the U.S.S.R. came back time and time again to its proposal. The first part of its counter-proposal is that the nations of the world who are members of the UN should resolve to ban the use of nuclear weapons. Since I have come to Ottawa I have had letters from many persons throughout Canada which said, "What a laudable proposal that is from the U.S.S.R.".

Now, Sir, one must confess it has an immediate attraction and appeal. "Ban the use of nuclear weapons". I ask you, Sir, and I ask this House why, then, can we not accept this laudable proposal? The answer, the grim asnwer, is that a promise not to use nuclear weapons is good only until one nation decides to break it. There must be, for our security, a measure of inspection that will ensure that the undertakings in that regard are being carried out. Disarmament cannot be achieved by the stroke of a pen or the mere passing of a resolution. . . .

It is evident that the advances or discoveries in the field of science and technology pose a new and urgent problem in international politics. We cannot solve that problem merely by talking about our endeavours of yesteryear. New scientific weapons and scientific discoveries have provided an urgency about the solution of those problems. Canada, I can assure this House, will endeavour in every way possible to advance further discussion and negotiations with respect to disarmament. For 11 years representatives of Canada have carried on those endeavours, and we hope we can keep the Canadian flag waving in respect of a matter of such vital concern to the human race, at least to make suggestions in negotiating a first-stage agreement with the U.S.S.R.

### Syrian Situation

Apart from disarmament there was consideration of political crises. One had to do particularly with Syria. The Syrians lodged a resolution with the Secretary-General that would provide for a discussion of the threat to their security on the Syrian-Turkish border. Several efforts were made toward negiotiation in that regard . . . Our approach to that problem was that any nation such as Syria should have the opportunity to bring before the General Assembly what it thought was a threat to its security. That did not in any way indicate that we had in mind that Turkey, as a responsible member of NATO, would act in an irresponsible way. But we endeavoured to provide every possible way of thinking out the facts.

Hon. members may recall that King Saud of Saudi Arabia offered to intervene and mediate, and there were suggestions that the Security Council might come into the picture. In association with Japan, Denmark, Norway, Paraguay, Peru and Spain we put forward a resolution that would call attention to the availability of the Secretary-General for consultation between Syria and Turkey, or even the availability of the Secretary-General to carry on an investigation; and then rather dramatically Syria and Turkey decided that the debate should be terminated.

I said it was dramatic, but it was not very spectacular. I do not think the press gave it enough publicity. It really was a product of what the Secretary-General of the United Nations has said of the United Nations "diplomacy of reconciliation". There in the General Assembly these charges and countercharges were exchanged, and it was undoubtedly felt by the U.S.S.R. that it was . . . losing the battle of polemics and that its propaganda concepts and objectives were being turned against it. That was indeed a victory for the United Nations and for the participation of the nations of the world in that debate in the General Assembly.

It would be an illusion, Mr. Speaker, to think that the underlying causes of tension in that area, and the fever and the rise in tempers are gone. We would all hope that the diplomacy, the reconciliation which was provided by the United Nations could be again brought to bear. . . . .

### UNEF

I now desire to say something about the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. . . . I can say that the record of UNEF, the United Nations Emergency Force, has been one of great satisfaction not only to the UN but to the world. There have been on the border few incidents in recent months. Indeed, I was talking to Major General Burns and he told me that in

the last few weeks there have not been any incidents on that border. Undoubtedly UNEF contributed at least to arrest the movement that might have resulted in war, and we in Canada must be proud of our participation in that Force. One-fifth of the Force come from Canada, 1,200 out of 6,000. We must take a particular pride in the Commander in Chief of the Force, Major General E. L. M. Burns. On all sides he was praised by members of the General Assembly in the debate that took place last Friday morning. I would say, in the words of our Prime Minister, who spoke to the General Assembly in September, that as long as the United Nations considers the presence of the UNEF in that particular area as necessary, Canada will continue to support by participating in its composition.

The Secretary-General in his recent annual report having mentioned the temporary nature of the Force, with the limited mandate in a particular area, went on to say that the value of such a force in such situations has been fully demonstrated. I would certainly subscribe to that view, as all the delegations from the West would. In that report the Secretary-General suggested that an agreed stand-by plan for a United Nations peace force which could be activated on short notice might be given consideration. Small wars, small conflicts, expand into great wars, and if agreement could be reached on the establishment of such a force I would think it would be a most significant step in making the United Nations a more effective organization for the maintenance of peace.

The establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force as an experiment gave rise to certain consequences, and one had to do with money. The estimated cost of the Force during the period from November 1956 to December 31, 1957 is in the region of \$30 million. Against this sum the total amount received or firmly pledged so far is some \$24 million. That includes the recent offer from the United States of \$12 million and the recent offer from the United Kingdom of \$1 million. It now appears that there will be a shortfall for the period ending December 31, 1957, of approximately \$3 million to \$4 million. It is estimated that in the year 1958 the Force will cost \$25 million.

I have used these figures, and I do not regard them as large or high when you put into the balance the great benefit that has followed the establishment and development of that Force on that border, the release of tension thereby preventing further expansion of the conflict in the area. On Friday last I introduced in the General Assembly a resolution for which 20 other countries offered their co-sponsorship. That resolution reaffirmed the principle that the responsibility for additional funds required in 1958 for the maintenance of this Force should be shared by all members of the United Nations in accordance with the scale of assessment that is invoked for the normal United Nations budget. That resolution was adopted despite the opposition of the U.S.S.R. bloc, and was adopted by a larger majority than we expected, with the result that I can say to members of the House that the financing of UNEF is now assured.

# Palestinian Refugees

Other Middle East issues continue to be the centre of attention at the United Nations. One of them has to do with the grave plight of the Palestinian refugees, and in this context one cannot say that any real progress has been made during the past year. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, to give it its full title, has continued to

provide essential rations and other relief services, but shortage of funds has increasingly hampered the Agency in its effort to maintain these services or to proceed in an orderly way with the limited rehabilitation projects possible under present conditions.

I am happy to report that Canada during the past nine years has been the fourth largest non-Arab contributor to Palestine refugee relief, and in 1957 Canada was the third largest contributor. We have continued to urge other countries that they should accord greater support to UNRWA in order that there will not be a further decline in the standard of living of these unfortunate refugees. The estimates for 1957-58, at present before the House, seek approval of a Canadian contribution to UNRWA of \$750,000 to cover the 18-month period ending December 31, 1957. When the estimates for 1958-59 are brought before the next session, Parliament will be asked to approve a Canadian contribution to UNRWA of \$500,000 . . . (for the calendar year 1958).

Before I turn from the United Nations I desire to inform the House of certain other contributions to the United Nations extra-budgetary programmes. The following amounts are included in the 1957-58 estimates at present before the House to cover Canadian contributions to these programmes of the United Nations during the calendar year 1957. In the 1958-59 estimates Parliament will be asked by the Government to approve Canadian contributions of the same amounts to cover the programmes of these organizations during the year 1958.

These are the amounts. In addition to UNRWA there is \$2 million to the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, \$200,000 to the United Nations Refugee Fund and \$650,000 to the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund. All these proposed contributions are on the same scale as those to which the previous Parliament gave its approval. . . .

There are negotiations going on now at the United Nations — the Minister of Finance referred to this in the House last week — with respect to the providing of financial assistance outside of the Colombo Plan to nations not only in South-East and South Asia but throughout the world. I do not regard the negative vote (cast by the Canadian Delegation to the Economic and Social Council) against the proposal of SUNFED as indicating that the Canadian Government will not support a proposal that I hope will come out of the negotiations. . . .

#### Colombo Plan

If I may leave the United Nations and go to the Colombo Plan, I doubt, Mr. Speaker, whether there is any single task in the international field which Canada has undertaken that should receive greater approval and endorsation from Canadians of all walks of life and all political persuasions. No reasonable man could doubt the benefits which this type of enterprise is bringing. . . .

Two of my colleagues in the Government have recently been in South and South-East Asia, the hon. member for Greenwood (Mr. Macdonnell) and the hon. member for St. John's West (Mr. Browne). They have returned to Ottawa, and from each of them I have heard of the unceasing struggle of the undeveloped countries in that part of the world to raise their standards of living. The hon. member for St. John's West, who attended in my place the Saigon meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan, can testify to the benefits that have accrued from Canada's investment in these particular projects.

These grants, hon. members of the House — and I say this from the bottom of my being — are not hand-outs. We should really think of them as helping hands. There is another feature, members of the House, about our investment in the Colombo Plan. Famine, distress and low standards of living create the seed-beds of unrest and indeed could create — and in some instances have done so — the seed-bed of war. It worries me to talk in this vein, but if anyone wants to talk about these matters in mere monetary terms, I would offer a good argument and, I think, a conclusive one that in time these countries in which we are making investments will become good customers and provide much opportunity for Canada. But I put that suggestion forward in second or third place.

As some hon, members of this House know, particularly the hon, member for Algoma East (Mr. Pearson), the Colombo Plan was a concept initiated and brought about in the Commonwealth. Here is another instance of the Commonwealth creating a nucleus which in due course produced a strengthened, forward-looking and beneficial international enterprise. In the routine aspect of carrying forward the programme under the Colombo Plan there always has had to be and there will have to be discussions with engineers, administrators and economists. Then there will have to be discussions with the countries to whom help might be offered, as to their needs. When decisions in that regard are made, Mr. Speaker, we will of course report to the House.

On November 22 in this session of Parliament the Prime Minister informed the House that the Government will seek Parliamentary approval of an appropriation for 1958-59 of \$35 million. The estimates that will be considered in a few days provide for a contribution of \$34,400,000. We are proposing an increase of \$600,000 for 1958-59.

### International Commissions in Indochina

Time does not permit me to go into detail with respect to other parts of South and South-East Asia but in passing I would refer to the work of the International Commissions in Indochina. The task of the Commission in Cambodia is, in our opinion, about completed. There have been difficulties in the way of dissolving or disbanding the Commission. In Laos, where we are members of an international commission, after nearly three years of negotiations between the Royal Government and the Pathet Lao, an agreement has finally been reached whereby the Pathet Lao, which has been controlling one part of Laos, will be integrated into the national community. I seize this opportunity to say that we sympathize with the desire of the Laotian people to achieve a political settlement within the terms of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. We hope that this latest development will result in a strong Laos and a continuation of the democratic approach that has been followed by the Royal Government.

Vietnam remains divided. It is in this area where the sort of international supervision that is provided by the International Commissions has been most important for the maintenance of peace.

In relation to South and South-East Asia I would reiterate what I have endeavoured to say, namely that the recent visits of Ministers of the Government to that part of the world should be taken as indicative of our interest in the area, our close interest in Commonwealth ties, our desire to help the countries of the area to improve their standard of living and of our willingness to do our part in preserving peace.

### The Commonwealth

A few moments ago I mentioned the Commonwealth. May I interpolate here — and this is a personal note — that after I reached the United Nations in the middle of September I was asked to attend a meeting of the Commonwealth group. It was not a bloc but a group. I am sure that no one else in the room could appreciate how thrilled I was, indeed how excited I was, at that first meeting. Here sitting around a horseshoe table were representatives of ten independent nations of the British Commonwealth, men and women coming from various climes, of various religions and cultures. There they sat. It seemed to me — and this is the basis of my thrill and my excitement — that there was before me a brilliant page of British history, the bringing of colonies to nation-hood. There was no treaty binding them together. Indeed I would say, for the want of a better word, that there was something mystical in their adherence to common ideals of the dignity of the individual, of justice, fairness and fair play.

### Latin America

I now come closer to home, Mr. Speaker, and I desire for a moment or two to mention our neighbours in this hemisphere. I would point out first our relationship to the republics of Latin America. Some of my first conversations at the United Nations in September were with representatives of the republics of Latin America. Since I have been in Ottawa I am gradually beginning to get to know better the Ambassadors from Latin America. I know that in the Assembly and the Councils of the United Nations our Canadian representatives over the years have acquired a deep appreciation of the strength, the wisdom and the vision which representatives of the Latin republics have brought to the discussions, deliberations and decisions of that body.

I refer, just by way of example, to only two. Colombia and Brazil made contributions in men and equipment to UNEF. Colombia and Brazil have each served three times on the Security Council. I think of Brazil today, which is the largest Latin nation in the world, with a population larger than that of Spain or Italy or France, with enormous natural resources scarcely tapped, a country of great promise. We have traded with those countries over many years, indeed for a century, I am informed. I hope that the substantial volume of our two-way trade with the Latin American nations today is only a stage on the way to greater expansion.

But it is only in the post-war years since 1945 that there has been an increased exchange of personnel, visitors and businessmen between Canada and the Latin American republics. Attending our colleges and universities are a considerable number of students who have come to us from Latin America. Visitors and tourists are increasing. Commercial aviation has been a significant factor in helping us to become better acquainted with the Latin American countries. The Mexican air line operates a regular service between Mexico City and Windsor, Ontario. Our own Canadian Pacific Air Lines now ranks as a major air service in the Americas. Those 20 independent nations are playing an increasing part in deliberations that are designed for the solution of international problems — and I express the hope that the cordial relations which now exist with those 20 nations will be enhanced and increased.



ASSUMES GHANA POST

The Canadian High Commissioner to Ghana, Mr. Evan Gill, presenting his letter of introduction to Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah at Government House, Accra, on October 30, 1957.

### **United States**

I come now, Mr. Speaker, to our closest neighbour, the United States. A kindly providence has willed the geographical location of that country with respect to Canada. With the United States we share a continent and a common heritage from many lands beyond the seas, moulded around political philosophies which have become, in some measure perhaps, the central core of the institutions of both our countries. These philosophies, coming from our twin motherlands, Great Britain and France, have been shared by us as comrades in arms during two world wars. Again, when we fought with the Americans under the flag of the United Nations in Korea, we Canadians knew the value of our American friends.

We have been in close association with our neighbour in the United Nations and we also work closely with them in NATO. Particularly, those of us who remember the years before the First World War welcome their assumption of world leadership during the last two decades. I must however observe that sometimes in pursuit of common objectives the means chosen by the United States to effect these ends may have side effects which are injurious to Canada and which in many instances are not made clear to the American people and of which therefore they are not properly aware.

When we in Canada consider that such effects may stem from any action or inaction on the part of the United States and may affect what we deem to be the best and just interests of our country and our people we must, without petulance or sophomoric sensitivity, seek from our United States neighbours the consideration of those effects. There is nothing wrong or improper with conscientiously facing the problems or difficulties separating true friends. This is also true in the field of international relations. What to my mind would be wrong and improper would be for us to dig and dig for slights and to magnify oversights. It would be equally improper for the two governments to allow old and burning problems to fester. . . and to continue unresolved. It is in that way that misunderstandings grow and fair-mindedness of the people and their governments may be warped. There have been problems between our countries throughout our history. The territorial part which we know as Canada did not exist in the early days but those who have read the biography of Sir John A Macdonald by Professor Creighton will appreciate what I have been saying.

From those early years there have been problems between us and they have continued, indeed, down to our present difficulties with respect to the United States wheat surplus disposal programmes. I declare, Mr. Speaker, that considerate frankness will not endanger true friendship between our countries. Above all, it is of paramount importance to international peace that Canada and the United States, unequal as they are with respect to military and economic force but equal in their common respect for the dignity of the individual, should set a continued example to the whole world of how friendly nations can live together.

May I state as simply as I can how I see the development of our relations with the United States. We must be friends; friendship however means something more than the absence of enmity. Friendship really means the existence of positive and effective interest on the part of each nation in the welfare of the other.

In recent weeks . . . we have been forced to give closer examination to our collective security arrangements by reason of the success of the U.S.S.R. in the launching of the inter-continental ballistic missile and in the launching of two earth satellites. It has been a shock but it has had a salutary effect in terms of the re-appraisal of our common defence.

### NATO

We in the democracies are apt to relax until pressure is brought upon us by the course of events; then we jump into action. . . . In this age of infinite risk we should have some concern about this characteristic tendency to relax in the absence of pressure. That attitude of relaxation when there is no pressure on us may, and in this case probably has, tempted fate. However, we have now been dramatically reminded of the terrible menace of nuclear warfare and as a result all members of NATO recognize they are faced with the necessity of making far-reaching decisions in the military field while, at the same time, having to cope with political problems of exceptional complexity. . . . I wish to say a word about the military and political problems because I think the success of NATO in rising to the occasion will depend largely on how it can merge its military and its political objectives.

Despite Soviet accusations that NATO is an aggressor and was designed for aggression, the sole military purpose of NATO — this has been declaimed over and over again and we have no reason to doubt it — is to deter aggression by providing firm evidence that aggressors would be quickly and successfully met if they should attack any member of the Alliance. In NATO there is a formidable capability — as General Norstad stated in Ottawa 10 days ago — to deter aggression. In this connection he also said that this capability is not altered or modified by the possession by any other power of a nuclear intercontinental ballistic missile.

This is a field, I am aware, where theories abound and often conflict. I do not intend to do more at this point than to state the Government's position, indeed its conviction, that the value of NATO as a deterrent remains intact and that it is incumbent upon us — we who have banded together in NATO — to exploit the opportunities which exist for closer co-operation in the fields of military, economic and scientific affairs.

We must seek for co-operation by increased exchange of scientific and technical information and from the stimulation of scientific education and research in the NATO countries. We should be able to find that further co-operation is possible in the economic production of modern weapons.

Military problems will loom large on the agenda of the NATO meeting which is to be held next month in Paris but, in the minds of many governments and of many peoples, that meeting will be judged just as much by its achievement in the non-military field as in the military field. With the challenge of communism all the time advancing, NATO must move with the times in the field of politics.

It is essential that we of the NATO alliance should intensify and develop our military contribution. But that is not enough. It is essential that we should work together to improve our machinery for consultation and promote the intimacy of our intramural understanding. These obligations are with us and they must be observed, but they are limited. To confine ourselves in NATO

to attaining them alone would be to cultivate our own interdependence as members of NATO without realizing that the health and strength of the Alliance depends on its relations with the world outside. There is, in other words, a global interdependence in this age of scientific discovery and nationalist ferment, and it is important for us and important for NATO not to underestimate that need.

No one should think of letting down his guard at the present time; no prudent man can deny the need for defence insurance. What I am suggesting is that the security organization will be successful or unsuccessful according to the degree of intelligence with which its political policies are formulated and pursued.

To give an example, I turn for a moment to the problem of (Soviet activity in) uncommitted neutral states. This is a serious and growing danger. How are they going? Are they going toward the Russians or towards the West? This cannot be ignored by NATO members, and yet NATO as such is perhaps not well equipped to deal with such a problem. . . . The Asian and African nations which are uncommitted have no more desire than we have to see greater domination of other countries by the U.S.S.R. But, having regard to the historic relations they have had with the West and having regard to their desire to flex their muscles as new and independent nations, they might think that the steps which are being taken at NATO are designed for our security, and of course they are, and they would not necessarily adopt them wholeheartedly as their measures.

We must recognize, too, that nationalism is not necessarily synonymous with communism in young countries, but we have to realize also that nationalism has been exploited by communism. There are real risks in dealing with these uncommitted nations. Their peoples may succumb to the blandishments and to the plausible and insidious appeal of Soviet tactics, but we must respect them as independent nations. We must work with them and assure them that we regard them as independent nations, and try to establish a mature and wise relationship with them. Or, to put it another way, unless we assure them by word and deed that our participation in NATO is complementary to and not in conflict with our membership in the Commonwealth and in the United Nations we may not be able to make much appeal to them.

Canada is a middle power with roots in the three associations, in NATO, in the Commonwealth and in the United Nations. I think Canada has a special reason for avoiding an absolutely rigid dependence on any one of these organizations as the sole instrument or channel of its foreign policy.

I come now to my final point in relation to the NATO meeting projected for Paris in December. The House will not expect me — and even if it did I could not do this — to predict the specific terms of the agenda or the likely outcome of the deliberations. I am more concerned to suggest to this House the general philosophy which I think should govern our approach to that meeting. We must . . . start from the premise that new and intensified efforts at military and scientific co-operation are essential, and we must be prepared to do our part in developing that co-operation. We must, in the second place, in view of the unhappy events of the last two or three weeks, renew our determination to consult frankly on issues which have caused, or are likely to cause divisions in NATO. And, thirdly, to return to the point I was trying to make

a few moments ago, we must assure the world outside NATO that no one need fear aggression from us; that far from regarding the forthcoming meeting as an end in itself, the whole world, including ourselves, regards it as a symbol of our determination to protect ourselves and, no less important, of our genuine and sustained interest in finding ultimate peaceful solutions to the issues that divide us from the communist world.

I have endeavoured to put before this House a diagram of Canada's relations with other nations. Nothing that I have said should obscure our intense resolution to reduce tensions between the West and the U.S.S.R. No sane person could run the risk of shutting any promising door on the possibility of co-existence. Yet — and this is not double talk — we should not fall into a propaganda plot; we should not be lulled into complacency by empty or hollow professions such as happened after the Geneva meeting. We must keep up our defences pending the arrival of the day for which we have hoped, the arrival of the day of substantial mutual trust between the West and the East. And I should add this: we must have convincing proof that the U.S.S.R. has abandoned its policies of domination. Co-existence cannot be used as a cover for subversion on the part of the U.S.S.R. in free countries. What I have been trying to say, Sir, is that we must keep our powder dry and put the hand out.

### Statement on Disarmament

Among the speeches made in the external affairs debate in the House of Commons on November 26, 1957 was a statement on the disarmament question by Mr. W. A. Nesbitt, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Prime Minister, and Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the Twelfth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Mr. Nesbitt spoke, in part, as follows:

This evening, Mr. Speaker, in entering this debate on the subject of external affairs, I propose to deal exclusively with the subject of disarmament, which is a matter of the greatest interest and importance not only to the people of Canada but to people all over the world. I would like to take this opportunity of dealing with this subject because I have, in the last eight weeks, had the honour and the opportunity of serving as Vice-Chairman of our delegation to the United Nations and of following the whole subject at first hand.

The disarmament negotiations of the Sub-Committee, which was held last summer in London, came to an abrupt end at the beginning of September after the Soviet representative, Mr. Zorin, had rejected the proposals for partial measures of disarmament submitted by the four western powers in a working paper on August 29. This abrupt termination of the Sub-Committee's work was clearly a matter of great concern to many countries when the General Assembly of the United Nations opened last September 17. The opening statements of all the great powers in the Assembly reflected this concern. Speaking for Canada on September 23, the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Diefenbaker) expressed the hope that the current session of the United Nations Assembly might be known in future years as the disarmament assembly. These words were quoted with warmth by a number of successive speakers and I think the general tenor of the debate opened with fairly high hopes.

In general the debate concentrated upon the resolution of October 11, introduced by 24 of the major powers. Much of this resolution was based on the Western proposals in the Sub-Committee on August 29 . . .

This afternoon the hon, member of Fort William (Mr. McIvor) made a request of the Secretary of State for External Affairs asking that he deal with those proposals in detail and this evening I think I might outline the proposals of the 24-power resolution . . . This resolution was based upon six points which are as follows:

- 1—The immediate suspension of nuclear testing in conjunction with an adequate control system to ensure that this was carried out.
- 2—The so-called "cut-off" or the cessation of the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes.
  - 3—The reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons.

4—The controlled and graduated reduction of armed forces and armaments; that is, conventional armaments, a field in which agreement had almost been reached.

5—The progressive establishment of a ground and aerial system to guard against surprise attack.

6—The study of an inspection system to ensure that objects would be sent into outer space only for peaceful and scientific purposes.

These six points presented a more complex resolution than any of those put forward by the U.S.S.R., for they represented a series of concrete proposals on which the Western powers and their allies in NATO had negotiated for months to ensure agreement. As a member of the Sub-Committee, Canada participated in the drafting of this resolution and co-sponsored it.

In contrast, the Soviet resolutions were simple, propagandistic in their appeal and in their essence completely uncontrollable. Briefly, the Soviet Union presented two proposals. The first was for a five-year ban on the use of nuclear weapons. This clearly meant nothing more than an uncontrollable promise which would be valid until the day it was broken. This resolution, I might say, received only 11 votes in favour.

The second Soviet proposal called for the immediate cessation of testing, without regard to any other measures on disarmament. It became quite evident that many nations were attracted by a proposal of this kind. India had submitted a very similar resolution and Japan presented a compromise resolution which linked the objective of a temporary suspension of nuclear testing to negotiations for an adequate supervision and aspection system to verify this. The Indian proposal received a vote of 22 for, 38 against and 20 abstentions. The Japanese proposal was opposed by the Soviet bloc as well as by the West and was defeated by a vote of 18 for, 32 against and 31 abstentions. Canada voted against all these proposals because it felt, as did many other countries, that the question of nuclear test suspension can only be settled as a part of a more comprehensive disarmament agreement which also does something to solve the more fundamental matter of the arms race in nuclear weapons.

Perhaps because of the reservations which many countries had on matters such as nuclear test suspension, the disarmament debate showed little enthusiasm at the beginning. For some time there was a shortage of countries willing to speak; and while it was apparent that the 24-power resolution would receive an adequate majority many of the uncommitted nations questioned the value of requesting support by the Assembly for what was essentially the position of one side to the cold war alone.

Many of our allies were slow to make public their support, as if they were waiting for some further clarification of the Western position. For these reasons the Secretary of State for External Affairs, when he delivered the Canadian statement in the Committee on October 23 last, emphasized repeatedly that Canada, while it had sponsored the 24-power draft resolution and urged its adoption, remained open-minded. I should like to make a brief quotation from the remarks of the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the Political Committee of the United Nations which was at that time discussing disarramment:

Canada is sensitive to every possibility of improving it. Let us not be inflexible in this regard. We of Canada certainly do not say that the particular proposals with which we are now associated are the only means by which at least some progress can be made toward disarmament. Canada has co-sponsored plans for partial disarmament, but I repeat that we do not necessarily regard them as the last word.

Canada's position of flexibility was enthusiastically welcomed by the representatives of many countries, including Norway, Mexico, Pakistan, Israel and Nepal. It was particularly noteworthy that in the closing remarks of the representative of the United States, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, he said that the United States associated itself at some length with the remarks made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Ambassador Lodge added that the United States also desired openmindedness and flexibility and they too were not suggesting that our proposals, the 24-power resolution, were the last word. It is perhaps not too much to say that this position of flexibility contributed to the large vote by which the 24-power resolution was passed. The resolution, incidentally, received 57 votes in favour, 9 votes against, being merely the Soviet bloc, 15 abstentions. This vote was later sustained when the resolution came from the political committee to the General Assembly.

It would have been a very satisfactory result for the West and for Canada except for the dramatic Soviet announcement just before the vote was taken that they would not return to participate in the work of either the Disarmament Committee or its Sub-Committee. Shortly before, Russia had introduced a resolution calling for the establishment of a permament disarmament commission consisting of all 82 members of the United Nations which would discuss disarmament continuously and without any secrecy whatsoever. It is hard to believe that the U.S.S.R. really wants such a commission or that this move was anything but a propaganda move . . .

### Composition of Commission

Commenting on the Soviet announcement from the Canadian point of view, Mr. Nesbitt emphasized that Canada

had always considered the composition of the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee to be in question. One month earlier our Prime Minister, speaking of the Disarmament Sub-Committee, had said in the assembly:

We consider that a salutary effect might be achieved by securing the participation of other powers; they may be capable of rendering assistance in the processes of seeking an agreement that we have not been able to achieve. But let me say this: Geography alone should not be the basis for choosing additional members, for all members are not equally equipped to contribute towards the agreement for which we all devoutly hope.

Some of our allies had said in the course of the debate that there should be no expansion either of the Commission or its Sub-Committee, but we had been careful in our concluding remarks on November 4 last to keep our position open on this matter . . .

Describing further initiatives taken by the Canadian Delegation with a view to meeting this situation, Mr. Nesbitt continued as follows:

Therefore, on November 6 we made only a guarded statement in the Political Committee just before the votes were taken. At that time I made certain remarks and I should like to quote what I said. I do so only because I think the remarks are pertinent to the remarks I am making at the moment. I said:

We do not believe that the size or composition of the Disarmament Commission and the Sub-Committee has been a major obstacle in the way of agreement. But, by the same token, we do not believe that a matter of some alteration in the United Nations disarmament bodies need inevitably be allowed to stand in the way of a least the opportunity for further negotiation . Our fundamental approach to a possible change in disarmament bodies was defined by Prime Minister Diefenbaker in his statement in the general debate on September 23. He made it clear at that time that we were certainly not opposed in principle to associating other countries with these disarmament talks if there was any chance that this would improve the prospects of success. If, however, the very possibility of continuing the negotiations at all is now jeopardized, then the willingness to accent some reasonable adjustment is all the more essential.

As we expected, this statement was warmly welcomed by many countries, including some of our NATO allies. Very shortly thereafter our allies on the Sub-Committee indicated to us that they would not now be opposed to reasonable expansion of the Disarmament Commission . . .

At first it was agreed that an addition of five new members might be reasonable. Then immediately rumours of our negotiations began to spread, as they do down there, and many countries indicated that if there were to be any Commission expansion then their own region, or more particularly their own country in some cases, should not be excluded. Thus, our Sub-Committee allies themselves asked that not five but ten countries should be added. These ten were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Czechoslovakia, India, Italy, Tunisia and Yugoslavia.

It was agreed that if such a resolution for Commission expansion were to be effective it should unite rather than divide the Assembly, or at least that part of it outside the Soviet bloc. Therefore, along with our allies we had been in constant consultation with India and with other leaders of the uncommitted nations. We had also had some contact, I may add, with the Soviet Delegation who had made it clear that they would not commit themselves to any resolution in advance. At times we seemed on the point of finding a list of countries which would be acceptable to all the powers concerned. However, after some days of negotiation it became more and more clear to the Canadian Delegation that, regardless of our own views, it would be very hard to get prior agreement between all of our Sub-Committee allies on the one hand and the major uncommitted countries on the other. Therefore, in order to get the ship launched, so to speak, together with Japan we introduced a resolution calling upon the Assembly "to enlarge the Disarmament Commission by the addition of ten member states which, for the first year, from 1 January, 1958, to 1 January, 1959, shall be"—and then followed the ten countries I have previously mentioned. Our tactic on this occasion was, in the words of an eminent statesman of the past, to wait and see the reaction of the Assembly to this resolution.

We were not surprised to learn that there was widespread feeling, even among some of our NATO allies, that while our resolution was a good thing it was perhaps not quite good enough, and that a more equitable and satisfactory list of countries could still be found. In short, Mr. Speaker, we continued to negotiate with the same intensity after our resolution was introduced as we had before. Twice the discussion of our resolution was postponed and once the Assembly was adjourned for this purpose.

At length it became clear that India, Sweden and Yugoslavia would be satisfied with an amendment to our resolution which we ourselves had been considering, namely the addition of four more countries, Egypt, Mexico, Norway and Poland. When it was clear that this amendment could be accepted by all of our Sub-Committee allies we tabled a revised version of our resolution, one which was in our view very much more satisfactory and which would add all of these 14 countries and thus give the Disarmament Commission a membership of 25 countries. We were particularly pleased to obtain for our resolution the co-sponsorship of all the middle powers most concerned, namely, Canada, India, Japan, Sweden and Yugoslavia. Later Paraguay joined the sponsors as a representative of Latin American countries . . .

In discussing the reaction to this proposal, Mr. Nesbitt stated that there had been some degree of optimism that the Soviet Union would not be opposed, and would indicate its willingness to return to the Disarmament Commission. "However," he commented, "such was not to be the case". At the last minute an amendment to the resolution was put forward by the Albanian Delegation, according to which a further seven countries (Austria, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Finland, Indonesia, Romania, and the Sudan) would have been added to the fourteen already proposed. Speaking in support of the Albanian amendment, the representative of the Soviet Union stated that, unless it were accepted, his country would not be willing to participate in the work of the expanded Disarmament Commission.

### Mr. Nesbitt continued with a description of the voting on these proposals:

The voting on our resolution and on the Soviet proposal showed that the Soviet Union had allowed itself to become completely isolated on this matter. Many neutral countries were offended by this abrupt Soviet rejection of a serious negotiated compromise on which much labour had been expended. Yugoslavia in particular expressed its regret that our resolution had not been generally accepted. Because of this disappointment Yugoslavia declined to vote on the resolution in any way. After the Albanian amendment had been defeated by a vote of 19 for and 38 against with 19 abstentions, our resolution was then passed by the impressive majority of 60 for to 9 against, with 11 abstentions. Only the hard core of the Soviet bloc voted against our resolution. I might say, Mr. Speaker, that our resolution was supported by most of the Asian countries and almost the entire Arab group, including Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The Soviet proposal for a permament 82 member commission received only the 9 votes of its own block.

## Where Responsibility Rests

Mr. Nesbitt then commented on the overall results of the long discussion of the question of expansion, and the progress which had been achieved by Canadian efforts to devise a satisfactory solution. He spoke, in part, as follows:

If the U.S.S.R. persists in its refusal to negotiate, one may well ask what Canada's efforts in this matter have achieved. I think that question was probably in the mind of the hon. member for Algoma East (Mr. Pearson) when he made his remarks this afternoon. We have at the very least shown a constructive willingness to make reasonable concessions in order to continue serious talks on this vitally urgent question. No one can say that Western stubbornness on the mere machinery of United Nations disarmament talks has been an obstacle to progress . . .

It would, of course, serve no constructive end to allow the Commission to become a mere sounding board for Soviet propaganda. In our negotiations we were constantly mindful of this danger. But since the passage of our resolution all of our Sub-Committee allies have indicated to us that they have no misgivings at all about the composition of the new Commission . . .

The new larger Disarmament Commission of 25 members does not rule out further meetings of a small Sub-Committee. If the major powers concerned will agree, there can be further meetings of the old, indeed of a new, Sub-Committee . . .

In conclusion, Mr. Nesbitt emphasized that continued refusal on the part of the Soviet Union to participate in disarmament discussions would make it apparent to all nations where the responsibility lay for lack of further progress. "One can still ask", he said

whether the Soviet Union can afford to boycott a Commission where countries like India, Egypt, and Yugoslavia have come to hear the U.S.S.R. defend its position on disarmament. Thanks to our resolution, if the U.S.S.R. does boycott the Commission it will no longer have any respectable reason for doing so. It will certainly not endear itself to these uncommitted countries; while the West, on the other hand, will be in a position to make its point of view much more clearly understood.

In the voting on our resolution, the U.S.S.R. was already isolated from these uncommitted countries. Many other countries have approached us to express their gratitude and relief that a sound and constructive resolution to expand the Commission was introduced and passed. For this means that the Assembly has done what it could to further disarmament negotiations; and the onus is now squarely on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to justify its position . . .



AT PARIS CONFERENCE

Some of the members of the Canadian Delegation to the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference held last month in Paris. Left to right, seated: Senator Léon Methot; C. A. Cannon, M.P.; J. C. Pallett, M.P., chairman; G. W. Montgomery, M.P.; H. F. Jones, M.P.; standing: E. Régier, M.P.; R. Thomas, M.P.; R. English, M.P.; N. C. Schneider, M.P.; G. E. Nixon, M.P.; J. C. Van Horne, M.P.

# Canada and the United Nations

# The United Nations Emergency Force

On November 22, the United Nations General Assembly debated and passed a draft resolution introduced by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, and co-sponsored by 20 other nations, regarding the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. The resolution "noted with appreciation" the Secretary General's report on the Force dated October 9, 1957, approved his proposals for the allocation of costs between participating countries and the United Nations, and provided for the raising of the necessary additional funds required for 1957 and 1958 through common assessment of all members. (The funds to be raised by this method include at least \$3-4 million for 1957, and \$25 million for 1958, after deduction of "special assistance" recently offered by the U.S. (\$12 million), the U.K. (\$1 million) and several other countries.) Fifty-one countries, including Israel and Jordan, voted in favour of the resolution, 11 countries opposed (the Soviet bloc, Chile and Ecuador) and 19 countries abstained (the remainder of the Arab States including Morocco and Tunisia, Cambodia, China, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Malaya, Nepal and Panama).

During the debate on the resolution most of the speakers expressed approval of the useful role the Force is playing in the Middle East. The only objections to the principle of the Force voiced during the discussion were made by the representatives of the Soviet bloc, who reaffirmed their view that the establishment of armed forces of the United Nations under Chapter VII of the Charter falls exclusively within the competence of the Security Council.\* The majority of the abstentions on the UNEF resolutions appear to have been made on the ground that the Assembly resolution of February 2, 1957, which called for "the placing of the . . . Force on the Egyptian-Israel Armistice Demarcation Line" has so far been only partially fulfilled; a few countries abstained or opposed the resolution because of the financial burden which it would place on them.

### Canadian Participation in UNEF

The prominent role which the Canadian Delegation played, both before and during the debate, in helping to ensure the passage of the UNEF resolution is a logical outgrowth of the close concern which Canada has had with UNEF since the establishment of the Force. It will be recalled that the initial resolution of November 4, 1956 requesting the Secretary-General to submit a plan for the setting up of the Force was introduced into the Assembly by the Canadian representative; and that Canada was one of the three co-sponsors of the resolution of November 5, 1956 which actually established the Force and appointed Major-General E. L. M. Burns as its Commander. Subsequently Canada became a member of the Advisory Committee established by the Assembly on November 7 to assist the Secretary-General in carrying out his

<sup>\*</sup>The special session of the UN General Assembly which established UNEF in November, 1956 was convened under the terms of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution which provides for emergency meetings of the General Assembly, on the request of any seven members of the Security Council if the Council, pecause of lack of unanimity among its permament members, fails to act where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression.



**REVIEWS CANADIANS** 

Major General E. L. M. Burns, Commander of the United Nations Emergency Force, takes the salute from Canadians under his command at a review held in observance of United Nations Day.

responsibilities with regard to the Force. (This Committee, which still meets frequently, has proved to be extremely useful in ensuring adequate liaison between the Secretariat and the general body of UN members on UNEF problems.) In a matter of a few days after the Force was officially established, it was on its way to Egypt, and the first troops arrived in the Canal Zone on November 15. Until March, 1957 the Force was concerned mainly with taking over from the troops withdrawing from Egypt and Gaza. Since that time UNEF has been located in the Gaza Strip, along the eastern border of Sinai, and in the Sharm al-Shaikh sector, and has concentrated on its basic function of maintaining quiet in the area and preventing frontier incidents.

Canada has provided the largest contingent in UNEF (1,060 men as of October 25, 1957). The other contingents are from Brazil (545 men), Colombia (522), Denmark (424), India (957), Norway (498), Sweden (349) and Yugoslavia (673). An Indonesian contingent of 582 men was withdrawn in September, and Finland, which provided 255 men, is withdrawing its contingent this month. It should be noted, however, that both of these countries reaffirmed their support for UNEF during the recent debate, and were among the 21 co-sponsors of the resolution of November 22, 1957.

Within UNEF, the Canadian contingent has had the responsibility for most of the logistical and administrative problems of the Force, such as signals, engineering, supply and transport, workshop, ordnance, medical and dental services, postal and pay offices, and provost and movement control. In addition, Canada has provided two RCAF units, one at Naples which acts as

a support element to the Force and is responsible for the heavy lift of mails, priority cargo and transport of passengers between Egypt and Italy; and the other at El Arish (Egypt), which provides air communications within the area of operation of the Force. It is responsible for reconnaissance, medical evacuation and internal transport support. The Canadian contingent comprises also a reconnaissance squadron of some 20 Ferret scout cars which patrol the demarcation line. The Commander of the Force is a Canadian, Major-General E. L. M. Burns, who formerly acted as Chief of Staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organization. The Canadian contingent is now in the process of completing the rotation of its personnel, most of whom have served a full year term. Some of the other contingents rotate their troops every six months.

### Secretary-General's Report

In his recent report to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General remarked that the Force "had earned acceptance as a significant pioneering effort in the evolution of methods of peace-making". A study of the report indicates that the Force has unquestionably been effective in its role, which has been defined by the Secretary-General, with the approval of the Assembly, as "to help maintain quiet during and after the withdrawal of non-Egyptian troops". In this connection it is noteworthy that frontier incidents have been at a minimum in recent months along the Egyptian-Israeli armistice demarcation line. During the performance of its task, UNEF has enjoyed good relations, in general, with the population of the Gaza Strip; and, as the Secretary of State for External Affairs said in his statement to the UN, the Egyptian Government has adopted a helpful attitude towards the Force's presence and functioning in Egyptian-controlled territory.

The Secretary-General has, however, reminded members of the United Nations that the Force is limited in its authority; it was not established to enforce the withdrawal of forces or the maintenance of peaceful conditions along the armistice line, and it does not use all normal military methods in achieving the objectives defined for it by the General Assembly. Furthermore there is still a need to find, at the appropriate time, satisfactory solutions for certain unresolved issues, among which are: the completion of UNEF's deployment (it operates only on Egyptian-controlled territory, despite the Assembly resolution calling for it to be placed on the Armistice line); authority to fire during darkness at infiltrators approaching the line from either direction; and the proposal for a protective fence along the armistice line. "The line under present conditions is vulnerable", said the Secretary-General in his report, "and the quiet, at any moment, could be abruptly broken". Nevertheless it is clear that the Force is, in his words, "one of the pre-conditions for the preservation of quiet along the line between Egypt and Israel. Such quiet, in turn, is indispensable to fruitful effort towards the removal of the major obstacles to peace in the Near East".

### Statement by Mr. Smith

Reproduced below is the text of the statement made in the UN General Assembly on November 22 by Mr. Sidney Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, in introducing the 21-power draft resolution on UNEF:

The representatives present at this meeting of the General Assembly need hardly be reminded that, slightly more than a year ago, the Assembly met in emergency session

in the face of a dangerous situation which had arisen in the Middle East. For reasons with which we are all familiar, it was—and I emphasize this—it was the Assembly, in which all member governments are represented, which bore the brunt of that crisis, that situation which had the gravest implications for the peace of the area and, indeed, of the whole world. Our meeting at this time, however, is not to dwell upon the events of the past but to consider the consequences of one of the important steps which the Assembly took last year, namely, the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force. That was a decision in which all of us participated.

Since the dark days of November 1956, a great deal has been said and written about the role of UNEF in the Midlde East. Members of this Assembly may not then have been wholly in agreement on the principles which should govern the presence and functioning of that Force. But what we are now agreed on, I believe, is that UNEF has made a valuable contribution to the maintenance of quiet and order in the area of its deployment. This, in turn, has done much to allay the anxiety, the fear and the frustration which had produced international tension there. In the introduction to his last annual report to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General has made thoughtful and persuasive comment on the ways in which the Force has continued to serve the cause of peace in the Middle East, and he points out that it has played a pioneering role which has been accompanied by many difficulties.

In the admirable report (A/369), dated 9 October 1957, which the Secretary-General has made, he discusses in detail the development of UNEF. I could not possibly improve on what the report states about organizational and operational matters and about the role and functioning of the Force. I wish only to add my voice to the other expressions of warm appreciation which we have heard from time to time about the Secretary-General and his staff—those men and women who have worked so tirelessly and effectively for the success of the UNEF experiment. It is, of course, a source of satisfaction to Canada that the Commanding Officer of the Force has been Major General Burns—a Canadian.

At the same time, I pay equally warm tribute to those governments which, in one way or another, have made a contribution to this work of practical peace-making. I have in mind the participating governments which, with Canada, have provided contingents to UNEF; the governments which, without charge, have furnished services, facilities and supplies; the governments which have made voluntary contributions and special assistance available in order to meet the problems of financing the Force; and also those governments which offered contingents in the early days of UNEF when the broad response did much to encourage those whose responsibility it was to organize the Force. All those governments warrant congratulations for their support of the United Nations at that time of great trial—a time which perhaps provided a decisive test of the vitality of this Organization. And this rallying round of member states, representing various shades of opinion in this Assembly, is inspiring evidence that the United Nations ideal can be given practical expression.

For, in a sense, the creation of the UNEF has been a practical application of the foremost among the purposes and principles enunciated in Article I of our Charter. In establishing UNEF, the United Nations took an effective and collective step towards the prevention and removal of a threat to peace. The collectivity of this action is symbolized in the composition of the Force itself and in the offers and contributions made by other governments to assist in bringing UNEF into being.

In this context, it is appropriate to mention the helpful attitude which the Government of Egypt has adopted toward the presence and functioning of UNEF in territory under Egyptian control.

### Costs of UNEF

The Prime Minister of Canada has already expressed in this Assembly hall Canada's willingness to continue its contribution to UNEF as long as this is considered necessary by the United Nations. We are fully aware of those reasons why the duration or extent of UNEF's operation cannot be defined at this time. I can see no particular advantage in attempting that definition now. Nevertheless, we of Canada deeply hope that the members of this Assembly share our view that UNEF should continue to have the widest support of the United Nations as long as it appears to be making a useful contribution to peace in the area.

We have the impression that these views are widely shared in this Assembly. If this is so, it follows that the Assembly should give careful consideration to the consequences of continuing the Force in being. There is no doubt that the financial consequences are of concern to all of us here. The Secretary-General has described them in detail in Part III of his report. This shows that to maintain a force of 6,000 United Nations soldiers, performing necessary duties in the service of peace in the Middle East, involves a considerable expenditure. I have no desire to underestimate the actual cost,

but I ask members, and I ask this very, very seriously, to relate those financial costs to the political benefits which UNEF has helped to achieve, and to the possible dangers which UNEF has helped to avert. How do we measure the value of decreased tension between nations, the diminishing of fear and anxiety among peoples, and the strengthening of hope for further progress towards peace? It is surely these intangible factors which must be placed in the balance sheet—and which should be given due weight—when we look at the figures for the costs of UNEF.

To meet those costs, it seems to me inevitable that the Assembly should accept and firmly support the principle of common assessment, based on the regular scale of assessments for United Nations members. The Secretary-General has placed the issue squarely before us in paragraph 106 of his report. He has stressed the grave risks inherent in an inadequate and insecure basis for financing UNEF. Clearly, to base the operations of the Force on a series of appeals for voluntary contributions would be quite inadequate and wholly unworthy of this Organization and the cause which it is serving. The validity of this conclusion has been demonstrated beyond doubt, and I say this without detracting from my previous expression of gratitude for the voluntary contributions and special assistance which some members have so generously provided. I have no hesitation in supporting the assertion in the Secretary-General's report that:

"It is essential that this vital United Nations undertaking be assured of the same degree of certainty of financial support as afforded to other United Nations activities which have as their purpose the maintenance of security and peace." (A/3694, para. 106).

The Canadian view, which has been consistently expressed during the Assembly debates on this subject, is that the financing of UNEF and similar United Nations endeavours can be assured only if the principle of assessment, of collective sharing in the collective effort of peace, is followed.

### **Draft Resolution**

It is with these views in mind that the Canadian Delegation has been consulting with a number of other delegations about the course of action which the Assembly should adopt at this time. We and others have reached certain conclusions which are embodied in the draft resolution (A/L.235/Add.1) now before us. It has been suggested that I should introduce this draft resolution formally to the Assembly. I consider it an honour and a privilege to do so, but I approach the task with a sense of humility, because I am conscious of the fact that I am acting on behalf of a large number of delegations whose names appear on the draft resolution and who represent most of the opinions held in this Assembly. Indeed, I earnestly hope that, in introducing this resolution, I am reflecting the views of the great majority of members here. I say this because of my abiding conviction that UNEF is serving all of us in the Middle East and serving us well.

The draft resolution is a straightforward document. The preamble begins by recalling the earlier resolutions on UNEF. These resolutions, of course, remain operative and are in no way abrogated by the draft which we are considering today and which we should regard as complementary to the earlier resolutions.

The second paragraph of the preamble notes with appreciation the report which the Secretary-General has placed before us. It also recognizes the Assembly's wisdom in appointing an Advisory Committee on UNEF composed of representatives of certain member governments.

The third preambular paragraph acknowledges that UNEF has contributed and is contributing to the maintenance of quiet in the area.

In the operative paragraphs, following an expression of appreciation to those who have rendered assistance to the Force, three main decisions are involved. The first is the approval of the principles and proposals concerning the allocation of costs as between the United Nations and the governments which have provided contingents for UNEF. These are set forth mainly in paragraphs 86, 88 and 91 of the Secretary-General's report. The Secretary-General would be authorized to enter into the agreements for the reimbursements of appropriate extra and extraordinary costs to the members contributing troops. This provision is consistent with earlier resolutions concerning the allocation of costs and it is most important by reason of its implications for participating governments, which have made a considerable effort to give the Assembly's decisions on UNEF effective application. Such voluntary participation in this and similar activities of the United Nations should be encouraged.

Secondly, the Secretary-General would be authorized by the Assembly to expend the additional amounts necessary to meet the costs during the period ending 31 December, 1957. These costs are set forth in Part III of the Secretary-General's report and will be given detailed examination by the Administrative and Budgetary Committee following the normal practice of the United Nations. The same procedure would be adopted re-

garding the cost estimates for the future operations of the Force beyond 31 December, 1957. For that period the Secretary-General would be authorized to expend, as necessary—and I emphasize "as necessary"—an amount not exceeding \$25 million. This figure could reasonably be expected to cover the costs of maintaining the Force on its present basis until the next session of the Assembly. In this regard, the words "as necessary" have special significance and I call the attention of the Assembly to them.

The third main decision contemplated in the draft resolution deals with the method of financing the Force. As I have emphasized in the earlier part of my statement, the basic principle should be that the expenses would be borne by the member states in accordance with the annual scale of assessments. This principle is embodied in paragraph 4 of the draft resolution. The phrase "such other resources as may have become available" is not without importance, however, and should be read in conjunction with the note which the Secretary-General circulated on 20 November (A/3745). It will be seen that the liabilities—for the period ending 31 December, 1957—have been substantially reduced owing to the contributions of special assistance, and in this connection our warm appreciation is extended especially to the Government of the United States. We know that further assistance has been offered and, of course, other voluntary contributions in the future are not excluded.

Finally, the draft resolution requests the Administrative and Budgetary Committee, with the assistance of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to examine, in the light of the present resolution, the cost estimates for maintaining the Force—that is, those contained in Part III of the Secretary-General's report. These budgetary bodies are requested to make such recommendations as they consider appropriate concerning the expenditures authorized by the resolution. This request would enable the General Assembly—and here I fall in line with your observation, Mr. President—to avoid discussion of details and to concentrate on the discussion of general principles.

The draft resolution embodies, we think, the various measures required to meet the needs of UNEF. In particular, it deals with the administrative decisions listed in paragraph III of the Secretary-General's report. But the draft resolution does more than that; it establishes a sound basis for the continuing operation of UNEF and, together with the various reports by the Secretary-General, lays the groundwork for the analysis and study of the experience of UNEF which, the Secretary-General has suggested, should be preserved for the future.

The draft resolution is, moreover, a comprehensive document and one which must be viewed in its entirety. Any one paragraph would be virtually meaningless without the others. We believe that this integral character of the proposal should be retained.

I look forward to hearing the views of other delegations on this matter which has important implications for all of us as states members of the United Nations and for the Organization itself. In introducing this draft resolution, I urge the Assembly to weigh carefully the measures which have been proposed. Our deliberations at this time have a bearing on whether we can demonstrate to the peoples of the world that the United Nations has the determination and strength to put into practice the high principles and purposes to which we all subscribed in acceding to the Charter.

I conclude by expressing my confidence that the Assembly's response now, as its response last year in circumstances of greater stress, anxiety and danger, will serve to give real meaning to those lofty ideals and will, in practical terms, enable UNEF to fulfill the responsibilities placed upon it by the General Assembly.

# Items Relating to South Africa

During the twelfth session of the United Nations Assembly three items relating to South Africa have been considered. These are:

- (1) The Question of South West Africa
- (2) The Question of Race Conflict in South Africa
- (3) The Treatment of People of Indian Origin in the Union of South Africa

The Canadian Delegation abstained on the vote on inscription of the last two items because of its view that there had been ample opportunity for the United Nations to discuss racial problems in South Africa in the past and there would be no practical value in so doing once again. Both items were, however, inscribed by a large majority.

On South West Africa Canada voted in favour of the resolution setting up a Good Offices Committee consisting of the United States, the United Kingdom and a third member to be nominated by the President of the Twelfth Assembly, to discuss with the Government of South Africa a basis for agreement which would continue to accord an international status to South West Africa. This resolution was approved in the Special Political Committee on October 11 by 52 votes to 10 with 17 abstentions. Because of a desire to allow the Good Offices Committee to work unhampered, the Canadian Delegation abstained on 5 other resolutions concerning South West Africa which arose out of reports of the Committee on South West Africa.

The resolution on Race Conflict in South Africa, sponsored by 29 countries recalled previous resolutions on apartheid; deplored that the Government of South Africa had not responded to them; and appealed to the Government to revise its policy in the light of the principles and purposes of the Charter and of world opinion, and to inform the Secretary-General of its response. The Canadian Representative, taking part in the debate on the resolution, affirmed Canada's respect for human rights and its opposition to racial discrimination wherever it might appear. He pointed out that there was no quick and easy solution to the problem which existed in South Africa and expressed the hope that the Assembly would not approve any resolution which did not recognize the extent as well as the urgency of the problem. He said that the Canadian Delegation would be prepared to support a resolution of a general nature reminding all states of the obligations in the Charter applicable to this question.

Believing that it would not have a beneficial effect on the racial situation in South Africa, the Canadian Delegation abstained in the vote on the resolution which, however, was approved in Committee on November 1 by 59 in favour, 5 against (Australia, Belgium, France, Portugal and the United Kingdom) with 10 abstentions (including Canada and New Zealand).

On the Treatment of People of Indian Origin in South Africa a resolution was introduced which recalled last year's resolution which had urged South Africa and India and Pakistan to enter into negotiations on this problem and (1) noted that India and Pakistan were ready to pursue negotiations; (2) regretted South Africa's lack of response; (3) again appealed to South Africa to participate in negotiations and (4) invited the parties concerned to report to the General Assembly the progress of the negotiations.

It was the Canadian view that the object of the resolution—to bring about negotiations between South Africa and India and Pakistan on this problem—could only be achieved by a resolution which was more acceptable to South Africa than the resolution proposed. In order to make its position clear the Canadian Delegation asked for a clause-by-clause vote in which it supported clauses 1 and 3, abstained on clauses 2 and 4 and abstained on the resolution as a whole. The resolution was passed in Committee on November 12 by 63 in favour, none against with 14 abstentions (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom.) The Delegations of Honduras, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Paraguay and South Africa were absent.

# **Colombo Plan Conference**

THE Ninth Meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee was held in Saigon, Vietnam, from October 21 to 24, 1957. The Committee, which exercises general supervision over the Plan, is composed of representatives from the member countries who meet each year to consider the progress of economic development in South and South-East Asia and to exchange views on the operation of the Plan.

The newest member of the Commonwealth, the Federation of Malaya, was welcomed as a full member of the Colombo Plan. All member countries sent representatives to the Meeting. (The 18 member countries are Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaya, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, The Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States and Vietnam). The Colombo Plan Bureau for Technical Cooperation and the Information Office, (both of which are located in Colombo), the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East were represented by observers.



VISIT IN SAIGON

Mr. William J. Browne, Minister without Portfolio, seen with President Diem of Vietnam. Mr. Browne represented Canada at the annual meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee held in Saigon.

The Canadian Delegation to the Conference was led by Mr. W. J. Browne, Minister without Portfolio, and included Mr. H. O. Moran, the Canadian High Commissioner to Pakistan, Mr. A. R. Menzies, Mr. D. M. Cornett and Mr. S. C. H. Nutting, of the Department of External Affairs, Mr. W. D. Mills, of the Department of Trade and Commerce, and Mr. D. Hudon, of the Department of Finance. During the Meeting Mr. Browne announced that the annual Canadian contribution to the Colombo Plan would be increased in 1958-59, subject to the approval of Parliament, to \$35,000,000, thus bringing to more than 231 million the total of Canada's contribution to the Plan since its establishment in 1950.

The Conference arrangements made by the host country (Vietnam) were excellent. A preliminary meeting of officials was held from September 30 to October 5 to prepare the ground for the chief task of the officials, the preparation of the draft annual report. The main body of officials arrived for the Officials Meeting, which was held from October 5 to October 21, during which time they prepared for the consideration of delegation leaders (most of whom were Cabinet Ministers) a draft annual report reviewing the progress of economic development in South and South-East Asia and considering the tasks which lie ahead. The officials also set-up sub-committees to consider the specialized fields of technical assistance and information.

The Meeting of the Consultative Committee was officially opened by the inaugural address of President Diem of Vietnam. He spoke of the political, social and economic aspirations of the peoples of the newly independent nations of South and South-East Asia and the part which the Colombo Plan was playing in helping to raise the standard of living in the area. In the course of his speech he said:

We all share in the uniqueness of the Colombo Plan. Like the great Commonwealth of Nations which gave it birth, the Plan is a voluntary and flexible arrangement, imbued with the practical idealism of raising man's lot to a higher station.

During the next four days the Ministers considered the draft report and discussed the common problems arising out of it. Each of the Ministers made a speech in which he outlined the views of his government on Colombo Plan matters. Mr. Browne concluded his speech in these words:

We have come a long way in the six years since the beginning of the Colombo Plan. In those years a great many Canadians have become newly aware of the problems of the peoples of South and South-East Asia. We have had the pleasure to welcome in Canada many Asian trainees and officials. This has increased our knowledge of them and of the tasks with which they are confronted. Our experts return from Asia having formed a close attachment to the countries in which they worked and, inspired by the manner in which the people are meeting the challenge of economic development. . .

... I think that the assistance, both capital and technical, that has been given by Canada has been put to good use and that my country's continued support is fully justified.

Throughout these meetings, which were conducted in a friendly and informal atmosphere, many useful discussions were held between the representatives of the member governments. Following the tradition established at successive Colombo Plan Conferences, the discussions were frank and cordial.

On the last day of the Meeting the delegates accepted the invitation of the United States to hold next year's Meeting in the United States. The Meeting adopted the draft annual report and issued a communiqué which noted the economic progress which had been made in the area in the year under review and set forth some of the tasks which lie ahead in the field of economic development.



INDIAN ATOMIC EXPERTS

A group of scientists, engineers and technicians from India, concluding a 15-month stay at Chalk River, Ontario, paid a farewell visit November 28 to Mr. Nik Cavell, right, Administrator for Canada of the Colombo Plan.

The Indians were in Canada under the auspices of the Colombo Plan to study the NRX reactor at Chalk River on which the reactor being built near Bombay with Canadian assistance is modelled.

### **Review of Economic Progress**

Reviewing the progress made, the communiqué stated 'inter alia':

During the year the growth of per capita real income in the region appears to have been maintained, and there was further progress in economic development. However, the period has also seen the emergence of certain problems including balance of payments difficulties, an expansion of the money supply in most countries, and an increase in internal inflationary pressures.

Although agricultural production, and industrial and mining output as well, showed in general an upward trend, exports failed to keep pace with the expansion of imports. Important contributing factors were the need for increased expenditure on imports for developmental purposes and domestic monetary expansion. As a result of fluctuations in export prices, and of higher prices of imports, the terms of trade deteriorated for many countries in the region. One of the consequences of the foregoing trends was the emergence of sizeable trade deficits in most of the countries.

In agricultural production there was a considerable increase in the output of foodgrains over the preceding year, but this was offset to some extent by a lower output of rubber and of tea. In mining there was a substantial increase in production, particularly of petroleum and iron ores. Industrial output increased considerably, more particularly in industries producing capital goods.

Most countries of the region are giving a high priority to expenditure on agriculture and irrigation, and to the production of basic services such as power, transport and communications. At the same time there is a general recognition of the need for the

provision of social services, particularly in the fields of health and education. It appears that practically all the countries in the region have increased expenditure on development in the public sector.

Private investment continues to be of major importance in the economic growth of the region. It is being encouraged by member governments through the provision of credit and marketing arrangements, by making available facilities such as buildings, power and technical advice, and also through tax concessions, direct financial assistance, protective tariffs and other measures.

Foreign private investment has been encouraged, particularly in fields where such investment is likely to be of benefit to economic development. Special treatment has been accorded to foreign investment in certain fields such as the provision of facilities for repatriation of capital and for remittance of current earnings. There have been many instances of fruitful collaboration between foreign and domestic private capital and also between foreign capital and the government of a country.

External economic assistance continues to play an important role in supplementing the resources available within the area itself. While it is not possible to estimate precisely the total amount of external resources directed to the region in 1956-57, it appears that in total the equivalent of about US \$1,000 million has been made available by donor countries in the form of economic and technical assistance. From the beginning of the Colombo Plan to the middle of 1957 the total external aid has amounted to about US \$3,500 million. In addition, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has made loans to countries in the area amounting to about US \$39 million in 1956-57; and further loans to the value of US \$191 million have been made since June 1957. The total of International Bank loans to countries in the area since 1949 thus amounts to US \$586 million.

It is, of course, impossible to assess in monetary terms the economic value of technical assistance provided in the form of training or experts; but since 1950 training has been extended to approximately 13,000 trainees from countries of the area, while about 6,000 experts have been provided by Colombo Plan members and United Nations agencies.

### The Tasks Ahead

The following passages are taken from that section of the communiqué dealing with the tasks which lie ahead:

Six years of the Colombo Plan have now elapsed: years in which member countries have been engaged in an intensive effort to accelerate economic development. It would be surprising if in this period some unforeseen problems, as well as achievements, had not emerged. The maintenance of satisfactory future progress will in no small measure depend on readiness to face these problems, to recognize their causes, and take them fully into account in reaching new decisions.

The amount and utilization of capital available in the year 1956-57 provide very satisfactory evidence of the increasing tempo of economic development in South and South-East Asia. In previous years one of the difficulties has been to use capital in development up to the full amounts potentially available. Shortages of some goods and facilities, of managerial skills, of technicians and of administrative personnel, combined with shortcomings in planning, have in many cases been the main limiting factors in development, with the result that projected developments have sometimes not been fully realized. This is still true of most countries. But the enormous amount of development activity currently in progress in some countries is an indication of the vitality of their economies in both the public and the private sectors.

The experience of the past year has, however, underlined the risk that the pace of development may outrun the availability of resources, and the consequent need for the implementation of development plans to be flexible so that they can be rephased as necessary to match the resources available. Plans or policies serve the purpose of settling priorities and securing balanced development. At this meeting member countries reemphasized the need for a realistic approach to planning. They acknowledged that the implementation of formal plans may have led to rising confidence and increased demands in various parts of a country's economy, which raised consequential problems for all governments . . .

Private capital already goes to South and South-East Asia in significant amounts which cannot be exactly measured, through many diverse channels. The importance of foreign private capital lies both in its contribution to production facilities and in promoting local enterprise and talent. Governments of the area have generally shown awareness of the need to take positive steps, within the framework, of their own particular economic circumstances, to encourage such investment. All countries have to compete

for available private capital, and the advantage of the region in this competition is that it offers potentially large and growing markets. Capital may flow in from long-established business connections which are well acquainted with the conditions of the area. It may also flow in through industrial corporations new to the area, some with world-wide connections which are consequently selective in their decisions. They have a wide area of choice and they will naturally try to establish or expand industrial enterprises, frequently in co-operation with local private interests or governments, in those countries where they believe that their investment will be most secure and profitable, and where the friendly receptivity of governments is assured. The attractions of the region, however, can be counter-balanced by such factors as apprehensions as to the security of investment, difficulties with administrative and financial procedures and restrictions, and uncertainties about the incidence and weight of taxation. To such matters governments will no doubt continue to give detailed consideration.

During the year a number of countries in South and South-East Asia have run into balance of payments difficulties. They have been due to a variety of causes, for example different relative movements of prices, the impact of inflationary developments, or the increasing demand for imports flowing from the momentum of economic development. Such a situation tends to be aggravated by speculative factors. Some of the countries facing these difficulties have been fortunate in possessing substantial external reserves and have thus been able to cover the deficit in their balance of payments while measures to rectify their difficulties have had time to take effect. Some other countries whose exports are currently inadequate to pay for essential imports and whose exchange reserves are small in comparison with their needs have been helped by other external resources. While deficits may arise from unforeseen circumstances there are dangers in planning for even a temporary deficit in the balance of payments unless there are adequate exchange reserves or the certainty of other external resources to cover it . . .

As previous reports have emphasized, the great bulk of the finance needed for development must come from domestic resources, and the encouragement and mobilization of domestic savings, together with its utilization on wise economic lines, is therefore of crucial importance. In the case of most countries in the area, external aid can only be supplementary, although it may be particularly valuable in helping to cover some portion of the external costs of development or achieving other specific purposes.

Their own export earnings are, however, of predominant importance for the fortunes of most countries of the area. The almost inevitable fluctuations in the prices of stable exports pose a difficult problem, particularly for those countries dependent on one or two export items. There is no simple solution. Countries in this position may have to seek a solution in such ways as further diversification of their economies and the maintenance of financial reserves adequate to tide them over short term fluctuations.

The settlement of main priorities is a matter to which governments in the area are giving increasing attention. In the case of food-importing countries, the expansion of food production is a high priority. An adequately fed population is a first essential. Quite apart from the social disasters which a shortage of food can occasion, it can also have serious effects on prices and may necessitate a large diversion of resources to pay for urgent food imports. At the same time there are important food-exporting countries in the area and it is in the interests of their customers to profit from the natural advantages of these sources of supply and that the amounts of food available for export from these countries should continue to increase. Here again comparative advantage may determine the allocation of resources between alternative fields of production.

The provision of better transport facilities is another high priority in many countries, to enable the best use to be made of resources by increasing their mobility, to move agricultural produce from farms to markets, to bring raw materials to industries, and to provide access to external markets...

There is continued reference throughout this report to the search by countries of the area for additional resources, more capital, more equipment, and more managerial and technical skills. But it would be wrong to regard the situation as wholly discouraging. These are the signs that the countries concerned are pressing on with urgent tasks of development and the raising of living standards with speed and energy. Reference to difficulties must not of course be taken to imply that the difficulties are insuperable, or indeed peculiar to countries at a relatively early stage of development. Signs of strain are by no means limited to the less industrialized countries: they have been repeatedly evident in recent years in some of the most highly developed countries in the world; these too tend to find themselves continuously faced with the need to balance resources against aspirations, and, while making the quickest possible advance, to be constantly on their guard against the onset of inflation and external dis-equilibrium. Efforts must not flag because the road ahead runs uphill.

The existence among the peoples of the region of abounding confidence in their own destiny is a factor highly favourable to social and economic improvement. The problems remaining do not arise from static or stagnating economic conditions. Rather they are

problems arising out of dynamic growth and expansion. They thus offer a challenge which will be met with a determination to achieve further progress in the years ahead.

After the Conference, Mr. Browne paid brief visits to Ceylon, India and Pakistan. He was able to see a number of Colombo Plan projects in which Canada is participating, among them the fisheries storage and refrigeration plant at Mutwal, Ceylon, and the Warsak Dam in northwestern Pakistan. At Warsak, Mr. Browne had the opportunity to address part of the large Canadian colony of technicians and their wives (nearly 400 in all) who live at Warsak. This project is the largest in which Canada is engaged and besides providing power for the surrounding region it is expected to irrigate about 100,000 acres.



CANADIAN EXHIBIT
Part of the Canadian display which attracted many visitors during the Colombo Plan meeting.

# International Atomic Energy Agency: First General Conference

The first session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency was held in Vienna October 1-23, 1957. The Statute of the Agency was opened for signature on October 26, 1956, and was signed by representatives of seventy countries. The Statute came into force on July 29, 1957, and by October 24, 1957, it had been ratified by fifty-nine States.\* Of this number 55 countries were represented at the Conference by voting delegations. In addition, 11 states which had signed the Statute but had not yet ratified it were represented by observers. On October 8, the General Conference approved Finland's application for membership. Finland is not an original signatory but will become a member of the Agency when its instrument of acceptance of the Statute has been deposited. The United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and a number of other inter-governmental and non-governmental agencies were also represented by observers. The plenary sessions and the meetings of the main committees were open to the public.

Canada was represented by Mr. M. H. Wershof, Q.C., Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva, with Mr. W. H. Barton, Department of External Affairs, and Mr. S. Pollock, Department of Finance, as alternates.



CANADA'S DELEGATION

Members of the Canadian Delegation to the first session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, held October 1-23 in Vienna, were, seated, left to right: Mr. M. H. Wershof, Chairman; Mr. W. H. Barton; Mr. S. Pollock; standing, Mr. Murray Cook and Mr. D. Watson.

<sup>\*</sup>For background information see Volume 8, Numbers 7 and 11 of "External Affairs" (July and November 1956)

The Statute of the Agency provides for a permanent staff headed by a Director General, a 23-member Board of Governors, and a General Conference consisting of representatives of all members which will meet in regular annual session and, under certain circumstances, in special session.

This first session of the General Conference was essentially an admintrative conference. It had before it for discussion recommendations on most of the main items of business prepared by an 18-member Preparatory Commission which had been established on October 26, 1956. The General Conference adopted certain measures to permit the establishment of the Agency in Vienna, including approval of a Headquarters Agreement with the Austrian Government, and the recruiting of staff. It approved an initial programme of action, a budget and a provisional scale of contributions. A Board of Governors was elected and a Director General appointed. Permanent rules of procedure were approved and agreement was reached regarding the attendance of representatives of states not members of the Agency and of representatives of other international organizations and of non-governmental organizations. A relationship agreement between the Agency and the United Nations was approved and authorization given to the Board of Governors to enter into negotiations for appropriate relationship agreements with the Specialized Agencies. The General Conference decided to hold its second regular session in Vienna beginning September 22, 1958.

### Opening of the Conference

The Conference was formally opened with Mr. Bernardes, of Brazil, Chairman of the Preparatory Commission, in the chair as temporary president. A minute of silence in honour of the late King Haakon of Norway was observed. The Conference was then addressed by Dr. Adolph Schaerf, President of Austria, Dr. Ralph Bunche, representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and Mr. Bernardes. Messages from Heads of Government were then delivered by the representatives of the United States, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, France, Canada, India and Japan. Mr Diefenbaker's message was as follows:

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I extend to the First General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency the warmest good wishes for a full measure of success in its important endeavours. The Agency has a leading part to play in bringing the benefits of atomic energy quickly and abundantly to all. Even as it takes up its task, the Agency has the satisfaction of knowing that it cannot fail to contribute to prosperity, security and a wholesome peace throughout the world. The question which you must face is how great that contribution will be. We in Canada shall do all that we can, together with other countries large and small, advanced and not yet fully advanced, to make that contribution as great as it can be and should be.

#### Elections

Dr. Karl Gruber, Austrian Ambassador to the United States and Head of the Austrian Delegation, was unanimously elected President of the Conference. The Canadian representative, Mr. M. H. Wershof, was elected a member of the General (Steering) Committee.

In accordance with the powers bestowed on it by an annex to the Statute, the Preparatory Commission had designated thirteen members for the first Board of Governors. (This will be done in subsequent years by the outgoing Board of Governors). The members designated provide for adequate representation of the countries most advanced in the technology of atomic energy in the various areas of the world, of producers of source material and of suppliers of technical assistance. The following countries were designated: Canada, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Brazil, South Africa, India, Australia, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Portugal and Sweden. The Conference was called upon to elect ten additional members, one each from seven geographical areas (not including North America) and three floaters. The following were elected: Argentina, Italy, Rumania, Egypt, Pakistan, Indonesia and Korea; Guatemala, Peru and Turkey\*.

The Board of Governors at its first meeting elected Mr. Winkler, of Czechoslovakia, as its Chairman for the next year and, as its two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Wershof, of Canada, and Mr. Furuuchi, of Japan. The Board then appointed Mr. Sterling Cole as Director General of the Agency, subject to the approval of the General Conference. This approval was obtained on October 7 and Mr. Cole immediately took an oath of office. (Mr. Cole has been a member of the United States Congress for about 25 years. He has resigned in order to accept this appointment). Although there was no formal opposition to Mr. Cole's appointment, the U.S.S.R. delegate stated that his delegation would have preferred someone from a "neutral" country. Selection of a candidate from one of the great powers, he suggested, might lead smaller countries in need of assistance to fear that their interests might be sacrificed to those of the great power of which the Director General was a national. Moreover, in the future, other great powers might be tempted to press for the appointment of one of their nationals. However, he concluded, since the views of the Soviet Delegation had not commanded the support of certain delegations the Soviet Delegation, conscious of the importance of preserving the spirit of co-operation which had marked the proceedings of the Statute Conference and those of the Preparatory Commission, would not oppose Mr. Cole's appointment.

### Programme and Budget

The Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency defines the objectives of the Agency in the following terms:

The Agency shall seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world. It shall ensure, so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose.

The Conference had before it carefully considered recommendations by the 18-member Preparatory Commission for the initial programme, budget and staff establishment of the Agency. The recommendations were necessarily couched in general terms and were designed to take account of the capacity of the new agency to complete substantive work in its first year of life. They distinguished between activities which could be undertaken from the start, with relatively modest resources, and those which will require more extensive preparation and planning. The first group included assistance to member states in acquiring knowledge and skills needed to make full use of radioisotopes and radiation sources; measures to promote the interchange of technical and scientific information, including the convening of scientific conferences; projects for the exchange and training of scientists and experts; and the formulation of standards for health and safety for the Agency's oper-

<sup>\*</sup>See Vol. 8 No. 7, External Affairs July 1956.

ations as well as international co-ordination of activities in this field. In the initial phase, the Preparatory Commission also proposed that the Agency should assist its member states in laying the ground-work for reactor programmes. At the same time, the Agency should undertake planning and preparations for its longer-term programmes, such as the encouragement of nuclear research; more extensive activities in the reactor field; arrangements for the provision of nuclear materials and the development of safeguard procedures.

In the course of the discussions at the first session of the General Conference a number of member states, including Canada, offered to make available to the Agency fissionable or source materials, facilities for training and other forms of assistance which would help it to implement its programme. Mr. Wershof announced in the course of the general debate that Canada is in a position to make substantial quantities of uranium available to the Agency or its members in various forms, including fabricated fuel elements. He also informed the Conference that Canada will gladly co-operate with the Agency in the provision of training and technical assistance and in the exchange of technical information. The actual terms and conditions under which materials and assistance will be made available remain to be worked out with the Board of Governors. The majority of delegations emphasized the shortage of trained personnel and recommended that the Agency in its initial period should concentrate on training and on the exchange of information. Again many delegates suggested that maximum use of existing national facilities should be made and that the Agency should act as a clearing house rather than embarking on ambitious training and information programmes of its own. In line with this concept of the Agency's functions in its early years was the view expressed by many delegates regarding the need for economy and restraint in building up the staff of the Agency. All were agreed that the Agency should secure firstclass scientists, technicians and administrators, but a good many delegates were obviously concerned lest the Agency should start off with too large an establishment — one that might be difficult to fill with competent personnel or one that might waste the talents of experts who are in short supply.

On the recommendation of the Board of Governors, the General Conference unanimously approved the proposals of the Preparatory Commission. In so doing, however, it noted that the recommendations contained in the programme were largely of a general character and recommended that "in planning the work of the Agency, the Board should give high priority to those activities which will give the maximum possible benefit from the peaceful applications of atomic energy in improving the conditions and raising the standard of living of the peoples of the under-developed areas". The General Conference also recommended that the Board of Governors should examine the desirability of making application on behalf of the Agency for participating membership in the United Nations Technical Assistance Board.

The Statute provides that the expense of the Agency should be divided as between administrative expenses and operational expenses. The former are to be met by all member governments by assessment. The operational expenses are to be met by voluntary contributions and any excess of revenue over expenditures from Agency projects. The administrative budget proposed by the Preparatory Commission for the first year amounts to \$4,089,000, of which \$624,000 will be to meet the expenses of the Commission itself and of the first session of the General Conference. The only operational item included in the 1958 Budget is \$250,000 for an initial fellowship programme. In approving this item the Conference invited all member states to make voluntary contributions to the general fund of the Agency to finance the programme. The Conference also agreed to establish a working capital fund of \$2,000,000. Members will pay into this fund according to the scale fixed for the administrative budget.

The provision of safeguards to prevent the use of materials made available through the Agency for military purposes was an essential element in the minds of the original sponsors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The incorporation of this principle in the Statute in terms acceptable to all was the most important and difficult task facing the Statute Conference\*. Although there was no substantive discussion during this First General Conference on the question of safeguards, the problem was mentioned during the general debate by the Indian and Soviet Delegations. The Indian representative suggested that the question of safeguards should not be taken up until more important problems had been dealt with, such as health and safety, problems of radioactive isotopes, transport of radioactive material, and disposal of waste. The Soviet delegate agreed that there must be some measure of control but warned the Conference that such control should not infringe the sovereignty of the recipient states. Although these were only passing references it is clear that, because of the complex nature of the problems involved, the establishment and application of effective control measures will be a difficult task for the Agency in the future.

### Relationship Agreements

The General Conference had before it for consideration a draft agreement between the United Nations and the Atomic Energy Agency which was the result of negotiations between the Preparatory Commission and the United Nations Advisory Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. This Agreement was the result of many months of negotiation and while it did not entirely satisfy all representatives at the Conference it was accepted unanimously by the Board of Governors and the General Conference.

The Statute authorizes the Board of Governors, with the approval of the General Conference, to enter into agreements establishing an appropriate relationship between the Agency and any other organization whose work is related to that of the Agency. The Conference authorized the Board to negotiate relationship agreements with the Specialized Agencies, taking into account certain guiding principles suggested by the Preparatory Commission, and to submit these agreements for the approval of the Conference during the regular session following the negotiations of each such agreement. With regard to other international organizations the Preparatory Commission noted that any relationship agreement will depend on the nature of the organization and upon other factors which cannot be foreseen. No specific resolution was adopted but the rules of procedure provide for the possibility of such relationship agreements negotiated on an individual basis with interested organizations. The Conference did have before it certain recommendations regarding the principles which might govern the granting of consultative status to nongovernmental organizations. A resolution adopted by the Conference requests

<sup>\*</sup>See "External Affairs" November 1956.

the Board to draw up rules, based on these principles, for the consideration of the second session of the General Conference.

The question of relations with the UN and Specialized Agencies involves the problem of co-ordination and co-operation in order to avoid duplication of effort in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. A number of delegations, including that of Canada, recognized that the attainment of effective co-ordination in this field cannot be left entirely to secretariats or to the UN Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, although they have an important role to play. Ultimate responsibility lies with governments, which should adopt a consistent attitude on the problem of co-ordination and on the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency and other agencies in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy through their delegates to the various agencies.

### Representation of Non-Members

At the Statute Conference the Soviet bloc argued at length that the Agency would suffer from the exclusion of Communist China. During the first session of the General Conference the same group of countries argued that all states and international or non-governmental organizations interested in the work of the Agency should be given the automatic right to be represented by observers at sessions of the Conference. They based their arguments on what they described as the principles of universality implicit in the Statute. However, the majority of the members decided to restrict the automatic right to send observers to (a) states, members of the UN or of the Specialized Agencies but not members of the Agency, and (b) the United Nations and Specialized Agencies. With regard to other inter-governmental organizations the majority decision was to restrict the right to send representatives to organizations with which an appropriate relationship with the Agency might be established. Pending the approval of rules for the granting of consultative status to nongovernmental organizations and of relationship agreements with inter-governmental organizations, the Board of Governors was authorized to invite appropriate inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations to be represented at the second session of the General Conference.

#### Conclusions

As noted at the beginning of this article the first session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency was essentially an administrative conference. There were no startling developments or pronouncements which could steal the headlines from Sputnik. Nevertheless, solid foundations were laid for the construction of the Agency. During the general debate, Canadian views on the future of the Agency were expressed by Mr. Wershof, in part, in the following terms:

It will be our task in the days ahead to see that the Agency discharges to the greatest possible extent the heavy responsibilities which history has laid upon it. Our efforts will be successful only to the extent that we continue to co-operate constructively in our work, and to the extent that we are prepared to contribute what we can not only in knowledge and resources, but from time to time in sacrifice of particular national interests or preferences, to the collective judgment of what the Agency's best interests will require. The success so far achieved, and the efforts which so many governments have made towards that achievement, give us every reason not only to hope, but to expect, that our further efforts will be harmonious and fruitful. . . As Canada's representative on the Board of Governors, may I say that my country will do its part to ensure that the programme of the Agency, as determined during these sessions, is pressed forward with vigor and determination.

# Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration

In recent years, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration has played an important role in assisting migratory movements from Europe to overseas countries. It has also been active in facilitating the resettlement of European refugees and the work which it performed during the Hungarian exodus has been particularly impressive. This article may help its readers to understand better what ICEM stands for.

### Historical Background

In the years immediately following the Second World War, the Western countries were much concerned about economic and political dangers arising in Europe from surplus population and the influx of refugees. The population problems of countries of relatively high birth rate, such as Italy, Greece and The Netherlands, had been made acute by the effects of war and by the fact that overseas migration had ceased during the war years. Political changes had reduced the ability of some countries to absorb their growing population and increased the problem by causing groups of the nationals of these countries, established elsewhere, to return home. The loss of Indonesia weakened the power of The Netherlands to absorb its increasing labour force and added to its population some 300,000 returned Dutch citizens. Italy lost the colonial outlets for its population as well as part of its European territory and received over 400,000 refugees from these former possessions. In Greece, the disasters of the war were followed by civil war which rendered nearly 700,000 persons homeless and, in addition, some 50,000 refugees entered the country from the communist states to the north.

The war created similar problems in countries in which population had hitherto been relatively stable. Western Germany received some 10 million refugees, chiefly of German ethnic origin, and Austria had to bear a similar influx, but on a much smaller scale.

International effort concentrated on one segment of this problem—those persons defined as refugees according to United Nations criteria. The International Refugee Organization assisted, in some form or other, more than 1,600,000 such refugees and succeeded in resettling more than 1,000,000 of them, but its operations were due to come an to end on completion of its programme for 1951.

In December 1951, on the initiative of the United States and Belgium, a conference of interested governments took place in Brussels to consider whether some way could not be found of continuing to use the operational machinery of IRO to deal with the serious problems of refugees and surplus population after that organization's mandate came to an end. At this conference the organization now known as the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) was established. Although the conference was largely preoccupied with European problems and recognized the necessity of "an increase in European emigration to countries overseas", it considered at

length the requirements of the immigration countries, emphasized "the close relationship which existed between economic development and immigration", and pointed out that "international effort to increase European emigration should stimulate the creation of new economic opportunities in countries lacking manpower".

Sixteen countries voted for the Enabling Resolution of the Brussels conference. Since then 27 governments have accepted the formal constitution which came into force on November 30, 1954\*. ICEM draws funds for its work chiefly from contributions from its member governments. Its administrative funds are subscribed on a percentage basis from all member governments, and its operational funds are contributed voluntarily, usually as per capita payments related to the number of migrants or refugees moved to or from the contributing country.

Although the main task of ICEM is to arrange transport and give financial help to persons wishing to migrate from over-populated areas in Europe, it has the additional responsibility of helping its member governments to develop machinery to handle migration within their national administrations and of preparing the migrant to make the best use of opportunities open to him. ICEM has helped to develop services for recruitment, medical selection and trade selection in the emigration countries, and has distributed factual information to prospective emigrants on opportunities open to them and the standards of living and way of life they may expect in the immigration country of their choice. It has helped to establish services to receive the immigrants on arrival and to place them in employment. It has organized language training and vocational training for intending migrants.

ICEM is also authorized to assist in the movement overseas of refugees. Between February 1, 1952 and September 30, 1957, ICEM has given direct transport and financial assistance to 729,218 migrants, of whom 334,482 may be defined broadly as refugees, 239,945 of the latter being within United Nations definitions. During this period ICEM directly assisted 82,008 Hungarian refugees from Austria as well as 54,130 Hungarian refugees who received processing assistance only. In addition, 6,444 Hungarian refugees were moved from Yugoslavia, and 4,151 refugees from the Middle East following the Suez crisis.

The headquarters of ICEM are located in Geneva, Branch offices are maintained in Austria, Germany, Spain, Greece, Italy, Australia, South Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, United States of America, and many Latin American countries. ICEM has a payroll including 650 officials and employees.

### Seventh Session of the Council

The Seventh Session of ICEM's Council was convened in Geneva's Palais des Nations on October 7, and concluded its deliberations on October

<sup>\*</sup>Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Spain, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Netherlands, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Switzerland, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United States and Venezuela.

12, 1957\*. A number of very important issues were up for discussion at the Council Session. Some of the resolutions adopted by the Council are of a farreaching character and may produce discussions which could influence future ICEM policies and possibly modify the basic aims and purposes of the Committee as now set out in its constitution.

A brief word might be said here of two main problems discussed at the Session. First, an important discussion took place with regard to the methods of financing ICEM's operations. Secondly, the Council reconsidered ICEM's position in connection with assistance to be given to refugees of European origin who are now leaving mainland China in considerable numbers.

The present system of financing ICEM's operations is extremely complex. Until now, it has been the practice for those governments interested in the particular movement of a migrant to make a contribution towards transportation costs. For example, if a migrant wishes to move from The Netherlands to Brazil, contributions will be forthcoming both from The Netherlands and the Brazilian Governments. Subject to the financial arrangements made with regard to each particular stream of migration, it happens that some movements receive more than adequate financial assistance while others face a deficit; many movements from Europe to Australia are in the latter category. Therefore there has developed a pattern of minus and plus movements, the latter being insufficient to meet the deficit created by the former. In order to meet this deficit, the Council has for the past years resorted to the device of the Special Fund to which member governments contribute on a voluntary basis. During the previous session of the Council earlier this year, there was general agreement that the special fund had proved itself unsatisfactory as a means of covering ICEM's operational deficit and in order to find a more adequate solution, a Working Group composed of representatives of The Netherlands, United States, Australia, Brazil and Italy, examined the problem during the summer months. At its Seventh Session, the Council considered the Working Group's report, the main recommendation of which being that a special budget should be established to cover those ICEM activities classifiable as "international services" e.g. distribution of literature to migrants, information and language interpretation, etc. The Council decided to refer to member governments the recommendations of the Working Group, which will meet again in Washington next February to study the replies.

<sup>\*</sup>ICEM has two main organs: the Executive Committee composed of nine member countries, including Canada, and the Council composed of all 27 member governments. Both the Executive Committee and the Council meet twice a year.

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND SEPARATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. L Fournier, Canadian Consul General at Boston, posted to Ottawa effective September 3, 1957. Separated from the Department of External affairs, effective October 11, 1957.
- Miss A. M. Matheson separated from the Department of External Affairs, effective October 29, 1957.
- Mr. A. R. Crépault separated from the Department of External Affairs, effective November 1, 1957.
- Mr. J. J. A. Asselin appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officier 1, effective November 1, 1957.
- Mr. J. A. Millard appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective November 20, 1957.
- Mr. J. E. Redmond appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective November 1, 1957.
- Mr. W. H. Holmes posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective November 4, 1957.
- Mr. D. B. Wilson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Lisbon, to Ottawa, effective November 5, 1957.
- Mr. A. F. Broadbridge posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective November 6, 1957.
- Mr. J. R. Francis posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, effective November 10, 1957.
- Mr. H. G. Hampson posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective November 11, 1957.
- Miss M. A. Macpherson posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective November 15, 1957.
- Mr. A. B. Bonnezen appointed to the Department of External Affairs as External Affairs Officer 3, effective November 15, 1957.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective November 21, 1957.
- Mr. J. F. X. Houde posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective November 22, 1957.
- Mr. P. A. Bissonnette posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to Ottawa, effective November 28, 1957.

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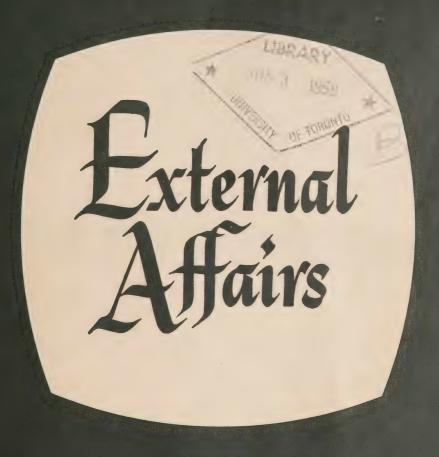
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CANADA



### EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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CANADA

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Department of External Affairs Ottawa, Canada

### **NATO Heads of Government Meeting**

A meeting unique in the history of the Alliance took place in Paris from December 16 to 19 at the NATO Permanent Headquarters in the Palais de Chaillot. Fifteen Heads of Government came together to discuss and take broad decisions of principle on the main military, political and economic questions confronting the Alliance. Canada was represented by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker and by the Ministers of Finance, National Defence and External Affairs.

The decision to hold a special meeting was taken early in November. The NATO Council normally meets each year in December to review the defence contributions of member governments and to decide on plans for future years. This annual review was undertaken and completed this year by the Permanent Council immediately prior to the Heads of Government Meeting. It was felt that this year the number of problems and decisions with the broadest implications, which confronted the Alliance, warranted consideration at the highest level. The most important of these were the implications for NATO of the successful testing of an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) by the Soviet Union last August. The Russian announcement of this achievement was later confirmed when they succeeded in launching earth satellites later in the year.



AT NATO CONFERENCE

Government leaders of NATO member countries listen as President Eisenhower delivers opening address of summit conference. Facing camera, clockwise from left: President Eisenhower, Paul-Henri Spaak, Secretary-General of NATO; Premier Joseph Bech of Luxembourg, conference chairman; Prime Minister Achille Van Acher of Belgium, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister Hans Hansen of Denmark, and Premier Felix Gaillard of France. The four men flanking Mr. Diefenbaker in the row behind are, left to right: Finance Minister Donald Fleming, Mr. George R. Pearkes, Minister of Defence; Mr. Sidney Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs; and Mr. L. Dana Wilgress, permanent representative and Ambassador of Canada to the North Atlantic Council.

The United States move toward closer collaboration within NATO, which was discussed with the United Kingdom in bilateral talks between the the President and Mr. Macmillan last October, envisaged renewed efforts to strengthen the collective defence of the Alliance in a spirit of trust and interdependence. Interdependence meant the rationalization of force contributions, defence production, and co-operative scientific research so as to make the fullest use of the resources of each and all of the member countries.

The Prime Minister, on his return from Paris (December 21) described the atmosphere of the meeting in the House of Commons in the following words: "Never have I seen a group of men less actuated by any purpose other than to achieve, or to lay the foundations for, peace and so to act that the 450 million people whom they represented will at least know that everything has been done and everything will be done to ensure through negotiation the maintenance of our way of life; that we are prepared, not in a spirit of appeasement, but with a realization of the awful realities that face us, to go as far as possible to bring about that climate and that atmosphere which will ensure the laying of the foundation, internationally, of peace through disarmament."

### Disarmament

It was in this spirit that Heads of Government reviewed the current deadlock with the Soviet Union on disarmament. They noted that the Western proposals on disarmament were rejected en bloc by the Soviet Union although they had been approved by 56 members of the United Nations. They expressed regret that the Soviet Union has brought about a deadlock in the disarmament negotiations by declaring their intention to boycott the United Nations Disarmament Commission which had been extended, by a strong majority of the General Assembly, to include 25 nations.

In spite of these setbacks the Heads of Governements stated their willingness to promote, preferably within the United Nations, any negotiations with the U.S.S.R. likely to lead to the implementation of the Western proposals. They further expressed their willingness to examine any proposal, from whatever source, for general or partial disarmament. Finally, they indicated that, should the Soviet Government refuse to participate in the work of the new Disarmament Commission, NATO would welcome a meeting at Foreign Ministers level to resolve the deadlock.

In the light of this deadlock on disarmament, the Heads of Government had to consider the steps to be taken to strengthen the military forces of the Alliance. They noted that the Soviet leaders, while preventing a general disarmament agreement, had made it clear that the most modern and destructive weapons, including missiles or all kinds, were being introduced in the Soviet armed forces. They decided that as long as the Soviet Union persists in this attitude, NATO has no alternative but to remain vigilant and look to its defences and to achieve the most effective pattern of NATO military defensive strength.

To this end the Heads of Government decided to establish stocks of nuclear warheads which would be readily available for the defence of the Alliance in case of need. They also decided, in view of the present Soviet policies in the field of new weapons, that intermediate range ballistic missiles

(IRBMs) would have to be put at the disposal of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

The Prime Minister pointed out in the House that these far reaching decisions of principle were taken only after a searching review of the necessity for strengthening NATO's capacity to deter aggression. Specific plans for implementing these decisions, which will be the subject of bilateral discussions, will await future ministerial meetings. It was also decided at the meeting that NATO forces and production should be more completely integrated in accordance with the principle of interdependence, so that each member of the Alliance could make the most effective contribution to defence.

### Threat to Free World

In their discussion on the international situation, the Heads of Government reviewed the dangers to world peace arising from actions and threats of the Soviet bloc whose aim was to weaken and disrupt the free world. These actions and threats were military, political and economic in nature and were being used throughout the world. To meet this challenge, the free world had to organize its resources—moral, military, political and economic—and had to be ready to deploy them wherever the situation demanded. The Heads of Government decided that the Alliance could not therefore be concerned only with the North Atlantic area or only with military defence. It must also organize its political and economic strength on the principle of interdependence and must take account of developments outside its own area.

This important statement of NATO's interest in areas beyond the Treaty area does not imply an extension of the commitment of the Alliance to defend other areas. Nor, as the Prime Minister said in the House, does it imply in any way a desire on the part of NATO to interfere in the affairs of other countries. NATO's interest was to affirm the support of its member governments for the independence and sovereignty of states in areas such as the Middle East and their continuing interest in the economic well-being of their peoples. To the many nations which have gained their independence since the end of the Second World War, and to all other peoples who are dedicated to peace and freedom, NATO countries offered their co-operation on a basis of complete equality and in a spirit of fraternity.

Apart from the three major decisions on disarmament, the introduction of nuclear weapons and IRBMs into NATO defences and the extension of the concern of the Alliance in areas beyond its borders, a number of other important matters were discussed. There was general recongition of the need to increase the number of trained scientists and technicians in most countries. To give effect to a co-operative effort in this field within the Alliance, Heads of Government decided to establish a NATO Science Committee on which all member countries will be represented by men qualified to speak authoritatively on scientific policy. They also decided to appoint a scientific advisor to the Secretary-General. These decisions will involve NATO in a new and highly complicated field of co-operation.

At the meeting Heads of Government emphasized that NATO was more than a military alliance; that it was a community whose members are guided by similar fundamental ideas, and that under Article II of the Treaty, they had agreed to give effect to the Community by co-operation and collaboration in the important aspects of international relations. There was a striking determination to develop still further the habit of consultation which is an essential element in maintaining the cohesion and unity of the Alliance.

### Canada's Views

The Canadian delegation stressed the importance of the habit of consultation, the neighbourly frame of mind, and the desirability of member nations refraining from adopting firm policy stands or making major political announcements on questions that affect the interests of their NATO partners until they have consulted with them.

The Canadian Delegation also stressed that particular attention should be given to the implementation of Article II of the Treaty—with particular reference to the desirability of Members of the Alliance bearing in mind the needs of the underdeveloped countries. The Prime Minister pointed out that "the free world would not accept a situation where half mankind is well fed and the other half is not. Such a situation merely invites communist mischief". In this connection the Prime Minister suggested that something in the nature of a NATO Food Bank might be created to make food available to countries which are in need and which are in danger of being overrun or subverted by the Soviet Union.

The Declaration and Communiqué which were issued at the end of the Meeting contain a full account of the collective views and decisions of the Heads of Government and are worthy of careful reading. The texts of these documents are printed below.

In summing up the results of the meeting in the House on December 21, the Prime Minister said:

"The Alliance, I believe, has made a substantive contribution to peace, not only by reaffirming its purely defensive character—that was underlined and re-emphasized over and over again—but also by leaving the door open to meaningful disarmament negotiations. Decisions have been taken which, through a closer integration of our individual forces, will result in the strengthening of the Alliance and I believe will secure greater security for our peoples. The machinery of NATO will be adapted to make possible the full use of resources of each and all member nations. Above everything else, a new impetus has been given at the highest possible level, and a revised vision to our Alliance which will help us to translate its aims and objectives into practical achievements . . . This conference has taken striking decisions that affect the military posture, the scientific disposition and a new imaginative economic approach that have both domestic and external application to all the 15 countries. We have extended the range of our concern where economies and social matters are concerned to take in underdeveloped countries outside and beyond our Alliance."

### Declaration and Communiqué

### Declaration

We, the representatives of 15 nations of the North Atlantic Alliance, believing in the sanctity of those human rights which are guaranteed to all men of free nations by their constitutions, laws and customs, rededicate ourselves and our nations to the principles and purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty. This Treaty has been in effect for nearly nine years. It was founded to protect the right of our peoples to live in peace and freedom under governments of their own choice. It has succeeded in protecting this right. Building on our experience and confident in the success already obtained, we have agreed together upon means to give added strength to our Alliance.

At the end of the Second World War, the armies of the West were largely disbanded. The Soviet Union did not demobilize. Its expansionist policy impelled us to establish our Treaty and to build up our armed forces.

We are an organization of free countries. We have learned to live and work together in the firm conviction that our fundamental unity and our combined strength are indispensable to our own security and to the peace of the world.

The meaning of our Alliance is clear. We have given a solemn guarantee, each to the other, to regard an attack upon one as an attack upon all, to be resisted with all the forces at our command. Faithful to the Charter of the United Nations we reaffirm that our Alliance will never be used for aggressive purposes. We are always ready to settle international problems by negiotiation, taking into account the legitimate interests of all. We seek an end to world tension. And intend to promote peace, economic prosperity and social progress throughout the world.

We continue firmly to stand for comprehensive and controlled disarmament, which we believe can be reached by stages. In spite of disappointments, we remain ready to discuss any reasonable proposal to reach this goal and to lay a solid foundation for a durable peace. This is the only way to dispel the anxieties arising from the armaments race.

The free world faces the mounting challenge of international communism backed by Soviet power. Only last month in Moscow the Communist rulers again gave clear warning of their determination to press on to domination over the entire world, if possible by subversion, if necessary by violence. Within the North Atlantic Treaty there is no place for the concept of world domination. Firmly believing in peaceful change through democratic means, cherishing the character of our peoples and vigilant to safeguard their freedom, we will never yield to such a threat.

For the entire world it is both a tragedy and a great danger that the peoples under international communist rule—their national independence, human liberties and their standard of living as well as their scientific and technological achievements—have been sacrificed to the purposes of world domination and military power. The suppression of their liberty will not last forever. Already in these countries there is evidence of the growing desire for intellectual and economic freedom. If the free nations are steadfast, the totalitarian menace that now confronts them will eventually recede.

Established to defend the peace, our Alliance will also enable us to reach our objectives of economic and social progress. For this purpose we have agreed to co-operate closely to enable us to carry the necessary burden of defence without sacrificing the individual liberties or the welfare of our peoples. We shall reach this goal only by recognizing our interdependence and by combining our efforts and skills in order to make better use of our resources. Such efforts will now be applied particularly to the peaceful use of atomic energy and to the development and better organization of scientific co-operation.

To the many nations which have gained their independence since the end of the Second World War and to all other peoples who, like ourselves, are dedicated to freedom in peace, we offer co-operation on a basis of complete equality and in a spirit of fraternity.

Conscious of our intellectual and material resources, convinced of the value of our principles and of our way of life, without provocation but equally without fear, we have taken decisions to promote greater unity, greater strength and greater security not only for our own nations but also, we believe, for the world at large.

### Communiqué

#### International Situation

- 1. The aim of the Soviet bloc is to weaken and disrupt the free world. Its instruments are military, political and economic: and its activities are world wide. To meet this challenge the free world must organize its resources—moral, military, political and economic—and be ready to deploy them wherever the situation demands. Our Alliance cannot therefore be concerned only with the North Atlantic area or only with military defence. It must also organize its political and economic strength on the principle of interdependence, and must take account of developments outside its own area.
- 2. In the course of our meeting we have therefore reviewed the international situation, and, in particular, the dangers to world peace arising from Soviet actions and threats. In spite of the dangers of the situation which are obvious to all, the U.S.S.R. has made no real contribution to the solution of major problems causing international tension. We have especially in mind the problems of the reunification of Germany in freedom, and the continuing anomaly of the isolation of Berlin—the capital of Germany. We renew and reaffirm our declaration of October 23, 1954 which had in view the establishment on a firm basis of the security and freedom of Berlin. The perpetuation of injustice to the German people undermines international confidence and endangers peace. At the Geneva Conference of heads of government in July, 1955, the U.S.S.R. leaders took a solemn commitment that "the reunification of Germany by

means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of European security". We call upon the U.S.S.R. Government to honour this pledge.

- 3. We have reviewed the situation in the Mideast. In line with the peaceful aims of our Alliance, we confirm the support of our governments for the independence and sovereignty of the states in this region, and our interest in the economic well-being of their peoples. We believe that the stability of this important area is vital to world peace.
- 4. We express our interest in the maintenance of peace and the development of conditions of stability and economic and political well-being in the vitally important Continent of Africa. We hope that the countries and peoples of that Continent who are disposed to do so will cooperate within the free world in efforts to promote these purposes. We affirm the readiness of our countries to co-operate for our part with the countries and peoples of Africa to further these ends. Historic, economic and other friendly ties between certain European countries and Africa would make such co-operation particularly desirable and effective.
- 5. In the course of our review of the international situation we have given consideration to recent serious events in Indonesia. We view them with concern.

### The Working of the Alliance

- 6. The strength of our Alliance, freely concluded between independent nations, lies in our fundamental unity in the face of the danger which threatens us. Thanks to this fundamental unity, we can overcome our difficulties and bring into harmony our individual points of view. In contrast, as events in Hungary have shown, the Soviet bloc is held together only by political and military coercion.
- 7. Although progress has been made, further improvement is needed in our political consultation. We are resolved to bring this about. Our permanent representatives will be kept fully informed of all government policies which materially affect the Alliance and its members. In this way, we shall be able to draw fully on each other's political experience and to ensure a broad co-ordination of our policies in the interest not only of the Alliance, but of the free world as a whole.

In addition, to strengthen the cohesion of the Alliance, the Permanent Council and the Secretary-General should ensure effective consultation, including, where necessary, procedures of conciliation at an early stage.

#### Disarmament

8. We recall that in the course of this year, the Western countries taking part in the London disarmament talks put forward to the U.S.S.R., with the unanimous agreement of NATO, a series of concrete proposals providing, subject to effective controls:

For reduction of all armaments and military forces;

For the cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes;

For the reduction of existing stocks of nuclear weapons;

For the suspension of nuclear weapons tests;

For measures to guard against the risk of surprise attack.

- 9. We note with regret that these various proposals, which would halt the armaments race and add to world security if they were accepted, were rejected en bloc by the U.S.S.R., although they had been approved by 56 members of the UN.
- 10. We regret that the U.S.S.R. has brought about a deadlock in the disarmament negotiations by declaring their intention to boycott the UN Disarmament Commission which had been extended, by a strong majority of the General Assembly, to include 25 nations.
- 11. We denounce Soviet tactics of alternating between peace propaganda statements and attempted intimidation by the threat of nuclear attack.
- 12. We deplore, also, that the leaders of the U.S.S.R. do not allow the Soviet populations to be impartially informed and enlightened by the services of the UN, at the same time as the populations of other member countries, as to the danger of destruction to which all peoples would be exposed in the event of general war. A resolution to this effect was adopted in November, 1957, by the General Assembly of the UN by 71 nations against 9 nations of the Soviet bloc.
- 13. We emphasize that, in order to be effective, any disarmament agreement implies adequate international control, that the acceptance of such control is the test of a true desire for peace and that the U.S.S.R. refuses to put this principle into practice.
- 14. We have decided to establish a technical group to advise on problems of arms control arising out of new technical developments.

- 15. In spite of the successive setbacks given by the U.S.S.R. to the cause of controlled disarmament and of peace, the NATO Council will neglect no possibility of restricting armaments within the limits imposed by security and will take all necessary action to this end.
- 16. We state our willingness to promote, preferably within the framework of the UN, any negotiations with the U.S.S.R. likely to lead to the implementation of the proposals recalled above.

We are also prepared to examine any proposal, from whatever source, for general or partial disarmament, and any proposal enabling an agreement to be reached on the controlled reduction of armaments of all types.

17. Should the Soviet Government refuse to participate in the work of the new Disarmament Commission, we should welcome a meeting at foreign ministers' level to resolve the deadlock.

### NATO Defence

- 18. The Soviet leaders, while preventing a general disarmament agreement, have made it clear that the most modern and destructive weapons, including missiles of all kinds, are being introduced in the U.S.S.R. armed forces. In the U.S.S.R. view, all European nations except the U.S.S.R. should, without waiting for general disarmament, renounce nuclear weapons and missiles and rely on arms of the pre-atomic age.
- 19. As long as the U.S.S.R. persists in this attitude, we have no alternative but to remain vigilant and to look to our defences. We are therefore resolved to achieve the most effective pattern of NATO military defensive strength, taking into account the most recent developments in weapons and techniques.
- 20. To this end, NATO has decided to establish stocks of nuclear warheads, which will be readily available for the defence of the Alliance in case of need. In view of the present Soviet policies in the field of new weapons the Council has also decided that intermediate range ballistic missiles will have to be put at the disposal of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe.
- 21. The deployment of these stocks and missiles and arrangements for their use will accordingly be decided in conformity with NATO's defence plans and in agreement with the states directly concerned. The NATO military authorities have been requested to submit to the Council at an early date their recommendations on the introduction of these weapons in the common defence. The Council in permanent session will consider the various questions involved.
- 22. Recognising the rapidly growing interdependence of the nations of the free world, we have, in organizing our forces, decided to bring about closer co-ordination with a view to ensuring that each NATO member country makes its most effective contribution to the requirements established by the Alliance. Better use of the resources of the Alliance and greater efficiency for its forces will be obtained through as high a degree of standardisation and integration as possible in all fields, particularly in certain aspects of air and naval defence, of logistic support and of the composition and equipment of forces. We have agreed that a military conference should be held at ministerial level in the early months of 1958 to discuss progress made in these fields in the light, in particular, of the results of the 1957 Annual Review.
- 23. As regards defence production, we have decided, in view of the progress already made, to take further measures within NATO to promote the co-ordination of research, development and manufacture of modern weapons, including intermediate range ballistic missiles.
- 24. The best means of achieving co-ordinated production of advanced weapons needed by our forces will be studied as a matter of urgency. Those NATO countries whose programmes have already reached a very advanced stage have offered to share with their allies significant production techniques and results of their research work in order to stimulate a truly productive effort in the defence production field.

### Scientific and Technical Co-operation

- 25. We recognise that in most of our countries more should be done to increase the supply of trained men in many branches of science and technology. The full development of our science and technology is essential to the culture, to the economy and to the political and military strength of the Atlantic Community.
- 26. We realize that progress will depend on vigorous action within individual states and in particular on the devoted contribution of teachers and scientists. We must increase the provision for the training of young people in scientific and technical subjects and must also ensure that the free pursuit of fundamental research continues to flourish. Each of our governments will therefore reappraise the support being given to scientific and technical education and to fundamental research.

- 27. We seek to increase the effectiveness of national efforts through pooling of scientific facilities and information and the sharing of tasks. We must build on the established tradition of the universality of true science. Our governments will support the international organizations doing work in this field.
- 28. We have decided to established forthwith a Science Committee on which all of the NATO countries will be represented by men highly qualified to speak authoritatively on scientific policy. In addition, a scientist of outstanding qualifications will be appointed as science adviser to the Secretary-General of NATO.
- 29. The Science Committee will be responsible in particular for making specific recommendations to the Council for action on a proposal by the French Government for a Western foundation for scientific research and on the many other valuable proposals which have been put forward by the NATO task force on scientific and technical co-operation and by the NATO Parliamentarians Conference.

### Economic Co-operation

- 30. We are united in our common purpose to promote the economic and social development of our peoples and to assist the peoples of other countries to achieve the same objective. We consider that the purpose of government in a free society is to enlarge the opportunity of the individual rather than to subordinate him to the state.
- 31. We will co-operate among ourselves and with other free governments to further the achievement of economic stability, a steady rate of economic growth, and the expansion of international trade through the further reduction of exchange and trade barriers.
- 32. We reaffirm the desirability of a closer economic association between the countries of Western Europe, which we deem to be in the interest of all countries, and we will accordingly lend encouragement to the successful development of the European Economic Community and of a European free trade area in which full account would be taken of the interests of the less developed member countries. We attach particular importance to these initiatives being worked out in such a way as to strengthen not only the participating countries but also the relations within the Atlantic Community and free world as a whole. We recognise the interdependence of the economies of the members of NATO and of the other countries of the free world.
- 33. We affirm the interest of our governments in an enlargement of the resources, both public and private, available for the purpose of accelerating the economic advancement of the less developed areas of the free world.
- 34. We have decided that the North Atlantic Council, without duplicating the work of other agencies, shall from time to time, and in the spirit of Article 2 of the Treaty, review economic trends and assess economic progress, and may make suggestions for improvements either through existing organizations or by the efforts of individual countries, or in special cases by new initiatives.
- 35. Under present circumstances, our defensive alliance takes on a new significance. Only an intensified collective effort can safeguard our peoples and their liberties. We have, together, ample capacity in freedom to defend freedom.
- 36. We have taken a series of decisions which will promote greater strength and greater security not only for our own nations but also for the world at large.

### **European Integration**

An important development towards the long-term objective of European integration occurred as a result of the coming into force on January 1, 1958 of the treaties which provided for the establishment among Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and The Netherlands of a European Economic Community (Common Market) and of an Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). The movement, begun at Messina in June 1955 by the foreign ministers of the six interested countries, was followed by inter-governmental negotiations conducted in Brussels and by several meetings of the foreign ministers which led to the drafting of the treaties. These history-making documents were signed in Rome on March 25, 1957 by the heads of government or their foreign ministers, and they were ratified in the following months by the parliaments of the six countries. While the treaties came into force on January 1, 1958 the full implementation of their provisions will extend, in the case of the Common Market, over a period of from 12 to 15 years.

### Common Market

Under the first treaty, the six countries will set up a common market by eliminating progressively after January 1, 1959 tariff and other barriers to trade between themselves, and by adopting a common tariff towards third countries. Trade in agricultural products among member countries will be subject to special conditions and dispensations. The member countries propose also to facilitate the freer movement of labour and capital, to harmonize social policies and to promote internal growth through a common investment fund. The treaty provides for the association of dependant overseas territories and certain other countries in a quasi-free trade area arrangement. Under the second treaty, there will be created an agency for the pooling of research and development activities for the exploitation of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

As previously agreed, the foreign ministers of the six countries met in Paris on December 19, 1957 with a view to selecting the site of the new Communities and to name the members of the institutions to be created. These comprise a Parliamentary Assembly with advisory functions, a Council of Ministers which will make decisions on policy matters relating to the Treaties, Commissions or High Authorities which will administer the Treaties, a Court of Justice, an Economic and Social Committee, an Investment Bank and a Secretariat. Unable to agree then, the Ministers decided to meet again in Paris on January 6, 1958, but this time after two days of discussions they succeeded only in reaching partial agreement. The Ministers left it for a subsequent meeting to be held before next June 1 to decide on the location of the institutions for the new Communities and for the Coal and Steel Community already located in Luxembourg. It was, however, agreed in principle that the three Communities should have their headquarters together in the same city. Until such a site is selected, the various bodies are to meet in different cities according to practical considerations, mainly in Brussels and and Luxembourg. The Ministers were successful, however, in selecting the permanent directors and members of the various institutions, and they distributed the posts about evenly among nationals of their countries. Thus, a



German, a Frenchman, a Belgian, an Italian and a Dutchman were selected as directors or chairmen respectively of the Commissions for the Common Market, Euratom and the Coal and Steel Community, and of the Investment Bank and the Court of Justice.

### **Long-Term Aims**

Economically, it is the hope of the six countries that they will be able to create a single common market of 160,000,000 people—apart from the overseas territories—in which their industries will enjoy advantages of scale and competition comparable to those which have enriched the United States. Politically, the new Communities are regarded not only as an essential step

to ending Europe's historical feuds, but also as a prelude to greater political unity of Western Europe since they imply a growing measure of European government. Because it constitutes a departure from the basic political principle of nationalism and its gradual replacement by the new concept of supra-nationalism, the creation of the new Communities has been described by some European statesmen as one of the major developments in Europe since the French Revolution. These measures are actually part of the efforts made by European nations since the last war to work out special arrangements which tend to bring them gradually closer together in a European system, with the aim of giving to Europe economic prosperity as well as political stability and unity. This policy has already been given effect to by the creation of a number of organizations of European co-operation in numerous fields, such as the Council of Europe in 1949, the Coal and Steel Community in 1952, and the Western European Union, in its present form, in 1955.

While it is generally considered premature in Western Europe to proceed with important measures of political integration, such as those aiming at the creation of the United States of Europe, a number of non-governmental conferences of European "wise men" and political personalities have been held in recent months, reflecting an evident desire for further co-ordination of European foreign and defence policies. A similar preoccupation has been frequently expressed in other forums, notably in the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, concerning the need to rationalize and centralize the existing and proposed European institutions of inter-governmental co-operation in the economic, political, military and parliamentary fields.

### Proposed European Free Trade Area

The entry into force of the Treaty for a Common Market gave renewed impetus to the negotiations for a European Free Trade Area which the United Kingdom had in 1956 proposed be set up around the Common Market by the members of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which includes the six countries in the Common Market. In the proposal made by the United Kingdom, agricultural products were to be excluded. Early in 1957, a committee of the OEEC, found it was technically possible to associate, under one form or another, all 17 member countries of that Organization with the proposed Common Market through the creation of a Free Trade Area. (Under a Free Trade Area tariff and other trade barriers would be progressively removed as between members. Each member, however, would be free to maintain its own tariff and other forms of protection against the exports of non-member countries). Having accepted in principle such a proposal, the interested countries agreed in February to establish, within OEEC, working parties with the task of paving the way for more formal negotiations. In October, they decided to establish a ministerial committee, under the chairmanship of a United Kingdom Minister, to begin formal negotiations for the establishement of a European Free Trade Area. The deliberations in this body have been marked both by a general awareness of the complexity of the negotiations undertaken and by a readiness to achieve real progress.

#### Canadian Attitude

Canada has taken a lively interest, because of both political and trade considerations, in the developments which have led to the Common Market

Treaty, and in the United Kingdom proposal for the establishment of a Free Trade Area. The NATO meeting of Heads of Government in December 1957 reaffirmed the desirability of a closer economic association between the countries of Western Europe, which was deemed to be in the interest of all countries, and it was agreed accordingly that NATO would lend encouragement to the successful development of the European Economic Community and of a European Free Trade Area in which full account would be taken of the interests of the less developed member countries. At the same time, all NATO Governments declared that they attached particular importance to these initiatives being worked out in such a way as to strengthen not only the participating countries but also the relations within the Atlantic Community and the free world as a whole. They also recognized the interdependence of the economies of the members of NATO and of the other countries of the Free World. The Prime Minister, in the course of his report to Parliament on December 21, 1957 on the NATO meeting, spoke more particularly about the proposal for a Free Trade Area and explained that Canada's approval of this proposal depended on the exclusion of food, drink and tobacco products from the scope of the Free Trade Area.

At a meeting last October of the members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) at which the examination of the Common Market was initiated, the Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, while recognizing the important objectives which the Common Market Treaty was designed to achieve, expressed some concern and reservations about certain of the proposed arrangements. He said that it appeared possible that in important respects the new customs duties around the Common Market might turn out to be higher or more restrictive than the general incidence of duties at present; he urged that the principles governing the use of quantitative restrictions conform to provisions of the GATT and not reinforce existing discriminatory restrictions; he warned that the plans for agricultural trade among the Six, if they were to result in high tariffs, guaranteed prices, preferential long-term marketing arrangements and the use of quantitative restrictions against outside countries, would involve difficulties and conflicts with other countries such as Canada which had important agricultural markets in Europe; and he noted that the arrangements for the association of overseas territories, which did not seem in conformity with GATT, involved numerous potential conflicts of interests and were of concern especially to many less-developed countries.

### **Canada and the United Nations**

### Question of Algeria(1)

On July 16, 1957 twenty-two African and Asian states requested that an item entitled "the question of Algeria" be placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly for consideration at its Twelfth Session. The explanatory memorandum covering this request contended that the situation in Algeria had deteriorated rather than improved since the Assembly had discussed the subject at its Eleventh Session and the Assembly should therefore take up the matter once again.

### French Position

Debate on the Algerian item commenced in the First Committee on November 27 with a statement by the French Foreign Minister, Mr. Pineau, who outlined the French position. He said that while not opposing this debate, France considered the Assembly incompetent to deal with a problem which falls entirely within the framework of French sovereignty. Denying that France had ever refused to undertake negotiations with the Algerian rebels, Mr. Pineau said the only offers had come from the French side and that the three-stage offer of a cease-fire, elections (with a single electoral college) and negotiations, which had been made by Mr. Mollet in January, 1957, was still valid. Because it was evident that the rebels still insisted on a prior recognition of the right to independence, it was not possible for the French to accept the offer of good offices which the President of Tunisia and the King of Morocco had made at their meeting in Rabat only a few days before. Mr. Pineau referred to the lessening of incidents towards the end of the year in Algeria and outlined the social and political reforms which had taken place there. He said that the loi-cadre for Algeria (which the French National Assembly approved on November 29) was proof of the French desire to find a political solution to the problem. (The loi-cadre is a new basic statute for Algeria which provides for the setting up of a single electoral college, the division of Algeria into a number of regions with a larger measure of local autonomy and increased Algerian representation in the French National Assembly), Mr. Pineau criticized those who talk irresponsibly of self-determination in connection with Algeria and foresaw that if one turned blindly to this principle for guidance, the inevitable result would be partition of the country between the European coastal cities on the one hand and the Moslem hinterland on the other.

### **Tunisian Statement**

The Tunisian representative, Mr. Mongi Slim, joined in the debate to stress his country's desire to work towards a goal of peaceful negotiations. While admitting that France had a legitimate interest in North Africa, he attacked the "fiction" that Algeria was an integral part of France. He criticized the French three-phase formula in which cease-fire and elections are necessary conditions for negotiations and to prove his point referred to Indonesia, Morocco and Tunisia, where negotiations had preceded a cease-fire. To disprove the French argument that a recognition of the principle of self-

<sup>(1)</sup> For the background to this question, see "External Affairs" for May 1957.

determination for Algeria would lead to anarchy or partition, Mr. Slim pointed to the example of Tunisia and Morocco which were now stable and united countries. In closing, the Tunisian representative expressed the hope that agreement could be reached on the basis of the offer of good offices from the Tunisian and Moroccan Heads of State.

### Debate Moderate in Tone

The general debate which made up the first part of the Committee's deliberations on the Algerian question was marked by a more moderate tone than had characterized previous United Nations' discussions of this matter. During the debate, it became clear that there existed a growing desire on both sides for some kind of negotiated settlement. But, as in previous years, there were differences of opinion as to the right formula for bringing about these negotiations. After a period of intensive consultation and negotiation, a group of seventeen Arab and Asian countries introduced a resolution which, in its preamble, recognized that the principle of self-determination should be applied to the people of Algeria and which called for negotiations for the purpose of reaching a solution in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. A second resolution sponsored by five Latin American countries, Italy and Spain, expressed the hope that a just solution would be found to the Algerian problem.

A number of delegations, including the Canadian, felt that the seventeen-power resolution could, if suitably amended, obtain wide support in the Committee. Ireland, Norway and Canada therefore joined in proposing amendments to this resolution designed to produce a compromise to which both sides could acquiesce. These amendments provided that the Algerian people should be entitled to work out their future in a democratic way, and proposed "effective discussions to resolve the present troubled situation" and to find a solution to the Algerian question. Mr. Wallace Nesbitt, Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, in his statement to the Committee on December 6, 1957, had the following to say about the Canadian position in regard to these amendments:

During the debate on the Algerian question this year, we have been impressed by one noticeable trend which we continue to hope may be encouraging. The debate at this session, as compared with earlier discussions, has been on the whole more restrained and therefore more constructive. We have been gratified by the moderation of the views expressed by all concerned and this has led to hope that something constructive may be achieved in this case.

During this debate we have been endeavouring to find out how much agreement does exist and, in co-operation with others, we have been consulting closely with those delegations more directly concerned with the question. In our view, the problem with which the Committee is now faced will not be resolved by wholesale concession by one side or the other. Accordingly, the path of progress lies in the direction of mutual accommodation rather than in insistence by one side that its objectives or its methods provide the only solution.

In saying this, I certainly do not wish to over-emphasize the difference of opinion in this Committee. On the contrary, I think that most of the members here, having due regard for the purposes and the principles of the Charter, are prepared to support a course of action which would afford appropriate recognition to the legitimate interests of the parties. They may be divided on what should be the method for bringing about a happier situation in Algeria, and they may have even greater difficulty in defining that method in terms of a draft resolution, but the majority of the members of this Committee are surely not divided in the fundamental aim which is to resolve the present troubled situation in Algeria and to promote a peaceful solution in accordance with the basic purposes and principles of this organization . . . We have reached the conclusion that, although this Committee might not reach a unanimous acceptance of any one definition of the procedural problem which divides the opposing sides, it should be possible to

evolve a formula which would at least meet the parties half way and which would enable the Committee and subsequently the General Assembly to accord the proposal the widest possible support. But we and others have been searching for a formula—a draft resolution, in other words—which would bring the requirements of the situation into proper perspective and at the same time allow the parties sufficient scope to protect their respective interests...

In accordance with Assembly procedure, the amendments to the seventeen-power resolution were voted on first by the Committee and were adopted by a vote of thirty-seven in favour, thirty-six against with seven abstentions. France did not participate in the vote and South Africa was absent. Those voting against the amendments included the Soviet Bloc, and most of the Arab and Asian countries. When the seventeen-power resolution, as amended, was put to a vote, the Liberian representative, who had abstained on the amendments, joined those voting against the resolution. The draft resolution therefore was rejected by a tie vote of thirty-seven to thirty-seven with six abstentions and the Algerian item was passed to the plenary session without any Committee recommendation.

### Compromise Resolution

In the three days between the final Committee vote and the consideration of this item in plenary, a series of consultations resulted in the production of a compromise resolution co-sponsored by a group of Asian, European and Latin American countries and Canada. Once an informal agreement had been reached behind the scenes regarding this compromise proposal, the plenary of the General Assembly quickly gave unanimous approval to the following resolution by a vote of eighty in favour, with France not participating in the vote and South Africa absent:

The General Assembly

Having discussed the question of Algeria

Recalling its resolution 1021 (XI) of 15 February 1957

- 1. Expresses again its concern over the situation in Algeria,
- 2. Takes note of the offer of good offices made by His Majesty the King of Morocco and His Excellency the President of the Republic of Tunisia,
- 3. Expresses the wish that in a spirit of effective co-operation, pourparlers will be entered into, and other appropriate means utilized, with a view to a solution, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

### The FAO Conference: Ninth Session

### By Frank Shefrin, Department of Agriculture

During the Second World War, concern about the probability of a world-wide food shortage led to the formulation of measures to meet the problem in the hope that such a vital question could provide the basis for effective international co-operation and endeavour.

With this in view forty-two allied and associated nations met at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May 1943 to discuss the possbilities of increasing food supplies and improving the level of living for the people of the world. One outcome of this conference was that in 1945, at Quebec City, the Food and Agricultural Organization was established, the first of the United Nations Specialized Agencies to come into being. In 1951 the Headquarters of the Organization was permanently established at Rome.

The chief legislative and policy-making organ of the FAO is the Conference, which meets every two years in regular session and when required in special session.

As on previous occasions the Ninth Session of the FAO Conference, which met at Rome from November 2 to 22, 1957, proceeded to business by electing a chairman, and appointing several committees. The chairman was Dr. A. Mercièr, the Argentine Minister of Agriculture. The Conference then reviewed the world food and agriculture situation, giving special attention to the problems of establishing national food reserves and of strengthening marketing and nutritional programmes throughout the world. Plans were made for census of agriculture in 1960. Various administrative and financial matters were considered and technical committees examined the work of the following Divisions of the Secretariat: Agriculture, Fisheries, Forestry, Nutrition, Economics, and Information.

### Director-General's Report

The Director-General of FAO, Mr. B. R. Sen of India, presented the annual report on the present and future outlook of the world production of food. He informed the Conference that since 1955 world food production had continued to expand at a rate of about three per cent annually, which is more than one per cent faster than the growth of world population. Moreover, in contrast to the immediate post-war period, food production had in the last few years continued to increase faster in the less developed regions than in those regions where supplies were already more ample, although this increased production was to some extent offset by the more rapid growth of population in the less developed regions.

The Director-General's report emphasized that despite the continuing surpluses of some commodities in certain exporting countries, there should be no slackening in the efforts in under-developed countries to increase food production. In the Far East and Latin America in particular, the setback during the war years to food production had still not been made good on a per capita basis, despite increases in recent years. This fact and the rapid growth of demand which accompanied the increasing tempo of economic development, have contributed to the inflationary pressures and the difficulties of foreign payments which some countries of those regions are experiencing.

There were indications that world agricultural production would continue to increase in 1957-58. Many countries, particularly in the less developed regions, had reported that vigorous measures were being undertaken to improve their agriculture, and it was probable that production would continue to expand.

With abundant supplies, average prices of agricultural products in world trade had continued their decline, and no reversal of this trend was yet apparent. In comparison with the increase of eight per cent in volume in 1956, an increase in the total value of world agricultural trade had only been about four per cent, and in some regions the value of agricultural exports actually declined.

The report expressed the view that farmers had not shared fully in the increased prosperity in many countries. Consumers did not appear to have benefited by lower agricultural prices, partly because mounting costs of food distribution had caused retail food prices to rise generally in 1956 in almost all countries. This had tended to restrict increases in food consumption, especially in countries where incomes were low.

In the discussion of the Director-General's report, Mr. Douglas Harkness, the Minister of Agriculture, who led the Canadian Delegation, made the following comments during a plenary session of the Conference:

There is no room for complacency, not only is there still much to be done, but with progress come new problems or an aggravation of old problems. While everybody admits that agriculture is vital to the life and well being of all, farmers have not in the past few years shared fully in the economic progress made in many countries.

If we review the many reports issued by our Organisation during the last few years we find that governments and farmers, in their efforts to solve their many problems, have turned to measures which in the short run may prove helpful but are likely over the long run to create new difficulties. In many instances these solutions often merely result in moving these problems from one country to another, from one group of primary producers to another. This "beggar thy neighbour" policy is one which we do not favour and I am sure it is not acceptable to members of this Organisation.

The Canadian Delegation feels that through FAO all countries can work together in finding solutions to the host of farm, forestry and fisheries problems, to the benefit of everyone concerned. I know that during this Conference we will be discussing price and income support measures, surplus disposal programmes, marketing problems, and many other issues. It is the sincere hope and wish of the Canadian Delegation that in the forthcoming discussions our attention will be centred on exploring solutions to these many problems—solutions that will be of mutual benefit to all countries and their producers."

### Surpluses and Supports

As was expected, the Conference was greatly concerned with the problem of surpluses of agricultural products in certain countries, and with methods being employed for their disposal. Canada and other countries indicated particular concern about surplus disposal programmes of the United States Government. There was general agreement that the problem of disposing of surpluses needed further study and action. The Conference approved a New Zealand resolution which made the following recommendations:

that FAO develop further ways and means of utilizing surplus products for encouraging consumption without impinging upon existing or future commercial trade; and that governments give particular attention to the attainment of these objectives.

An important achievement of the Conference was the adoption of the resolution on agricultural support measures which called for the formulation through FAO of principles to guide member governments in establishing or revising their agricultural price and income support policies. The resolution

was aimed at encouraging policies which will achieve the objective of ensuring a reasonable level of income for farmers as compared with other sectors of the community, but which at the same time, will have minimum adverse repercussions on the pattern of production and trade of other countries.

The Conference resolution requests the Director-General to set up a panel of government representatives, who should be specialists in agricultural support matters, to prepare a report for consideration by the FAO Committee on Commodity Problems, the FAO Council and member governments.

The panel is directed by a Conference resolution:

- (a) to analyze the effects of the various agricultural support systems, including different levels of price support, with a view to obtaining a better basis for evaluating the relative advantages and disadvantages of such systems; the study should cover the effects of the various support measures on increasing agricultural production and investment, especially in less-developed countries and regions, and the integration of price supports with other steps taken to increase production and agricultural incomes;
- (b) to recommend guiding principles designed to minimize the adverse effects of agricultural support policies on international trade, and to be taken into account by member governments in establishing or reviewing their agricultural policies; in developing such principles the panel shall have full regard to the special circumstances and problems of countries.

### Programme of Work

In seeking ways and means of increasing both production and consumption stress was laid on the need for greater co-ordination of national programmes and policies of agricultural development; for an adequate recognition of the place of agriculture, forestry and fisheries in national development programmes; for raising the level of productivity in agriculture, forestry and fisheries; for greater emphasis on national measures for the improvement of marketing structure and organization for agricultural, forestry and fisheries products; and, for a comprehensive nutrition and food policy including education in nutrition and home economics.

The Conference reviewed the activities of the five technical divisions of the FAO Secretariat (Agriculture, Economics, Forestry, Fisheries, and Nutrition) since the last Conference held in Rome in 1955 and examined the proposed programme of work and budget for the next two-year period. A budget of \$17,000,000 to cover the regular programme for 1958 and 1959 was approved. This represents an increase of \$3,600,000 over the previous budget. The Conference approved several important expansions to current activities. The present regional offices are to be strengthened by additional staff and a new regional office is to be established for Africa. Further study is to be given to the Mediterranean Development Project which is a plan to assist the development of agriculture and forestry in the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Greater emphasis will be placed on the Organization's work in the field of nutrition.

The Conference took note of a resolution of the UN Economic and Social Council regarding the development and co-ordination of the economic, social and human rights programmes and activities of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies. It was agreed that FAO should participate in the invitation of ECOSOC to the Specialized Agencies to prepare an appraisal of the scope, trend and costs during the next five years of their programmes of work and that such an appraisal should comprise a forecast of the orientation, character and scope of the programme but should not attempt any detailed forward budgeting.

### **Technical Assistance**

The Conference urged member countries to make more effective use of technical assistance in the face of an anticipated reduction in FAO's share of UN technical assistance funds. It is expected that about \$8,000,000 will be available to FAO for technical assistance in 1958. The Technical Assistance Programme, the Director-General said, would be based "on the capacities as well as the needs of each recipient country." FAO would scrutinize even more closely the extent to which each country carried out previous recommendations, supported experts with administrative and technical personnel, and continued projects that had been initiated. The number of projects a country could effectively absorb and the extent to which they related to long-term development plans, he added, would also be examined carefully.

The Conference emphasized the desirability of improving the system of briefing technical assistance experts before appointment. It was a general view that the periods of assignment were too brief and that necessary continuity in field work was thereby disturbed. Concern was expressed over the decline in 1958 technical assistance fellowships programme compared with previous years. It was considered that as a technical assistance programme is basically a training programme, a decline in the number of fellows would reduce its effectiveness.

### **New Members**

The Conference admitted to membership the new Commonwealth countries, Ghana and Malaya, and readmitted Poland which had let its membership lapse, thereby increasing FAO's membership to 77 countries. Dr. J.F. Booth, of the Department of Agriculture, the Canadian Alternate Delegate, said in welcoming the new members:

I should like to say that we were pleased when, a few months ago, we participated in the ceremonies which marked the attainment of independence of Ghana and Malaya. We are equally pleased now to join with others in extending to them a welcome to FAO. We are also very pleased to see the People's Republic of Poland again in a position to make its contribution to this Organization and to participate in the deliberation of nations in matters pertaining to food and agriculture.

#### Elections

Mr. S. A. Hasnie of Pakistan was re-elected as Independent Chairman of the FAO Council. The United Kingdom was elected to the Council after an absence of two years. Canada was re-elected to the Council, to the Committee on Commodity Problems and elected to the Committee on Constitutional and Legal Matters. Canada is also a member of the Consultative Sub-Committee on Surplus Disposal and the FAO Group on Grains. Dr. J. F. Booth was elected to the 7-member Programme Committee.

The Moroccan Delegation submitted a proposal for increasing the membership of the FAO Council from 24 to 25 and pointed out that in the present distribution of Council seats only one was available for African countries. Since several countries on the African Continent had been admitted to membership in the Organization during the last two years, he thought that more adequate representation should be accorded the African region. The Conference agreed in principle and decided to place this question on the agenda of its next Session.

### International Conference on The Law of the Sea

THE International Conference on the Law of the Sea will meet on February 24, 1958 at the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva. The Conference was convoked by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in conformity with a resolution of the General Assembly. (1) The purpose of the Conference is "to examine the law of the sea, taking account not only of the legal but also the technical, biological, economic and political aspects of the problem, and to embody the results of its work in one or more international Conventions or such other instruments as it may deem appropriate". The Conference will also study the question of free access to the sea of land-locked countries, as established by international practice or treaties. In its examination of the law of the sea the Conference will use as a basis of discussion the final Report of the International Law Commission of the United Nations on the Law of the Sea<sup>(2)</sup> and the verbatim records of debates at the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly, where the International Law Commission's Report was discussed. (3)

The International Law Commission commenced its work of codifying the law of the sea at its first session in 1949 and presented its final report to the General Assembly in 1956. This report is in the form of a systematic statement of principles and a code of rules concerning the high seas, the territorial sea, the continental shelf, the contiguous zone and the living resources of the sea. It is not only a code of existing rules but represents in some instances an attempt to develop new rules based on recognized principles of international law. Because of these new rules, and because there is not general agreement on some aspects of the law of the sea—for instance the Commission itself could not devise a uniform rule concerning the breadth of the territorial sea—it was thought necessary to convene an international conference to facilitate examination of those matters on which general agreement has not vet been reached.

A conference was held at The Hague, Netherlands, in 1930 with the purpose of codifying the law of the sea. The conference failed to adopt a code because of lack of agreement on the breadth of the territorial sea. Prior to this and subsequently there have been many conferences, and agreement reached, on various aspects of the law of the sea. Some of these agreements are intended to be of general application, such as the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil, and are limited in their application by the extent to which states may not have acceded to them. Others were intended only to have regional application, such as the 1937 International Agreement for Collective Measures against Piratical Attacks in the Mediterranean by Submarines, or were intended only to apply among the states which were signatories of agreements such as the International Convention for the High Seas Fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean between the United States, Japan and Canada. None of these agreements need of course be affected by the adoption of a general code of rules on the international law of the sea.

General Assembly Resolution 1105 (XI).
 Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 9 (A/3159).
 Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Sixth Committee, Summary Record of Meetings.

In fact, the code of the International Law Commission reiterates some of the principles already enunciated in existing agreements.

### Breadth of Territorial Sea

The Canadian Government has signified its intention to be represented at the forthcoming Conference. It has also communicated to the Secretary-General its provisional views on some of the important matters with which the Conference will deal.\* One of these is the breadth of the territorial sea, that is, the belt of sea adjacent to the coast of a state and over which it has sovereignty. The Canadian view is that a breadth of three miles, presently applicable in Canada, is not adequate for all purposes. It is not adequate for enforcement of customs, fiscal and sanitary regulations. This has been recognized by the International Law Commission in a provision which would enable a state to exercise control for this purpose in a zone, called the contiguous zone, which would extend twelve miles from the point where the territorial sea is measured or nine miles beyond the three-mile limit. The Canadian view is that the three-mile limit is also not adequate for the protection and control of fisheries and it is considered that it is important that the rules of international law should provide adequately for the regulation and control of fisheries off the coast of any state. One way of providing for this would be by accepting, for general application, the twelve-mile breadth for the territorial sea. That would allow for complete fishery, customs, fiscal and sanitary control and regulation within that limit and dispense with the need for a contiguous zone. It is recognized however, that a general extension of the breadth of the territorial sea to twelve miles could have consequences of importance with regard to the freedom of sea and air navigation. An alternative approach, which would not affect the rights of navigation by sea or by air, would be to agree on a contiguous zone of twelve miles as recommended by the Commission but with the modification that within that zone the coastal state should have the exclusive right of regulation and control of fishing. Rights over fisheries in such a zone should, in the Canadian view, be as complete as those that are afforded to a coastal state within the limits of the territorial sea.

### Straight Baseline System

In its judgment in the Anglo-Norwegian Fisheries case the International Court of Justice sanctioned the use by Norway of the so-called straight baseline system whereby Norway measured its territorial sea from straight lines running from point to point along the coast, rather than from the coastline itself. As a consequence of this judgment the International Law Commission has made the following recommendation:

### Article 5:

1. Where circumstances necessitate a special regime because the coast is deeply indented or cut into or because there are islands in its immediate vicinity, the baseline may be independent of the low-water mark. In these cases, the method of straight baselines joining appropriate points may be employed. The drawing of such baselines must not depart to any appreciable extent from the general direction of the coast, and the sea areas lying within the lines must be sufficiently closely linked to the land domain to be subject to the regime of internal waters. Account may nevertheless be taken, where necessary, of economic interests peculiar to a region, the reality and importance of which are clearly evidenced by a long usage. Baselines shall not be drawn to and from drying rocks and drying shoals.

There is also a subsidiary provision which would safeguard the right of innocent navigation in waters which had previously been used for international traffic.

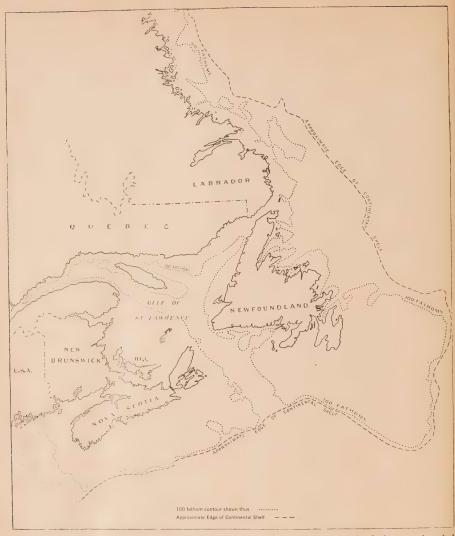
<sup>\*</sup>See Hansard November 28, 1957.

Since much of the coastline of Canada is deeply indented and cut into and in places has islands in its immediate vicinity such a provision could have application in Canada. In the Canadian view the employment of straight baselines as outlined by the International Law Commission should be recognized universally as being a proper means of establishing the datum line for measuring the territorial sea or contiguous zone, in appropriate cases.

### Continental Shelf

In recent years there has been a growing body of international practice which would recognize the right of the coastal state to explore and exploit the natural resources of the seabed and subsoil of the continental shelf off its shores. This right is recognized in the Commission's recommendations. A continental shelf in the geographic sense is the submerged extension of a land mass or continent. A continental shelf is covered by relatively shallow waters: beyond it the real ocean depths are encountered. In some places this shelf extends out for many miles. Off the south-east coast of Newfoundland, for instance, it extends as far as 250 miles seaward and includes the Grand Banks. In other places there is virtually no continental shelf, and abyssal ocean depths are encountered very close to shore. This is the case off the west coast of Canada. The legal doctrine of the continental shelf applies only to the seabed





beyond the outer limits of a state's territorial sea. The seabed of the territorial sea has always belonged to the coastal state.

The International Law Commission has recommended that the "legal edge" of the continental shelf should be at the point where the superjacent waters reach a depth of 100 fathoms. The purpose of this provision is to give precision to the boundary and prevent disputes and uncertainty which might arise if, for instance, the criterion of exploitability were accepted as the sole determinant of the boundary of the shelf. The Commission has, however, introduced an element of uncertainty by providing that the boundary might extend beyond the 100 fathom depth contour to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits of exploitation. In the case of the continental shelf off the east coast of Canada, the edge of the shelf is often not encountered until the 200 fathom depth is reached.\* Furthermore, in ninety per cent of cases

<sup>\*</sup>The accompanying maps illustrate this. The outer line represents the approximate edge of the geographical shelf. The inner more sinuous line the 100 fathom contour.

excluding polar regions, it is understood that the geographical edge of the shelf is well-defined. It is the Canadian view, therefore, that precision would not be forefeit if in these cases the boundary of the shelf were its actual edge. Where the actual edge might be ill-defined or where there is no shelf in a geographical sense the boundary might be set at such a depth as might satisfy foreseeable practical prospects of exploitation of the natural resources of the seabed adjacent to a particular state.

The Commission has adopted the view that the rights of a state over the continental shelf do not affect the legal status of the superjacent waters as high seas, that is they do not affect rights of navigation and fishing. The term "natural resources" is not interpreted by the Commission to include products of fishing except those such as oysters which are "permanently attached to the bed of the sea".

### High Seas Fishing

Another important aspect of the International Law Commission's work is its recommendations on high seas fishing. Of particular interest, from a Canadian viewpoint, is the recognition that "a coastal state has a special interest in the maintenance of the productivity of the living resources in any area of high seas adjacent to its territorial sea", and that states have the right in certain instances to adopt unilateral measures of conservation on the high seas adjacent to their coast, subject to arbitration at the instance of another state concerned in the particular fishery involved. In the Canadian view the International Law Commission's recommended regime on high seas fishing should be subject to the so-called abstention principle. Under this principle, where the maximum sustainable yield of a particular high seas fishery is being maintained only as a result of research, regulation of their own fishermen and other activities of one or more states, other states which have not participated within recent times in the fishery would abstain from participating in it. The Commission has not included this principle in its recommendations although it has drawn attention to the problem.

### Compromise Necessary

It will have been noticed that the terms of reference of the Conference as set out in the first paragraph of this article contemplated the possibility of the results of the work of the Conference being incorporated in one or more international conventions or such other instruments as may be deemed appropriate. The measure of success of the Conference in reaching general agreement on those matters which are controversial or which represent a new development in the law of the sea will depend upon the willingness of states to compromise. At the same time the usefulness of incorporating the results of the work of the Conference in international instruments will depend upon agreed positions being capable of formulation into meaningful provisions. Although the greatest measure of agreement on the law of the sea is to be hoped for, to anticipate general agreement on all aspects of the Report of the Commission might be to indulge in an excess of optimism. This consideration undoubtedly prompted the Commission to recall that "there has been widespread regret at the attitude of Governments after the Hague Codification Conference of 1930 in allowing the disagreement over the breadth of the territorial sea to dissuade them from any attempt at concluding a Convention on the points on which agreement had been reached", and to express the hope that "this mistake will not be repeated".

### International Red Cross Conference

### By Paul Malone

Member of the Canadian Government Delegation

The closing moments of the XIXth Conference of the International Red Cross held recently in New Delhi, which were marked by withdrawals by delegations representing seventeen countries, understandably may have overshadowed in the public eye other events and proceedings at the Conference.

As a traditional symbol of the brotherhood of man, the International Red Cross depends on its universality for its effectiveness in relieving misery and suffering throughout the world. A sharp division on ideological lines at the quadrennial conference in New Delhi therefore suggested an alarming deterioration in the structural foundations of the world-wide humanitarian movement. A view of the Conference proceedings in retrospect, however, encourages a belief that developments during the Conference's final hour will not prove as serious for the Red Cross as appeared likely at the time and gives reason for the hope that the finalé will prove to have been an incident in an otherwise unusually harmonious Conference. This optimistic estimate in retrospect is supported by the fact that delegations at the Conference agreed unanimously to place at the end of the agenda the one item—the question of Chinese representation—which threatened to and ultimately did disrupt proceedings. A number of other contentious political issues were disposed of with compromise formulae which were accepted with unanimity or near unanimity. All the main business of the Conference, therefore, including that directly affecting the strengthening and expansion of the Red Cross movement on a world-wide basis, was completed before the widely-publicized walk-outs occurred. Less publicized than the walk-outs but probably more significant for the future was the introduction at the Conference of government and Red Cross Society delegations from fourteen nations (several of them recently formed in Africa and Asia) which had not been represented at previous Conferences.

### Most Representative Conference

The Red Cross Conference in New Delhi was the most representative international assemblage convened in Asia. Indeed, with its inclusion of delegations from the divided countries of the world-Germany, Korea and Vietnam-and with most countries of the world represented by both official and non-official delegations, it could perhaps lav claim to being the most representative international conference ever assembled. Eighty-three countries were represented by delegations from seventy-three International Red Cross Societies and seventy-two governments. Eighteen international organizations and sixteen Indian national organizations were represented by observers. Also present, as representatives of integral parts of the structure of the International Red Cross, were delegations from the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. The International Committee is the autonomous and neutral group composed of Swiss citizens who act as the custodians of the Geneva Conventions and the Red Cross Emblem and who function as a recognized neutral intermediary between belligerent powers in time of conflict. The Geneva Conventions are the international treaties sponsored by the Red Cross which set forth rules for the treatment of wounded combatants, prisoners of war and enemy civilians. The body of international law known as the Geneva Conventions provides the foundation of the International Red Cross and is responsible for the participation of governments in the Conference of the otherwise voluntary and non-official humanitarian movement. The League of Red Cross Societies is a federation of National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies which seeks to promote Red Cross activities in peacetime by developing public health and welfare programmes in the international and national field. Another agency of the International Red Cross which in theory is not represented at international conferences was active behind the scenes in New Delhi. This was the Standing Commission, which represents the authority of the Conference between its meetings and has the responsibility of organizing the international assemblages.

## Commissions Active

The dates of the Conference were October 28, 1957 to November 7, 1957 inclusive. The Conference was preceded by meetings of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies and other Red Cross agencies which began October 24. Plenary sessions of the Conference were held on October 28, October 29 (a special plenary session), November 5, November 6 and November 7. The main work of the Conference was done on October 29, 30, 31, November 1 and November 2 at meetings of three Commissions which were established at the opening plenary sessions—the Humanitarian Law Commission, the Medical-Social Commission and the General Commission. The interest of government delegations was concentrated on proceedings in the Humanitarian Law Commission, which dealt with controversial issues involving ideological differences. The technical aspects of Red Cross were dealt with in the other two Commissions. Proceedings in both the Medical-Social and General Commissions were harmonious and productive. The day-to-day achievements and problems of the International Red Cross passed in review in the two Commissions and with minor exceptions recommendations concerning future activities were adopted unanimously. Among the Red Cross activities discussed in the two Commissions were first aid nursing, transfusion services, international relief arrangements, financing, education and public information, and relationships between National Red Cross Societies and their respective governments.

The Conference had been scheduled originally for the early months of 1957. Its postponement was caused by the difficulties that arose in the Middle East in connection with the Suez Canal. A number of aspects of the Conference gave it special interest for both the Canadian Red Cross Society and the Canadian Government. The Canadian Red Cross Society, which traditionally displays a keen interest in international aspects of the Red Cross, had been host to the XVIIIth Conference held in Toronto in 1952.\* Much of the work done at the 1952 Conference was expected to (and ultimately did) bear fruit at the XIXth Conference. Moreover the theme of the Conference, the protection of civilian populations in wartime; the locale in a commonwealth country; and the particularly friendly relationships established through the year between Red Cross workers in India and Canada, all combined to accentuate the interest of both Canadian delegations.

<sup>\*</sup>Vide: External Affairs Vol. 4, No. 9, September 1952, Pages 298 - 303.

# **Atomic Weapons Proposals**

Two items on the agenda dealt with the use and testing of nuclear weapons. The Canadian Government, with its lengthy experience in the Disarmament Sub-Committee of the United Nations, was concerned by the dangers of propaganda exploitation by Communist delegations of these complex and controversial questions. The concern of the Canadian Government was increased by the fact that the agenda items in question were initiated by non-Communist sponsors. The International Committee of the Red Cross had prepared for the Conference, after long and detailed study, a paper entitled "Draft Rules for the Limitation of Dangers Incurred by the Civilian Population in Time of War". The Draft Rules, dealing with limitations in the conduct of future wars in the interests of civilian populations, were designed to form the basis of an international convention to supplement the existing Geneva Conventions. The Draft Rules, while admirable in theory, appeared to Western disarmament experts to oversimplify the basic problems involved in achieving an effective disarmament agreement. The same consideration applied to a draft resolution circulated by the Japanese Red Cross Society which was concerned primarily with the cessation of testing of nuclear weapons.

It seemed to the Canadian Government that the superficial appeal of the proposals put forward by the International Committee and the Japanese Red Cross Society on the use and testing of nuclear weapons might imperil the Canadian position on those complicated problems. The possibility that the proposals would be exploited for propaganda purposes by Communist delegations persuaded the Canadian Government and a number of other governments, which traditionally had sent observer delegations to International Red Cross Conferences, to give their delegations to the XIXth Conference voting status. The Communist delegations did, in fact, attempt to use the proposals to win support for repetitious Communist "ban the bomb" propaganda but other delegations had comparatively little difficulty in dissuading the Conference from going on record in favour of resolutions on atomic weapons which would have been ineffective and damaging to the cause of peace. The statutes of the International Conference theoretically preclude debates on political issues. This consideration helped discourage Communist propaganda manoeuvres on the atomic weapons issues and left Communist delegations almost isolated in the votes on their propaganda proposals. It should be added that the Communist delegations almost invariably joined ultimately in accepting compromise resolutions which were generally acceptable. These resolutions disposed of the possibility of an international convention to consider the Draft Rules in their present form and simply provided for drawing attention of governments to the Draft Rules, the dangers to humanity of atomic weapons and the desirability of an effective disarmament agreement. The Delegation of the Indian Red Cross Society played an active and effective role in deflecting the dangers inherent in the original atomic weapons proposals.

# "Reunion of Families"

Debate on another highly controversial issue—"The Reunion of Families"—ended happily. Communist delegations strongly supported an Hungarian proposal that the Conference go on record as favouring the return to Hungary of children who had left with the refugee migrations following the 1956 uprising. The Canadian Red Cross Society countered this proposal with a resolu-

tion advocating co-operation by all countries in the reunion of families on the basis of the place of residence of the head of family. Although the Hungarian Red Cross Society modified its resolution twice, the Conference refused to adopt it and ultimately gave unanimous support to the Canadian resolution. An unforeseen but welcome by-product of the debate was evidence of a rapproachement between South and North Korean Delegations on exchange of information on families separated by the Korean war.

# Canadian Delegations

In addition to its sponsorship of the resolution on reunion of families, the Canadian Red Cross Society Delegation played an active role in all phases of the Conference. One of its members, Mr. John A. MacAulay, of Winnipeg, who had been Chairman of the XVIIIth Conference in Toronto, was elected Chairman of the Humanitarian Law Commission, which dealt with all the major controversial issues at the Conference except that involving Chinese representation. The Chinese representation question was debated only in plenary sessions. The success Mr. MacAulay achieved as Chairman of the Humanitarian Law Commission—his skill and impartiality won the respect of all delegations—led the Chairman of the Conference, Princess Amrit Kaur of India, to invite him to take the chair for a period in plenary sessions while the Chinese representation issue was being debated. Mr. George Aitken, the Leader of the Canadian Red Cross Society Delegation, was rapporteur of the Standing Finance Commission of the Board of Governors. Another member, Mr. Paul Vaillancourt, of Montreal, was elected Rapporteur of the General Commission. Dr. W.S. Stanbury, the National Commissioner of the Canadian



CANADIAN DELEGATION

Members of the Delegation of the Canadian Red Cross Society photographed at a plenary session of the XIXth International Red Cross Conference. From left to right in the front row are: Mr. John A. MacAulay, Winnipeg, Mr. Paul Vaillancourt, Montreal, Miss Margaret Wilson and Dr. W. S. Stanbury, Executive Sectetary and National Commissioner, respectively, and Mr. George Aitken of Winnipeg who was Chairman of the Delegation. Mr. Wilfrid Agnes, Mr. Paul Malone and Brig. W. J. Lawson, of the Canadian Government Delegation, are in the second row. Mr. Pierre Dupuy, Government Delegation leader, is partially obscured.

Red Cross Society, presented the Society's resolution on reunion of families. Mr. Richard Gluns, Public Relations Director of the Canadian Red Cross Society, was on loan to the Conference Secretariat. Mr. Pierre Dupuy, Canadian Ambassador to Italy, led the Government Delegation. He was assisted by Brigadier W.J. Lawson, Judge Advocate General, Canadian Armed Forces, and Mr. Paul Malone, Head of the Consular Division of the Department of External Affairs, as Delegates. Mr. Wilfrid Agnes, of the Canadian High Commissioner's Office in New Delhi, served as Secretary of the Government Delegation.

# Chinese Representation Issue

The success achieved in disposing of the other major political issues at the Conference was marred in the view of many delegations by the outcome of the debate on the Chinese representation issue. The issue arose from the insistence of the Indian Red Cross Society in addressing pre-Conference correspondence to Taipeh to the "Government of Formosa" instead of to the "Government of the Republic of China". Invitations to the Conference were extended by the Indian Red Cross Society on behalf of the Standing Commission. The failure of the Standing Commission and the host Society to invite the Government of Nationalist China in the terms it considered appropriate led the Taipeh authorities to give notice on the eve of the Conference that they would not be represented. The United States Government Delegation, supported by a number of other delegations, including that of the Canadian Government, requested the Standing Commission at the opening of the Conference to extend an invitation to Taipeh in proper terms. In response to this request, the Chairman of the Standing Commission, Mr. François Poncèt, of France, despatched a cable to the "Government of the Republic of China" reminding it that the Conference was about to begin. The signature on the cable did not identify Mr. François Poncèt as Chairman of the Standing Commission, but the Taipeh authorities decided on the basis of it to send representatives to New Delhi immediately. The Delegations of Communist China angrily denounced Mr. François Poncèt's action and proposed that the National Chinese representatives be excluded from the Conference. The leader of the United States Government Delegation then introduced a resolution designed to authorize the scating of the Nationalist Chinese Delegates as representatives of the "Republic of China". The United States resolution was not acceptable to the Indian Red Cross Society. The leader of its Delegation, Princess Amrit Kaur, sharply denounced it as a discourtesy to the host Society. An issue which had not been foreseen in Pre-Conference planning suddenly threatened disruption of the Conference. A wave of relief swept the conference hall when the leader of the United States Government Delegation agreed to have its resolution considered as the final item on the Agenda. When this resolution eventually was put to a test in a secret ballot, it was adopted by a vote of 62 in favour, 44 against and 16 abstentions. Following the announcement of the vote, the delegations from Communist China angrily withdrew. The Chairman, Princess Amrit Kaur, then resigned the chair—in which she had replaced Mr. Mac-Aulay at the final session-and led the Indian Red Cross Society from the conference hall. Following withdrawal of the Communist Chinese Delegations and that of the Indian Red Cross Society, the leaders of the U.S.S.R. Delegations declared that since the Chairman had left-she had been replaced by the Vice-President of the Conference, Prince de Merode, President of the Belgian Red Cross—the Conference should be considered to have finished its business. This motion was put to a vote and declared lost. All Communist delegations and the National Society Delegations from Indonesia, Syria and Egypt then announced their withdrawals. The Government Delegation from Egypt also withdrew. The seating of the Delegation from Taipeh with a "Republic of China" placard on its desk preceded the break-up of the Conference by only a few minutes. Fortunately, however, the sudden storm which brought about the formal ending of the Conference gave way to calm the following day when the representatives of the Red Cross Societies of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and India met harmoniously with other members of the new Standing Commission. The ability of representatives of countries directly involved in the Chinese representation dispute to meet so soon after the break-up of the Conference led to the hope that the walk-outs of the previous day would appear in retrospect to have been incidental rather than significant as far as East-West co-operation in the International Red Cross was concerned.

# Hospitality of India

The disruption of the Conference was particularly disappointing to the Indian Red Cross Society and the Indian Government, which spared no expense and effort in attempting to provide ideal conditions. The President of India, Dr. Prasad, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, presented inspiring addresses at the opening of the Conference. New Delhi's magnificent new Conference Hall provided ideal physical facilities for meetings. Most delegations were housed in the impressive new Ashoka Hotel. Delegates were guests of the Indian Red Cross Society on a week-end trip to Agra to see the Taj Mahal and all were invited to participate in post-Conference trips to various parts of India to witness at first-hand the progress under way in the sub-Continent in all fields of human endeavour. The programme of social activities arranged by the Conference organizers included presentations of Indian song and dance which gave impressive glimpses of the cultural heritage of the country. The effort Princess Amrit Kaur—a dedicated aristocrat who has devoted her life to the sick and the poor in India—and her associates made to ensure the smooth running of Conference machinery and the well-being of visiting delegates won the admiration and gratitude of all at the Conference.

One of the final acts of the Conference was a decision to hold the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross in Geneva in 1963. This decision involved refusal of an invitation from the leader of the U.S.S.R. Delegations to hold the next Conference in Moscow in 1961. The decision in favour of Geneva was influenced by the fact that the XXth Conference will coincide with the centenary of the establishment of the International Red Cross in Geneva. The six-year interval between Conferences will allow a lengthy period of healing for the scars formed on the Chinese representation issue. In the meantime, there have been encouraging indications that the normal international activities of the Red Cross will not suffer prolonged ill effects.



Photo: Karsh
Miss Marjorie McKenzie

Marjorie McKenzie was Secretary to Dr. O. D. Skelton at Queen's University, and came with him to Ottawa in 1924 as his Secretary in the Department of External Affairs. Her loyalty to him, like her loyalty to the Department, was unreserved; and for some seventeen years she worked closely with him.

Only those, perhaps, who over the years had opportunities to work with and know her realize fully the part that Marjorie McKenzie played in the Department of External Affairs in over thirty years' service. Nor can that part be expressed in any simple way. Any phrases such as "dedicated" or "devotion to duty" would have been repugnant to her because she disliked clichés as she did all that was artificial and superficial.

Her essential characteristic was courage; courage both physical and intellectual. For years she fought against such ill-health as would have defeated —or at best soured—most of us. Yet, up to a few days of her death in hospital, she called for work to do and wrote with the same vigour and effect as she had in comparative health. Against the twin dangers that beset the civil servant —compromise with standards of accuracy and of style—she conducted what was perhaps an unconscious, but certainly an effective, one-woman campaign. She was a relentless pursuer of the truth, whether it was a date or an interpretation. Nothing stopped her, once started: neither the clock nor elusive evidence. Because of the same intellectual honesty (combined with a wry humour) her style of writing was the constant enemy of "officialese" and "gobbledegook". This was in part because she sought to clarify rather than to confuse, and in part because her writing was an intriguing blend of precise phrases, abrupt condemnations, and down-to-earth remarks.

The size of the Department multiplied many times during her period in it, and a decreasing proportion of its workers were conscious of this small and unostentatious person. Those who did know her capacities thought little of her rank or particular position, but rather of her judgment and her ability to find and to analyse the material needed for subjects covering a wide field. She "ventilated" subjects in a more accurate sense than the usual one, for she let fresh air into everything she touched.

Miss McKenzie had intellectually few illusions, and the illusions she had came from her generous heart. She would appear to be gruff and critical, but her warm smile would break through and melt any such impression. She had

<sup>\*</sup>This tribute to Miss McKenzie was written by a colleague.

no automatic respect for authority, but was ready to give help to all those who sought it; and ready co-operation to those whose abilities she admired. For reasons both of health and temperament she withdrew from social engagements, but for her friends had a store of humour and kindness. Only a few days before she went back to the hospital for the last time she telephoned to the office of one of her colleagues and, finding him away with influenza, immediately telephoned to his house to be assured that all was well.

This was the colleague we knew; one who contributed much to the quality of the Department's work. Her cool brain and warm heart will long be remembered.

# APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND SEPARATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. G. R. Heasman, Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia, posted to Ottawa, effective November 3, 1957.
- Mr. R. W. A. Dunn posted from the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, to Ottawa, effective December 1, 1957.
- Mr. D. R. Taylor, DFC, separated from the Department of External Affairs, effective December 5, 1957.
- Mr. M. D. Copithorne posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective December 11, 1957.
- Mr. P. G. R. Campbell, Canadian Commissioner, posted from the International Supervisory Commission for Laos, Vientiane, to Ottawa, effective December 12, 1957.
- Mr. J. J. Hurley, OBE, Canadian High Commissioner in Colombo, posted to Ottawa, effective December 15, 1957.
- Mr. J. M. Harrington posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective December 17, 1957.

#### TREATY INFORMATION

#### **Current Action**

#### Bilateral

#### United Nations

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Nations concerning the service with the United Nations Emergency Force of the national contingent provided by the Government of Canada.

Signed at New York, June 21 and July 29, 1957.

Deemed to have taken effect as from November 13, 1956.

#### Venezuela

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Venezuela renewing for a period of one year from October 11, 1957 the commercial modus vivendi of October 11, 1950.

Signed at Caracas October 1 and 11, 1957. Entered into force, October 11, 1957.

#### Multilateral

Protocol modifying the International Convention relating to exhibitions of November 22, 1928 done at Paris May 10, 1948.

Canada's Instrument of Accession, deposited November 4, 1957. Entered into force for Canada, November 4, 1957.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

## A Selected List

Printed documents:

- Report of the Trusteeship Council covering the period from 15 August 1956 to 12 July 1957. A/3595. N.Y., 1957. 221 p. \$2.00. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 4.
- Report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. A/3647. N.Y., 1957. 27 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 15.
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# CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

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Country	Designation	Address
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Australia	High Commissioner	Canberra (State Circle)
66 g	Commercial Counsellor	Melhourne (83 Williams St)
	Commercial Counsellor	Sydney ("Berger House", 82 Elizabeth
		6+ /
Austria	.Ambassador	Vianna 1/I/" mataramira (*)
Belgian Congo	Trade Commissioner	Vienna 1 (Karntnerring 5)
Delgian Congo	Ambanadar	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Deigiuiii	Ambassagor	Brussels 4(35, rue de la Science)
Brazii	Ambassagor	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente
44		Wilson, 165)
	Consul and	
	Trade Commissioner	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de
		Abril. 2.52)
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Egypt	.Ambassador	Cairo (6 Sharia Rustom, Garden City)
Federation of Rhodes	ıa .	
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T 11	*** 1 0	5)
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	Trade Commissioner	Foreshore)Johannesburg (Mutual Bldg., 39 Har-
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# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# Prime Minister's Reply To Mr. Bulganin

Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker informed the House of Commons of his reply on January 18, 1958 to a letter dated December 13, 1957, from Mr. N. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, in the following words:

"Mr. Speaker, hon. members will recall that on December 16 the Minister of Public Works tabled the text of a letter dated December 13 which had been addressed to me by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Bulganin. I should now like to table the text of the Canadian reply, which was given to the Soviet Ambassador on the evening of Saturday, January 18, for delivery to Mr. Bulganin.

"As the House is aware, similar letters were addressed in early December to the Heads of Governments of other NATO countries. These other NATO countries are also in the process of replying. The United States reply was delivered on January 12, the French reply on January 14 and the United Kingdom reply on January 16.

"The Canadian Government, in the reply I intend to table, deal esssentially with the first letter and acknowledges receipt of the second, although some of the same points appear in both letters. As I said in the House on January 13, it is our intention to give further consideration to Mr. Bulganin's second letter, the one dated January 8, and to consult in the NATO Council with regard to the issues with which it deals.

"What the NATO countries looked for in these letters was evidence that the Soviet Union was sincere in its expressed desire to adopt measures leading to the improvement of the international situation and to the creation of the necessary confidence in relations between states. We found little that was new in the letters, although it was recognized that they were more moderate in tone than Soviet communications received in the past. Also they placed emphasis on the settlement of differences by negotiation, an objective which certainly finds support in this and other countries. It was with these considerations in mind that the NATO governments examined the letters and agreed on the general nature of the replies to be given.

"In preparing the Canadian reply the Government has tried to adopt as positive an attitude as possible. We wish to reduce tension and to help settle world problems, but the need still exists—and this must be emphasized—for a strong defence system. In a positive sense, the reply displays our continued willingness, within the terms of a disarmament agreement, to open all or part of Canada to aerial and ground inspection on the basis of reciprocity. This type of proposal should prove mutually attractive to Canada and the U.S.S.R. since they are neighbours across the Arctic. Mr. Bulganin is reminded of Canada's ptrong interest in disarmament, and it is suggested that since he advocates the progress in this field the first step should be for the countries concerned to resume their discussions and to make use of the United Nations machinery created for this purpose.

"In the reply we say that we intend to join with our NATO allies in studying the comments made by Mr. Bulganin on a proposal put forward earlier by Poland for the creation of a zone in Central Europe free of nuclear armaments.

"The assertion is made in Mr. Bulganin's letter that a meeting of heads of capitalist and socialist countries on a high level could have great significance. As I mentioned in the House early last week, this observation is made more specific in the second letter, the one dated January 8, with the proposal that a high level meeting be held within the next two or three months. Our reply states that a meeting at a high level would receive the Canadian Government's support if there were adequate assurance that beneficial results could be expected, and if the utmost care were given to its preparation.

"While on the subject of a possible summit meeting I might refer to the reply I gave in the House on January 7 in response to a question asked by the hon, member for Mackenzie, as to whether or not Canada would consider issuing an invitation for a summit meeting in Canada. As I said then, we attach great importance to reopening negotiations and would agree to examine any proposal which might result in the reaching of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the Western countries. In my reply to Mr. Bulganin I referred to the interest that had been displayed in this House in the possibility of a high level meeting, and I said that when the participants decide that they are ready to call such a meeting and should they decide to hold it in Canada, situated as we are between the United States of America and the U.S.S.R., such would be acceptable."

The texts of the letters follow:

Moscow, December 13, 1957.

Dear Prime Minister,

The Soviet Government is deeply worried with the present state of international relations. That is why I am addressing this letter to you in order to share with you our considerations concerning the causes of the further increase in international tension and those possible measures which, we believe, should be taken toward the normalization of the international situation and the creating of the necessary confidence in relations between states.

The recent activities of the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) have convinced us that measures are being taken, on the initiative of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, to sharply increase military preparations, to prepare for nuclear war. At the recent meeting in Washington the heads of the governments of those powers have taken a decision for the re-organization of the NATO system aimed at mobilizing all military, economic, and scientific resources of the members of NATO for a further arms race including the production on a large scale of the newest kinds of death-dealing nuclear and missile weapons.

As is seen from the statements of leading political and military persons in the countries belonging to the North Atlantic Alliance, a session of the NATO Council, which will soon open in Paris, will occupy itself with working out new strategic plans of the Western powers which would provide for the broad use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. It is also intended that the territories of a number of NATO countries will be used for storing American nuclear weapons and for building rocket-launching bases. The sponsors of these plans of NATO and, first of all, those influential circles which seek to aggravate the international situation, speak openly of their intention to secure at the coming session of NATO a further strengthening in the military-industrial potential of Western Germany. In practice this will mean an increase in the militarization of Western Germany.

The adoption of these decisions would inevitably lead to a further increase of tension in relations among countries, to a further aggravation of the international situation, to an unrestrained arms race, to an intensification of the "cold war", to a condition when efforts would be made to have the world on "the brink of war" not occasionally but constantly.

There are reports that the question of storing American atomic and hydrogen weapons on Canadian territory and of creating bases on this territory for launching rockets with hydrogen warheads is being discussed intensively at the present time. It is not difficult to realize that under conditions when, for a long time now, it has been permissible to build American military bases on Canadian territory, and when the process of merging the military forces of Canada and

the U.S.A. is in fact being carried out, the storing on the country's territory of American atomic and hydrogen weapons creates a special danger for Canada in case of a military conflict. And indeed, in the present age of rocketry and atomic weapons is it realistic to think that if an agressor uses military bases on foreign territories for an atomic attack the countries which provided these bases could escape a retaliatory atomic strike with its destructive consequences?

It is evidently for the purpose of quieting the peoples of NATO countries, who are alarmed with the perspective of storing American nuclear weapons on the territories of their countries, that the military leaders in the West are intensely spreading theories about the possibility of so-called "local" or "small" wars. Such assertions about the possibility of localizing conflicts are only attempts to mislead the peoples and to lull their vigilance. If, in our times, in the past, local incidents grew, as history teaches us, into wide military conflicts and world wars, any so-called local military conflict becomes all the more dangerous at the present period when there are two opposing military blocs and when there exist such means of waging war that no country belonging to these blocs can remain outside the area of military actions.

Reports of the intention of the Western powers to unite in one or another form such existing blocs as NATO, SEATO, and the Baghdad Pact, did not pass unnoticed also. I am not going to conceal, Mr. Prime Minister, that the Soviet Government considers these plans as contrary to the idea of strengthening world peace and security; that is, as contrary to the aims which the Organization of the United Nations was created to fulfill. The participants of such a united military-political bloc, established with the aim of preparing war, would have had certain political and military obligations beforehand and would come forward as a power counter-posing the United Nations and its principles which are based on the acknowledged universal character of this international organization. If the situation is to be judged objectively then it should be acknowledged that the carrying out of such a plan would weaken the foundations of the U.N. and would inflict serious damage to the cause of peace.

Moreover, the participants of such a bloc would be in danger of being drawn into military adventures themselves which, of course, is contrary to their interests.

The Government of the United States being anxious to merge and to centralize the military power of the NATO countries put forward, together with the Government of Great Britain, the so-called doctrine of the "inter-dependence" of the NATO countries. It is not an accident that this doctrine was met uneasily by the countries of the North Atlantic Alliance as it involves a serious danger to their sovereign rights.

Attention is being drawn to the fact that all these military preparations in the NATO countries are being carried out in an atmosphere of artificially fanned military hysteria in the Western countries, in an atmosphere where the fatal inevitability of war is propagated and where people are intimidated by an imaginary threat on the part of the U.S.S.R. At the same time, in order to increase hostile propaganda toward the Soviet Union, attempts are made to present as a menace to peace even the latest achievement of Soviet science—the launching of the artificial earth satellites.

At the same time, purposely, nothing is said about the fact that it was the Soviet Union which has repeatedly and persistently stood, and stands, for co-operation and peaceful co-existence, for outlawing all kinds of nuclear weapons, for ending their production, and for destroying the existing stocks of atomic and hydrogen bombs as well as rockets with nuclear charges of all ranges, including the intercontinental type. Great efforts are also being made to keep quiet about the fact that the Soviet Government, expressing the will of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., has stated solemnly that it has no intention of using any means of destruction if the Soviet Union is not attacked. It is also well known that the Soviet Union has never threatened, and does not threaten, the security of other states. Our country, as was stated many times, will never start a war against any country because war is foreign to the very nature of the Soviet state.

Despite the policy of peace and international co-operation which is persistently pursued by the Soviet Union and by the other Socialist states, the governments of the Western countries at the present time are adopting decisions aimed at continuing and increasing the policy "from positions of strength" and the "cold war" which is fraught with the most dangerous consequences. It is quite evident that the further stock-piling of atomic, hydrogen, and rocket weapons will increase the threat of a new war more and more.

Realizing the danger of the present situation and the fact that it may deteriorate further because of the plans for the preparation of a new war which are being drawn up by the NATO leaders, political and public men adhering to various political views, religious convictions, and philosophic schools, hundreds of millions of peoples in all countries of the world, persistently demand that an end be put to the arms race, that the policy of the "cold war" be done away with and, before it is too late, that the path of peaceful coexistence be entered upon, as only this path answers the requirements of the present moment in the life of mankind and can ensure the preservation of peace.

The Soviet Government proceeds from the fact that in the present situation the vital interests of the peoples demand the acceptance of all states of the principles of peaceful co-

existence, mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, full equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, equal rights and reciprocal benefits, a peaceful solution of the problems and differences which may arise. We are firmly convinced that if, in their foreign policy, all states would be guided by the main principle—the necessity of preserving and consolidating peace—and would not try to undertake any actions which could lead to increasing the military danger then it would be possible to make a turn toward improving the entire international atmosphere and toward creating the necessary conditions for a peaceful settlement of outstanding international issues.

If one proceeds from the interests of ensuring universal peace it is necessary, in our opinion, to recognize, unreservedly, the situation in the world when there are capitalist states and socialist states.

We, all of us, cannot but take into account that any attempts to change this situation by force from outside, to violate the present "status quo", to impose any territorial changes, would lead to catastrophic consequences.

We realize, of course, that the establishment of relations of real trust between states requires great effort and persistence on the part of governments. Keeping in mind the fact that certain international problems, the disarmament problem among them, are so complicated that, as experience shows, they could not be settled at once, the Soviet Government proposes to solve these problems gradually, step by step.

The Soviet Government believes that the Governments of the U.S.A. and Great Britain together with the Government of the Soviet Union ought to assume an obligation not to use atomic and hydrogen weapons and to stop immediately, beginning from the 1st of January 1958, the testing of all kinds of nuclear weapons, at least for the term of two or three years at first. This would substantially improve the international atmosphere, it would contribute to the establishment of trust between the states.

The relinquishing by the great powers of the stock-piling of any kinds of nuclear weapons on foreign territories, including, of course, the territory of Canada, would be of great importance in the present situation. The Soviet Government proposes to the U.S.A. and Great Britain to agree right now not to stock-pile nuclear weapons of any kinds on the territories of Western and Eastern Germany. If this agreement were to be supplemented with an agreement between the FRG and the GDR not to produce nuclear weapons and not to stock-pile such weapons in Germany then the Governements of Poland and Czechoslovakia, as has already been officially stated by them, would not produce and stock-pile nuclear weapons on their territories. Therefore, a vast zone with a population of more than one hundred million people would be excluded from the sphere of atomic armaments, a zone where the risk of atomic war would be reduced to a minimum would appear in Central Europe.

Steps ought to be taken toward concluding, in one or another form, an agreement on non-aggression between the states adhering to the North Atlantic Alliance and the states who are members of the Warsaw Treaty.

The Soviet Government holds that in order to normalize the situation in the Near and Middle East it is necessary that the great powers—the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain, and France—should take upon themselves the obligation to strictly observe the principles of non-interference in the affairs of the countries in this region and to abandon the use of force for the solution of questions connected with the Near and Middle East.

We stand for taking measures toward the cessation of the propaganda in the press and by the radio which arouse feelings of distrust and hostility.

It is the opinion of the Soviet Government that by all these measures—which, as is known, are consistently supported not only by the U.S.S.R. but also by the Chinese People's Republic as well as by many other states of Europe, Asia, and other continents—it would be possible to secure the ending of the "cold war" which, in its turn, would enable a start to be made on the implementation of such important steps as: a substantial reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the states; the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons with the cessation of their production and the liquidation of their stocks; the elimination of foreign military bases on the territory of other countries and the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territories of all states—the participants of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty; the replacement of the existing military groupings of the powers with a system of collective security in Europe and Asia.

Taking into account the positive experience of the Heads of the Four Great Powers' Conference held in Geneva in the summer of 1955, a meeting of representatives of capitalist and socialist countries on a high level could have great significance. In such a case all the participants of the meeting should, of course, have in view the real situation and sincerely strive toward achieving the necessary agreement.

I should like, Mr. Prime Minister, to draw your attention to the essential importance of the attitude of all states, big and small alike, with regard to the question of preserving peace and easing international tension. The peace-loving independent foreign policy followed by any

state not only answers the interest of its people but it also exerts a stabilizing influence on the situation in the area where this state is situated as well as on the international situation as a whole.

We are firmly convinced that Canada, considering her wide international ties, could contribute toward achieving agreement on these proposals of the Soviet Government.

I have to tell you openly, Mr. Prime Minister, that the statement of Dr. Sidney E. Smith, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, in the House of Commons on the 3rd of December of this year to the effect that there is in Canada "an intense desire to reduce tensions between the West and the U.S.S.R." and that "Canada's views would not be identical with some of the attitudes we have found in other countries which belong to NATO—a complete denial as soon as a proposal is put forward", did not pass unnoticed in the Soviet Union.

Canada, as a country which is one of the main suppliers of fissionable materials in the world, could play an important role in solving the atomic problem, in achieving an agreement on using atomic anergy for peaceful purposes only.

The Soviet Government has always stood, and stands, for the broadest possible development of ties between our countries. I think you will agree with me that the similarity in the geographic and climatic conditions of the Soviet Union and Canada, the abundance of natural resources in both countries, create favourable objective conditions for a wide extension of all-round ties between our two countries.

We are convinced that both parties would benefit from the development of normal trade without any artificially imposed restrictions whatsoever. This undoubtedly would contribute to establishing relations of trust and goodwill between the Soviet Union and Canada.

To the same extent we stand for the all-round development of co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and Canada in the field of science and technology, culture and art, education and health, for wider sports contacts. Therefore we met with understanding the recent statement in the Canadian Parliament by Dr. Sidney E. Smith, your Secretary of State for External Affairs, concerning the intention of Canada to extend ties and contacts with the Soviet Union. In particular we are prepared to receive in the Soviet Union a reciprocal visit of a Canadian trade mission at a time suitable for the Government of Canada in accordance with a wish expressed in Dr. Smith's statement.

It is our firm conviction that neighbours should live in good neighbourliness and that, with a mutual desire, it is fully possible to achieve this.

We hope, Mr. Prime Minister, that the considerations expressed in this letter will be attentively examined by you and your colleagues in the Government. We, on our part, are prepared to examine any considerations which the Government of Canada may wish to put forward with the aim of improving the international situation as a whole as well as for bettering direct relations between our countries.

With sincere respects, N. Bulganin

> Ottawa, January 18, 1958.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Government of Canada has given thoughtful attention to the contents of your letter of December 13, 1957 in which you set forth your views on the causes of international tension and offer a number of proposals for the easing of the international situation and for the development of confidence between states.

You deal at length in your letter with the activities of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and you allege that measures are being taken by that organization to prepare for nuclear war and that an artificially fanned military hysteria is propagated in Western countries. It is also suggested that current NATO policies will lead to the intensification of the cold war. I do not wish to engage in extended arguments over NATO policies since the purely defensive nature of NATO has been made clear on many occasions. These charges cannot go entirely unanswered, however, and the Canadian Government wishes to emphasize that the organization has no aggressive intentions whatsoever. If it had, Canada would dissociate itself from it immediately, since such intentions would be neither in the letter nor the spirit of the North Atlantic Treaty. As your letter arrived shortly before the NATO Council meeting in which heads of government participated, I am sure that you have given careful attention to the Declaration and Communiqué comprise an adequate response to the various accusations which you have made against the North Atlantic Alliance.

Perhaps it may be helpful in understanding our position if I supplement these NATO documents with an outline of the Canadian attitude towards NATO. As I said in the House of Commons on December 21 last the recent NATO meeting has made a substantial contribu-

make of

tion to the cause of peace, not only by reaffirming the purely defensive character of the Alliance, but by leaving the door open to meaningful disarmament negotiations. I pointed out in regard to the NATO heads of government meeting that I have never seen a group of men less actuated by any other purpose than that of achieving peace. I emphasized that the NATO governments were prepared, in the realization of the awful realities which face us, to go as far as possible to bring about a climate and atmosphere which will ensure the laying of a foundation for international peace.

You will see from this, Mr. Chairman, that the question of disarmament looms very large in our minds and that we view with deep concern the unwillingness of the U.S.S.R. to participate further in the disarmament discussions which seemed to show some promise of success in the middle of last year. We welcome your advocacy of step-by-step progress but surely the first step is for the countries concerned to resume their discussions and to make use of the United Nations machinery created for the purpose.

One of your main proposals is that an obligation be adopted by the nations possessing nuclear weapons not to use these weapons and to cease the testing of nuclear weapons at a given date. We should point out that some time ago the U.S.S.R. did accept the principle, in the course of discussion in the Disarmament Sub-committee, that an obligation not to use nuclear weapons might be subject to the condition that they could be used for purposes of defence against aggression. This is a factor which certainly could be pursued further if disarmament talks were resumed. In general, we shall continue to advocate the proposals which we supported at the recent session of the UN Assembly. I would like, furthermore, to draw your attention to the flexible approach adopted in the NATO Communiqué that was designed to facilitate the reopening of discussions at an early date.

Rather than debate again the major issues on which our points of view diverge, I think it might be useful in this letter to concentrate on matters of particular concern or interest to Canada. Thus, in reference to NATO policies, you refer to the existence of United States bases on Canadian soil. Canada has every right to take measures of self-defence and any actions it takes in this regard come within the provisions of the UN Charter. Our defence measures—whether taken alone or in concert with friendly countries—result from a conviction that such measures are necessary. Our readiness to bring about conditions in which the need for defence measures will be lessened was shown last summer when I gave assurance that in the context of a disarmament agreement the Canadian Government would be willing to open all or part of Canada to aerial and ground inspection on a basis of reciprocity. It seems to me that this is the type of proposal which should prove attractive to both our countries since we are neighbours across the Arctic. I have in mind in particular the kind of proposal Canada joined in sponsoring last August involving a system of inspection in the Arctic regions. We were willing then and are willing now to take such action in order to provide assurance against the fear of surprise attack.

Perhaps not unrelated to this is your assertion that attempts to alter the status quo by force would have catastrophic consequences. Without equivocation we assert that Canada rejects any attempt to impose territorial changes by force. It is not clear what comes within your definition of status quo, and this is something on which more information would be welcome. The Canadian Government continues to be concerned about the domination exercised by the U.S.S.R. over Eastern European countries and the Soviet zone of Germany. You speak of coexistence, but if this concept means recognition of the existence side by side of capitalist and communist countries, it must also imply non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries including those of Eastern Europe. The events in Hungary of 1956 have not faded from our minds.

The idea of the status quo is extended in your letter to cover the Middle East. I would like to emphasize that Canada is making a positive contribution to stability and peace through its participation in the United Nations Emergency Force. We hope that no power, including the U.S.S.R., will take any step which would interfere with the important duties which the United Nations Emergency Force is now performing with such a gratifying degree of success.

As a member of the Disarmament Commission and Sub-committee of the United Nations, we are studying the comments which you made on a proposal put forward earlier by Poland for the creation of a zone in Central Europe free of nuclear armaments. The NATO Communiqué pointed out that we are prepared to examine any proposal, from whatever source, for general or partial disarmament and we therefore intend to join with our NATO allies in looking into the implications of this type of proposal. One factor in considering such proposals would be the readiness of the participants to undertake an adequate system of inspection and control.

Your suggestion that a meeting of representatives at a high level could usefully be held would receive my immediate support if there were adequate assurance that beneficial results could be expected. Past experience has show, however, that such meetings if they are to be fruitful must be carefully prepared through diplomatic and other channels. I am sure that you you will agree that a meeting of this kind which did not lead to positive agreement on at least some of the basic issues with which we are confronted might result in a public reaction more likely to heighten than lessen world tension. In order not to disappoint public opinion in our respective countries we must therefore, I submit, make sure that such a meeting be prepared in advance with the utmost care. You may be aware that there has been a suggestion in the

Canadian House of Commons that the Government might invite the participants in such a meeting to consider holding it in Canada. This suggestion was undoubtedly prompted by the consideration that Canada is the next-door neighbour of the United States and the U.S.S.R. and has a special relationship to Commonwealth countries and to France. I can assure you, Mr. Chairman, that when the participants decide that they are ready to call such a meeting and should they decide to hold it in Canada, they will be welcome.

With your final assertion, Mr. Chairman—that neighbours should live in a spirit of good neighbourliness—there can, of course, be no disagreement. We have been living in a state of warm friendship with our great neighbour to the south for generations and we would hope to develop similar friendly relations with our neighbour to the north. As is well known to you, the exchange of visits and information between Canada and the U.S.S.R. over the past several years has increased considerably. Our countries have explored a wide range of exchanges in the technical, scientific, cultural and commercial fields and a number of these have been implemented. We welcomed the recent visit of a trade group from the U.S.S.R. We hope that there can be an expansion of the exchange of goods between our two countries in keeping with the spirit of the trade agreement which was signed in 1956. In due course Canadian businessmen may decide to pay a visit to the U.S.S.R. in order to explore further the possibilities of trade between our countries. I can assure you that the Canadian Government would be willing to be associated with such an undertaking. We were pleased at the goodwill that was engendered by the visit of the Russian hockey team which toured Canada this winter and we have been happy to learn that performances by Canadian artists in the U.S.S.R. have earned widespread acclaim. We shall certainly continue to give close attention to the development of good relations in these various fields. We would welcome a sign of willingness on the part of the Soviet authorities to permit freedom of movement for those persons who wish to leave the U.S.S.R. and join relatives in Canada as well as for any persons in the U.S.S.R. who hold Canadian citizenship.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I am sure that the people of the Soviet Union share in their hearts the aspirations of the Canadian people in wanting to live in peace and security and in desiring to be free to pursue their individual and national development, unhampered by the burden of armaments and untroubled by suspicions and fears. May I urge that we all work towards the achievement of a state of affairs in which these aspirations can be realized.

Since giving consideration to your letter I have received your further letter of January 8, 1958 which was handed to me by your Ambassador on January 10; it also will be studied carefully and replied to in due course.

Yours sincerely, John G. Diefenbaker

# **Visit of Prime Minister of Laos**

HRH Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos, accompanied by his wife, Princess Souvanna Phouma, and their daughter, Princess Moune, arrived in Ottawa January 16 on a three-day visit to Canada, following a visit to Washington. The party also included three ministers of the Laotian Government—Tiao Souk, Minister of Transport and Public Works, Mr. Ngon Sananikone, Minister of National Defence, Sports and Youth Affairs, and Mr. Leuam Insisiengmay, Minister of Finance. The ministers were accompanied by their wives.

'In the course of his talks with Government officials in Ottawa and at a press conference given in Montreal, Prince Souvanna Phouma discussed the current political situation in Laos as well as political and economic aspects of relations between Laos and Canada.



LAOTIAN PRIME MINISTER RECEIVED

During his recent visit to Ottawa, HRH Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos, was received by His Excellency Governor General Vincent Massey, CH., PC., with whom he is shown above.

The visit was of particular interest because of Canada's participation in the International Commission established under the Cease Fire Agreement signed at the Geneva Conference in 1954, and because of an agreement recently concluded between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao dissident forces. The Geneva Cease Fire Agreement ended hostilities between the French Union forces and the Royal Laotian Government on the one hand,

and the Pathet Lao and Communist Vietminh troops on the other. India, Poland and Canada have served on the International Commission to supervise the cease fire provisions since August 1954. In referring to the work of the International Commission in Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma expressed his gratitude to Canadian civil and military representatives whose presence has contributed to the resolution of a number of conflicts within Laos.

During the war in Indochina, the Pathet Lao fought alongside the Communist Vietminh troops. Following the Geneva Cease Fire Agreement, the Pathet Lao obtained control of the two provinces of Phong Saly and San Neua and sporadic fighting occurred between the forces of the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao. Following two years of negotiation an agreement was concluded between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao under which the Pathet Lao agreed to relinquish control over the provinces of Phong Salv and San Neua. The agreement also provided for the dissolution of the UCPL ("Unités Combattantes du Pathet Lao") and for the reintegration of the Pathet Lao troops within the political life of the Laotian Kingdom. Some of these troops will become part of the Royal Laotian Army, while the remainder will return to their villages and resume their lives as Laotian citizens. This reintegration was being carried out at the time of the Prime Minister's visit to Canada. The Royal Laotian Government, for its part, has provided for the inclusion in a coalition government of two former members of the Pathet Lao—Prince Souphanouvong as Minister of Public Works, and Mr. Phagma Phoumi as Minister of Cults and Fine Arts. The Royal Laotian Government also agreed to the formation of a new political party, the Neo Lao Kaksat, to which former Pathet Lao members could adhere.

The Prime Minister of Laos informed his press conference in Montreal that Laotians are a devout Buddhist people, strongly attached to their king, and that Communism has no chance of succeeding in Laos. The Prime Minister went on to say that the two representatives of the Pathet Lao who have entered the coalition government as a result of this agreement are showing themselves loyal to the policies pursued by the government, and that the former Pathet Lao dissidents are more Nationalist than Communist.

Supplementary elections are scheduled to be held throughout Laos in May. These elections will add twenty-one members to the National Assembly and will be the final stage in the long process of reaching the political settlement initiated at the Geneva Conference.

# Commission's Role Ending

The Prime Minister informed the press that as a result of the agreements recently concluded with the Pathet Lao, the role of the International Commission in Laos is drawing to a close. He stated that the Royal Laotian Government has asked the Commission to reduce its staff in Vientiane and expects the Commission to be dissolved after the May elections when the provisions of the 1954 agreement will have been fulfilled, and when the Laotian Government will be able, as a sovereign power, to deal effectively with the internal affairs of Laos.

The party arrived from Washington on January 16 and took up residence at the Seigniory Club. On January 17 Prince Souvanna Phouma was received by the Governor General, Mr. Vincent Massey, and had a discussion with Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker. Following a visit to the House of Com-

mons, the party attended a luncheon given in their honour by the Solicitor General, Mr. Léon Balcer, attended by Government officials. In the course of the afternoon Prince Souvanna Phouma conferred with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Sidney E. Smith, and later attended a Colombo Plan meeting in the East Block with members of the Departments of Trade and Commerce, Finance, and External Affairs at which the Laotian Ministers of Finance and Transport were present. In the evening Prince Souvanna Phouma and his party were guests of honour at a reception and dinner given by the Secretary of State for External Affairs at the Country Club.

On January 18 the Laotian Party went to Montreal, where they were received by the Mayor at the City Hall and attended a luncheon and reception sponsored by the Canadian Committee of the Union Culturelle Française. In the course of the afternoon Prince Souvanna Phouma and Princess Souvanna Phouma gave a reception at the Windsor Hotel for young Laotians who are studying in Montreal under the auspices of the Colombo Plan, after which they held a press conference at the Windsor Hotel. On the afternoon of January 18 the visitors attended a hockey game at the Montreal Forum.

## Canadian Aid Welcomed

The Prime Minister of Laos, during his visit, underlined the value of Canadian aid in Laos under the Colombo Plan. He expressed the hope that grants to Laotian students for the purpose of studying in French-speaking universities in Canada would be substantially increased. He also stated that Laos would welcome any other technical assistance coming from Canada under the Colombo Plan.

Before he left for London, the Prince expressed his satisfaction that the purpose of his visit, which was to promote the establishment of closer ties between Laos and Canada, had been successfully attained.

# **Proposed UN Special Project Fund**

# Action in the United Nations

At the conclusion of the Twelfth General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1957, the President, Sir Leslie Munroe, of New Zealand, and the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, both commented that one of the most important and practical decisions which the General Assembly had taken concerned the establishment of the "Special Fund." General Assembly Resolution A/RES/1219 (XII) provided that "there shall be established as an expansion of the existing technical assistance and development activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies a separate Special Fund which would provide systematic and sustained assistance in fields essential to the integrated technical, economic and social development of the less developed countries."

# Capital Aid Long Discussed

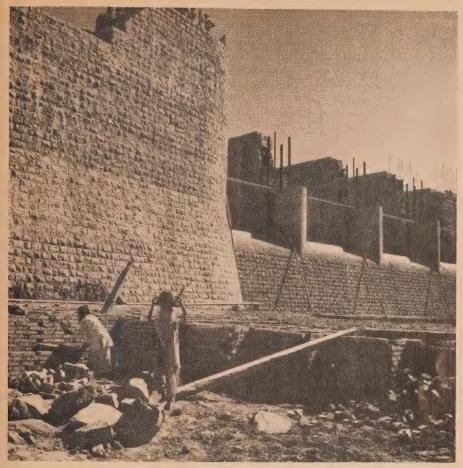
The desirability of conducting a large-scale programme of capital assistance through the United Nations in addition to the lending operations of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had been discussed widely both in United Nations circles and outside the United Nations since 1949. In 1952 the Sixth General Assembly took the first definite action by adopting a resolution(1) which requested ECOSOC to prepare "a detailed plan for establishing, as soon as circumstances permit, a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low-interest, long-term loans to under-developed countries for the purpose of helping them, at their request, to accelerate their economic development and to finance non-self-liquidating projects which are basic to their economic development." Thus in 1953 an expert Committee of Nine presented, under ECOSOC resolution 416A (XIV), a report containing a number of specific recommendations (E/2381) for the establishment of a Special United Nations economic development fund (SUNFED). Subsequently the General Assembly (2) invited Governments to present detailed comments on this report and to indicate their "moral and material" support for such a fund. (The Canadian reply is found on Page 26 of A/2646.) In addition, the then President of ECOSOC, Mr. Raymond Scheyven, was appointed to examine the information available and to report "with a view to assisting it (the General Assembly) to make such recommendations as it would find possible which could facilitate the establishment of such a fund as soon as circumstances permit."

A resolution (3) passed at the Eighth General Assembly contained the following unanimously supported declaration:

We, the governments of the States Members of the United Nations, in order to promote higher standards of living and conditions of economic and social progress and development, stand ready to ask our peoples, when sufficient progress has been made in internationally supervised world-wide disarmament, to devote a portion of the savings achieved through such disarmament to an international fund, within the framework of the United Nations, to assist development and reconstruction in under-developed countries.

<sup>(1)</sup> A/RES/502A (VI)

<sup>(2)</sup> A/RES/724B (VIII) (3) A/RES/724A (VIII)



PAKISTAN PROJECT

This gigantic weir of the Sind Barrage at Kotri, Pakistan, built with UN assistance, diverts water into irrigation canals on either side of the Indus River.

## **Further Examination**

The Ninth General Assembly adopted a resolution<sup>(1)</sup> which provided for further examination of the SUNFED proposal. Appreciation was expressed for Mr. Scheyven's report. He was then requested to prepare, in consultation with the Secretary-General and an *ad hoc* group of experts, a further report "giving a full and precise picture of the form or forms, functions and responsibilities which such a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development might have..."

Mr. Scheyven's report<sup>(2)</sup> was examined at the Tenth General Assembly. The Assembly then requested the Secretary-General<sup>(3)</sup> to invite "the States Members of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies to transmit... their views as definitely as possible relating to the establishment, role, structure and operations of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic

<sup>(1)</sup> A/RES/251 (IX).

<sup>(2)</sup> Doc. A/2906.(3) A/RES/923 (X).

Development." A series of questions were circulated to member governments and an *ad hoc* committee was established to analyse the replies and comments of governments for submission to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. Canada was chosen as a member of this *ad hoc* committee which met during 1956. The replies of Governments were summarized, analysed and some conclusions drawn in the final report of the Committee document (A/3579 corr 1 and add 1).

Also at the Tenth General Assembly Canada was elected to a second term on the Economic and Social Council. Thus Canadian Delegations participated in discussion of this subject in the Economic and Social Council during Canada's term of office from January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1958, and of course in the yearly General Assemblies.

At the Twenty-Second Session of ECOSOC the Canadian Delegation worked with other Delegations towards the adoption of a resolution which after examination of the interim report of the *ad hoc* committee (E/2896) expressed the hope that "the General Assembly will consider what further steps may help to promote the early establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development."

At the Eleventh General Assembly a difficult discussion on this subject resulted in a resolution, (1) in the drafting and negotiation of which the Canadian Delegation participated actively, which requested the *ad hoc* committee on the basis of the views expressed by governments in response to earlier resolutions, and the reports of previous special committees and groups of experts, to prepare a supplementary report which would in addition to other material 1) set forth the different forms of legal framework on which a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development might be established and statutes drafted, 2) indicate the types of projects which might be provided for in programmes or operations of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development.

Further meetings of the *ad hoc* committee on SUNFED were held during 1957, with Canadian Delegations, consisting of representatives of the Department of External Affairs and the Department of Finance, participating. The final and supplementary reports of the *ad hoc* committee were presented to the Twenty-Fourth Session of ECOSOC.

At the Twenty-Fourth Session of ECOSOC a resolution was passed which urged the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Twelfth Session to decide to establish SUNFED. The Canadian Delegation submitted amendments designed to provide for further consideration of this question by member governments. These amendments were, however, defeated and ECOSOC resolution 662B (XXIV) was adopted by 15 votes in favour and 3 against—Canada, United Kingdom and the United States. Previously, ECOSOC and General Assembly discussions had generally resulted in unanimous resolutions on this subject.

# Resolution on Special Project Fund

The Twelfth General Assembly after extended formal debate and informal negotiations adopted resolution A/RES/1219 (XII). This resolution (in the drafting of which the Canadian Delegation assisted) was a compromise

<sup>(1)</sup> A/RES/1030 (XI).

between a draft circulated early in the Session by the U.S. Delegation which proposed an enlargement of scope of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and a resolution submitted by the supporters of SUNFED which called for the early establishment of a large-scale capital assistance fund. Resolution 1219 (XII), as already noted, decided that a new "special project fund" would be established. In view of the resources prospectively available, which were not expected to exceed 100 million dollars annually, the operations of the Special Fund would be directed towards enlarging the scope of the United Nations programme of assistance so as to include special projects in certain basic fields, for example, intensive surveys of water, mineral and potential power resources, and the establishment of training institutes in public administration, statistics and technology and of agricultural and industrial research and productivity centres. It was agreed that while the fullest possible use should be made of the existing machinery of the United Nations, the Special Fund would require some new administrative and operational machinery.

A preparatory committee, of which Canada was subsequently made a member, was established to define the fields of assistance and types of projects to be covered by the Special Fund, to set out the administrative and operational machinery which the new fund would need and to ascertain the extent to which governments would be willing to contribute to the Special Fund. This preparatory committee is scheduled to meet on March 11, 1958 and to report to the 26th Session of ECOSOC which will be held in Geneva in July-August. The General Assembly will have reports from the Preparatory Committee and ECOSOC before it at its 13th Session. Resolution 1219 (XI) looked to the establishment of the Special Fund as of January 1, 1959 and



UN AID TO CEYLON

Collecting the harvest at the Elephant Pass Salt Works in Ceylon, where experts of the UN Technical
Assistance Administration advised on modern production methods.

appealed to all states members of the United Nations to give the fund the greatest possible assistance.

The resolution concluded, in relation to earlier discussions of a large scale United Nations capital aid fund such as SUNFED, that "as and when the resources prospectively available are considered by the General Assembly to be sufficient to enter into the field of capital development, principally the development of the economic and social infra-structure of the less developed countries, the Assembly shall review the scope and future activities of the Special Fund and take such action as it may deem appropriate."

In this period 1952 to 1957 the United Nations took, of course, a number of decisions related to the provision of assistance to the less developed countries. The International Finance Corporation was established in July 1956 as an affiliate of the I.B.R.D. to stimulate and assist private capital investment particularly in the less developed areas of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and South and South-East Asia. In addition, the United Nations programmes of technical assistance (mainly the provision of the services of experts, the arrangement of fellowships and scholarships for study abroad and a small amount of related equipment) continued to grow and at present involve expenditures of over 30 million dollars a year. Other United Nations programmes such as those of UNICEF, UNKRA, UNRWA and of the specialized agencies have likewise developed in this same period.

# Position of Canadian Delegations

The Canadian authorities have consistently maintained that it would not be desirable or practicable for the United Nations to establish a large-scale capital assistance programme to which the major potential donors were not contributors. For example, it was difficult to see how an annually renewable fund of 250 million dollars could be established without the support of the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Some delegations have argued that the availability of resources of this magnitude would depend on, among other factors, the achievement of an international political climate in which world-wide disarmament would be possible or would involve the diversion of funds now being spent under bilateral economic development programmes. As the Canadian representative to the Ninth General Assembly argued in a statement on October 12, 1954, "in considering its approach to proposals for new international development funds Canada in common with other countries has had to balance its real sympathy with the needs and aspirations of the less developed countries against the requirements of its own economy and defence and the conviction that more harm than good can result from premature implementation of ambitious plans."

# Co-operation Between Aid Programmes

Canadian Delegations have also suggested that it is unnecessary to maintain a rigid distinction between multilateral assistance through the United Nations and bilateral or other assistance outside the United Nations. As the Canadian representative on the ad hoc committee on SUNFED noted, this problem should not be considered as a matter of "black and white." There was a substantial area of "grey" implying useful co-operation of various types between United Nations programmes of economic assistance and bilateral or non-United Nations programmes of aid.



ASSISTANCE TO INDONESIA

A United Nations expert has been of aid to Indonesia through a survey of small industries with a view to establishing central production units. Here the owner of a village carpenter shop and an Indonesian Government official discuss plans for a central production unit in Djatinegara.

In this connection the Canadian Delegation, with the Delegations of Norway, the Philippines and Argentina, co-sponsored a resolution which was eventually adopted by the Eleventh General Assembly (1034 (XI)) providing for the collection of information concerning international economic assistance to the less developed countries. A preliminary paper containing the details which could be obtained by the Secretary-General concerning economic aid given and received during the three-year period ended December 31, 1956, (Doc.E/3047) was endorsed by the Twenty-Fourth Session of the Economic and Social Council in July 1957. As Mr. Theogene Ricard, M.P., Canadian representative on the Second Committee, stated on October 9, 1957, "for the first time members of the United Nations have a clear picture of all the various types of assistance." One result of this survey, initiated originally by the Canadian Delegation, was that debates in the United Nations on SUNFED took place on the basis of fuller information than in the past, a situation which assisted in the formulation of more generally acceptable conclusions.

# Co-ordination Necessary

A related point on which Canadian Delegations have laid considerable emphasis is that of insuring adequate co-ordination between the various United Nations programmes and other programmes of economic aid so that scarce financial resources would be used to the best advantage. In addition as Mr. David Owen, Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board, has remarked, the emphasis in United Nations work has "shifted from the negative aspect of eliminating overlapping or duplication of effort, to the positive form of enhancing the value of projects through concerted effort to ensure the best timing of each action and the most effective combination of resources."

Canadian Delegations have also endeavoured to work towards a situation in which any new or additional United Nations activities in the field of economic aid would be established under appropriate administration and financial conditions. In its reply to the United Nations questionnaire the Canadian Government stated that its final decision regarding a fund of the SUNFED type "would depend in large measure on whether it was satisfied that the organizational and administrative arrangements were such as to lead to efficient operation and that the fund would command sufficient support to enable it to operate effectively." In connection with the decision to establish the Special Fund which was taken at the Twelfth General Assembly, Mrs. Ellen L. Fairclough, Secretary of State, in her statement to the Second Committee on December 3, re-emphasized this same general point, stating that "in the operation of the proposed Special Projects Programme the assistance of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development should be sought" because of the Bank's special experience in the promotion of the economic development of the less developed countries. Canadian delegations have also strongly supported the principle that contributions for United Nations economic and programmes should be made, as far as possible, in convertible currencies freely usable in accordance with the requirements of the respective programmes.

# General Agreement Essential

Another major determining factor for Canadian Delegations has been the importance which Canadian authorities attach to the avoidance of any sharp division of opinion on this subject between the less developed countries and the countries who could be described as potential donors or even among the Western community of nations. The initiatives which Canadian delegations were able to take during the sessions of ECOSOC and of the General Assembly were prompted by the hope of avoiding a breakdown in consultations on this important subject between the countries most concerned. Sometimes such a breakdown seemed imminent, for example at the Twenty-Fourth Session of ECOSOC. As Mrs. Fairclough stated at the conclusion of her address of December 3, the provision of economic assistance through the United Nations to the less developed countries is a question on which "there can be general general agreement and on which there must be general agreement if United Nations programmes are to be successful."

After the difficulties which occurred at the Twenty-Fourth Session of ECOSOC the Canadian authorities, in conjuction with other governments, participated in discussions designed to avoid a similar situation at the Twelfth General Assembly. When the United States Delegation announced its proposal for an enlargement and extension of the Expanded Programme of Technical

Assistance the Canadian Delegation worked with others, as Mrs. Fairclough put it in her statement of December 3, "to shape the United States of America's initiative into a generally acceptable proposal." Mrs. Fairclough went on: "in this connection the most important aspect of the United States suggestion is the proposed special projects programme which would significantly broaden the base of present United Nations economic aid programmes. The Canadian Government believes that this course offers a basis for providing more economic assistance through the United Nations than is now being given to the less developed countries. Mr. Chairman, I have been authorized to inform this Committee that if there should be general agreement on such a course, and if suitable organizational arrangements are eventually made, the Canadian Government would give sympathetic consideration to seeking parliamentary approval of an appropriate contribution."

In her statement of December 3 Mrs. Fairclough reiterated the moral, political and economic considerations which have guided Canadian Delegations during discussions of economic assistance:

When I speak of moral considerations I have in mind a belief that we have a responsibility to help nations less fortunate than ourselves. When I speak of political considerations I have in mind a belief that by helping to bring about improvement of the economic conditions of peoples in other parts of the world we are thereby assisting in the reduction of tension and in the safeguarding of peace. When I speak of economic considerations I have in mind a belief that world prosperity, including our own, will increase as that of the less developed countries increases.

# Firm Support of UN

Canadian positions in discussions of economic development, as in other United Nations discussions, have also been based on support of the United Nations as an agency for the promotion of international co-operation. As the Prime Minister stated in the Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly on September 23, 1957, "we stand on this question where Canada has always stood since April 1945 . . . Support of the United Nations is the cornerstone of Canada's foreign policy." In his United Nations Day message on October 30, 1957, Mr. Diefenbaker referred to United Nations programmes as follows:

The very important but often unheralded economic and humanitarian aspects of United Nations work are an excellent example of the forward strides which can and have been made. Outstanding in this field is the aid to under-developed countries which has been given through United Nations programmes of technical assistance and the advances in social and physical well-being which have been achieved throughout the world by the Specialized Agencies.

In pursuit of this policy during the detailed consideration of economic programmes in the Second Committee, Mr. Ricard, after analyzing some of the limitations of the United Nations organization and some of its possibilities, commented in his statement of October 9, that "the records of this Committee and of ECOSOC show that the United Nations can certainly achieve useful results, if earnest efforts are made to work out decisions which are practicable, which are generally acceptable among member governments, and which are likely to be widely supported by public opinion."

The discussion of economic assistance for the less developed countries in the United Nations is a continuous process. At the Twelfth General Assembly, United Nations activity received a considerable impetus by the decision to establish the new Special Fund. During 1958 there will be a series of important questions in this field on the Agenda of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, and in them Canada can be expected to play an important part.

# United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees

In May 1957, delegates representing more than 80 voluntary agencies which take an active part in the work for refugees, together with observers from 30 governments and inter-governmental organizations which support refugee work, met in Geneva to attend a Conference on the Refugee Problem. There is space to mention only a few of the voluntary agencies which sent delegates to this Conference—the Salvation Army, the Lutheran World Federation, the Unitarian Service Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the International Conference of Catholic Charities, the International Federation of University Women, the World Alliance of YMCA's and the World YWCA's, the World Council of Churches, and the League of Red Cross Societies.

The purpose of this Conference on the Refugee Problem was to set forth "the needs of thousands of refugees in Asia, the Middle East and in Europe who must not be forgotten because the needs of the recent Hungarian refugees are so urgent and immediate." All speakers at the Conference stressed the importance of mobilizing a large body of informed opinion in support of hold action which would spur peoples and governments all over the world "to help the refugees—the world's uprooted people."

The problem dealt with by this Conference is one of considerable dimemsions. The United Nations defines a refugee as a person who has left his normal place of residence because of fear of persecution. As of December 1956 there were approximately one million refugees in Europe, Asia and Africa under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)(\*) which provides them with a certain degree of international legal protection since they do not possess the full rights of citizenship of any country. Most of these have re-established themselves either by emigration or integration in the country where they are at present domiciled and are no longer in need of any material assistance from the High Commissioner for Refugees. However the High Commissioner has estimated that by the end of 1958, when the special programmes being undertaken under the United Nations Refugee Fund are due to be completed, there will still be about 120,000 out of the total of one million "legal" refugees still in need of some direct material assistance before they can be considered as fully re-established in a normal way of life. He has forecast that about 23,000 of these will be living in refugee camps in Austria and Germany. These estimated figures do not take into account the remaining 10,000 Hungarian refugees in Austria and Yugoslavia who have been unable as yet to find permanent homes either in Europe or abroad. The problem confronting the High Commissioner is made more difficult of solution because many of the refugees now in camps are in the category known as "hard core" cases—the infirm, the old, or the sick, who require medical, nursing or institutional care.

<sup>(\*)</sup> The UNHCR is not responsible for the nearly one million Arab refugees left homeless as a result of the 1948 hostilities in Palestine. These Arab refugees are the concern of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA).

# **Establishment of UNREF**

In 1954, the United Nations General Assembly recognized that a comprehensive programme was needed if permanent solutions were to be found for the refugee problem within a reasonable length of time. The General Assembly therefore established(\*) on October 21, 1954 the United Nations Refugee Fund (UNREF). The purposes of UNREF were set out as follows: to solve the problems of refugees on a permanent basis by promoting resettlement for those who could not emigrate; to enable the UNHCR to initiate integration programmes for those who remained in their countries of first asylum; to place in institutions, homes and sanatoria the old, infirm and chronically ill refugees; and to provide emergency assistance to those in the greatest need. The target budget for UNREF's four-year (1955-58) programme was \$16 million broken down as follows: \$4.2 million in 1955; \$4.4 million in 1956; \$4.4 million in 1957; and \$3 million in 1958.

The UNREF programme is now entering on its fourth and final year of operation and its accomplishments have been great. In the three years of 1955, 1956 and 1957, UNREF projects have reduced the number of unsettled refugees from about 350,000 in 1955 to under 150,000 at the end of 1957 and the refugee camp population has been reduced from 85,000 in 1955 to less than 40,000 near the end of 1957. These results have been achieved in the face of difficulties arising from insufficient contributions from governments to meet the UNREF target budget, (the present deficit in contributions amounts to \$2.4 million) and the problems created by the influx into Austria and Yugoslavia in 1956-57 of 200,000 new refugees from Hungary.

# Recommendations to UN

At the beginning of November, 1957, the twelfth session of the United Nations General Assembly discussed the problem of refugees and heard the High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Auguste R. Lindt, make his recommendations for the solving of the remaining refugee problem. The High Commissioner said that he had recently reappraised the situation because of the exodus of 200,000 Hungarian refugees, and he estimated that he would need \$20.8 million, that is \$4.8 million more than the original target of \$16 million for UNREF, if he were to succeed in closing down all refugee camps by 1960. Furthermore, the High Commissioner said that he would have to know before the end of 1958 if the additional funds for closing down the refugee camps would be forthcoming so that he could intensify his programme during 1958. Three resolutions dealing with refugee matters were passed by the twelfth session of the United Nations General Assembly; the first one provided for the continuation of the Office of the UNHCR for a further five-year period, that is up to the end of 1963; the second resolution, which was co-sponsored by Canada and twelve other states, authorized the High Commissioner to renew his appeal to states for financial help so that an intensified programme could be begun in 1958 for the closing down of all refugee camps by December 1958, when UNREF is due to be completed (although any UNREF projects started but not completed by December 1958 are to be carried to completion); the third resolution appealed to all governments and organizations for assistance in alleviating the distress of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. As well as being a co-sponsor of one of these resolutions, the Canadian Delegation voted in favour of the other two.

<sup>(\*)</sup> United Nations resolution 832 (IX) of October 21, 1954.

### Formidable Task

The task before the High Commissioner for Refugees in the fourth and final year of his programme is a formidable one. In order to finish the job of finding permanent solutions for the refugee problem, he needs assurances that he will receive from governments and from private sources the sum of \$10.2 million, that is the amount of \$3 million set as the original target for 1958, plus the \$2.4 million which was the Fund's deficit for the first three years of operation, plus the \$4.8 million needed for the intensification of the programme.

As the delegates of the 80 voluntary agencies pointed out at the May 1957 Conference on the Refugee Problem, the task will require the mobilizing of a large body of informed opinion to support bold action and spur peoples and governments all over the world "to help the refugees—the world's uprooted peoples."

# CONTRIBUTION TO UNRWA

Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, last month announced in the House of Commons a special contribution of Canadian flour to UNRWA. Mr. Smith said:

"Mr. Speaker, I propose to make an announcement which I am sure will interest members of the House. For some years now Canada has been one of the largest contributors to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. As you know, Mr. Speaker, this is a body established by the United Nations, and it has had the task of providing food, shelter and medical care as well as educational and rehabilitation facilities to the 930,000 Arab refugees who left their homes as a result of the hostilities which accompanied the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and 1949.

"Opinions differ about the way in which the problem of these refugees should be settled, but there is general agreement on the need to assist them in the tragic plight in which they find themselves. UNRWA supplies its relief services to these unfortunate people at the amazingly small cost of \$30 per refugee per year, but for some time the financial difficulties of the Agency have been growing more and more desperate, despite very generous contributions by several countries, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom. Relief services, as I have already informed the House on an earlier occasion, are at subsistence level and recently have had to be cut, and the whole rehabilitation and educational programme will have to be abandoned unless more funds are forthcoming.

"I need hardly say that maintenance of this rehabilitation programme is essential if there is ever to be a solution of the refugee problem. We informed the United Nations some weeks ago that our regular annual cash contribution of \$500,000 would be made as usual for 1958-1959, subject to Parliamentary approval, but the Secretary-General of the United Nations is still appealing to all members of the United Nations to increase their contributions if they possibly can.

"The Government has accordingly decided to seek Parliamentary approval, in supplementary estimates to be presented to the House in due course, for a special additional contribution to UNRWA for this year and that contribution,

subject to Parliamentary approval, will be 1,500,000 dollars worth of Canadian flour for the refugees. This represents about 20,000 tons of flour or approximately one million bushels of Canadian wheat. We hope that this substantial contribution of flour will encourage other countries to increase their contributions to UNRWA. Indeed, some have already announced such increases in response to the appeal of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. I am sure that the House will approve of this proposal. UNRWA and UNEF, the United Nations Emergency Force, in both of which we are interested, are important aspects of the efforts of the United Nations to establish conditions of peace and security in the middle East."

# CANADA IN THE WORLD

Excerpts from an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Sidney E. Smith, to the Hamilton Chamber of Commerce, Hamilton, Ontario, February 4, 1958.

... Six weeks ago I had the privilege of attending the meeting of NATO heads of government in Paris. It was—and this is generally admitted—a testing moment for NATO, coming as it did so soon after the world had witnessed striking demonstrations of the advances of Soviet science and technology. It was a time when, on the military side, it seemed clearly necessary to consolidate and improve our defence against possible aggression, and when on the other hand, in terms of political psychology, the moment seemed to have arrived—at least in the opinion of many—for a somewhat more flexible approach to the problem of how to negotiate with the Soviet world.

These parallel aims were not easy to reconcile. The concept of the defensive deterrent is not readily harmonized with the idea of probing for peaceful settlements. Some voices of gloom were raised before the conference met. How could NATO overcome the inferiority complex it was supposed to have inherited from Sputnik I and II? Could the posture of holding up one's guard in defence be combined simultaneously with holding out one's hand in a gesture of negotiation?

#### Firmness and Flexibility

I believe it is a measure of the success of that conference that unanimous agreement was reached on a communiqué and a declaration which reflect both our determination to preserve our security and our readiness at the same time to talk with the Russians on disarmament. In other words the NATO Governments mixed firmness with flexibility, which I submit is the only combination that makes sense at this time.

There has been much discussion in the Western world in recent weeks about the attitude that we should adopt towards negotiations with the Soviet Union. I desire to say a few words about this. In the first place, let me make it clear beyond a doubt that we, as a democratic and loyal member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, are as staunchly determined as anyone in the world to resist the Soviet challenge to our free

institutions and way of life. Our stand on this is clear. We are conscious of the threat which faces us and, as our defence programme shows, we are prepared to make, and to keep making, a very substantial national sacrifice as defence insurance. It is only in a free country like Canada that we can make that kind of sacrifice. When I say this I am thinking of men and women in the Baltic States and in Eastern Europe, countries such as Eastern Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, which live under a pall of uneasiness, frustrated hope, and fear. For these countries there is no question of defence against the Soviet threat; there is only hope that one day justice will be done. . .

But indignation and concern, however spontaneous and sincere, are not enough. Our task in 1958 is to evaluate the nature of the Soviet challenge, to assess it as it applies to different regions of the world, to note its changing forms, and to devise new and imaginative means of dealing with it.

It is this many-sided task on which we of the Western world are now engaged. For us, if you will, it is a time for closed ranks and open minds. To refer again to the agreed conclusion of the NATO conference, the members of NATO stated that they would be "prepared to examine any proposal from whatever source, for general or partial disarmament."

One such proposal has been put forward by Poland with support from the Soviet Union. It suggests a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. In our Prime Minister's recent letter to Mr. Bulganin, he stated that the Canadian Government was studying Mr. Bulganin's comments on the Polish plan, and that Canada intended to join with its allies in looking into the implications of this type of proposal. The Prime Minister also made it clear that one factor of importance in considering such proposals would be the readiness of the participants to undertake an adequate system of inspection and control. This is only common sense. We must always be certain that such undertakings are being faithfully fulfilled.

The question of possible regional disarmament is now receiving careful study in the NATO Council. The Polish plan cannot, of course, be accepted as it stands, but it has given us something to work on. The care with which NATO countries are examining the Polish plan is as eloquent an illustration as anyone could want that NATO is more than a political vehicle devised to serve merely a military and defensive purpose.

Our attitude towards the discussion of this question is an attitude of constructive purpose. A proposal has been made and, whatever the source, we think it should be studied. Moreover we hope that out of our study will come ideas and policies which will require and which will receive equally careful examination by the other side. It is only by such cautious and thoughtful exchanges of views that progress can be made. This is just one example of the kind of preparatory work, the probing and sounding, through diplomatic channels, of which I was speaking earlier.

#### **Summit Conference**

We hear and read a great deal these days about the advantages or disadvantages of a summit conference. I know from the many letters which I have myself received that high hopes are entertained for such a meeting.

I think that there is a prospect that some kind of a meeting at the summit is going to take place in 1958. The question therefore would be not whether, but when and where and how it should take place. The Prime Minister has made it clear, in his letter to Mr. Bulganin, that if the participating governments (and we still do not know which these will be) desire to meet in Canada, they will be welcome to do so.

But more important than when and where such a conference will be held and who will attend, is the question of how the preparations are made. The essential consideration is that the success of such a meeting must be assured in advance. A meeting that affords only sounding boards for propaganda will not only be useless but also dangerous to the degree that it deepens tensions and widens fears. In preparing the agenda, for instance, it might be wise to restrict it to questions on which there seems to be some hope of progress. This preparatory work, in my opinion, can best be done by patient and painstaking negotiations carried on with the minimum of publicity through ordinary diplomatic channels. It is a time for the pick and shovel work of diplomacy, and this is always best done behind the scenes.

#### Disarmament

In these treacherous times we are, as I have already said, bound to maintain our defences. But to regard this as an end in itself would be futile and possibly fatal. We shall never find peace and security by merely continuing the ever more expensive and perilous contest of arms. The mounting costs of nuclear armament could put the wealthiest nations into bankruptcy, and thus provide a bed for the seeds of communism. No fair-minded person could say that we are guilty of such a hopeless and sterile strategy. Honestly and steadfastly we have worked for peace through a workable system of disarmament in which the security of all the participants is not jeopardized. In spite of the discouragement that we have suffered from the Soviet decision to boycott the new Disarmament Commission of twentyfive nations established last autumn by the United Nations, we have no intention of giving up that endeavour. We shall knock on every door that could conceivably lead the world safely away from international tension and stalemate. The stake is the very survival of our civilization-indeed it could be the survival of mankind.

We are earnestly seeking discussions with other nations to find ways and means of resuming serious and constructive negotiations on disarmament between East and West. We seek to set an example to others in this endeavour by not allowing our efforts to be hampered by narrowness, stubbornness, or consideration of mere national prestige. In Mr. Diefenbaker's letter to Premier Bulganin, our Prime Minister reiterated an offer which he had made on behalf of the Canadian Government last summer—that in the context of a disarmament agreement we would be willing to open all or part of Canada to aerial and ground inspection on a basis of reciprocity. The Western disarmament proposals of last August included a reference to the possibility of a system of inspection in the Arctic regions which lie between us and our Russian neighbours to the north.

In this field of disarmament, it would be wrong and dangerous to pretend that there are not enormous difficulties in the way. On the other hand, there are grounds for hope that mutual interest in survival can provide a basis for an agreement with the Russians which does not depend on faith alone but on the self-interest of both sides to maintain it. This is the role of a young, vigorous and peaceloving country like our own—to sound a note of confidence and hope in times which breed pessimism and fear, ill-will and enmity in the international sphere.

# APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. C. N. Senior, Canadian Consul General at Seattle, retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service, effective January 3, 1958.
- Mr. P. Reading, Charge d'Affaires a.i. in Helsinki, retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service, effective January 3, 1958.
- Mr. W. F. Hoogendyke posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, to Ottawa, effective January 8, 1958.
- Mr. E. M. Reid appointed Canadian Ambassador to Germany. Proceeded to Bonn January 9, 1958.
- Mr. R. A. MacKay, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Norway. Proceeded to Oslo January 9, 1958.
- Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie, Canadian Ambassador to Bonn, appointed Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York. Proceeded to New York January 9, 1958.
- Mr. J. A. Donald posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, effective January 16, 1958.
- Mr. E. D. Wilgress posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Lisbon, effective January 17, 1958.
- Miss M. A. MacPherson posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective January 21, 1958.
- Mr. J. E. Hyndman posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to Ottawa, effective January 22, 1958.
- Mr. M. A. Crowe posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective January 22, 1958.
- Mr. M. G. M. Gauvin, DSO, posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, effective January 24, 1958.
- Mr. T. C. Davis, QC, Canadian Ambassador to Tokyo, retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service, effective January 24, 1958.
- Mr. D. C. Reece posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, effective January 25, 1958.

# TREATY INFORMATION

### **Current Action**

## Bilateral

# Federal Republic of Germany

Agreement for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Signed at Ottawa December 11, 1957.

Exchange of Notes bringing into force the agreement signed at Ottawa on December 11, 1957 for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Signed at Ottawa December 18, 1957. Entered into force December 18, 1957.

#### Netherlands

Convention and Protocol for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in respect of taxes on income.

Signed at Ottawa April 2, 1957.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at The Hague December 19, 1957. Entered into force December 19, 1957.

#### Pakistan

Convention for the reciprocal protection of the priority of filing dates of applications for patents of invention.

Signed at Karachi January 15, 1958.

#### Portugal

Exchange of Notes concerning non-immigrant visa arrangements between Canada and Portugal.

Signed at Lisbon January 24, 1958.

#### Switzerland

Agreement between Canada and Switzerland for air services between and beyond the two countries; with exchange of notes.

Signed at Berne January 10, 1958.

Entered into force provisionally January 10, 1958.

#### Union of South Africa

Agreement for the prevention of fiscal evasion and the avoidance of double taxation with respect to Income Tax.

Signed at Ottawa September 28, 1956.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Pretoria October 11, 1957. Entered into force January 1, 1958.

Agreement for the prevention of fiscal evasion and the avoidance of double taxation with respect to succession duties.

Signed at Ottawa September 28, 1956.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Pretoria October 11, 1957. Entered into force January 1, 1958.

### Multilateral

Customs convention on the temporary importation of private road vehicles.

Canada's Instrument of Accession deposited June 1, 1955. Entered into force December 15, 1957.

International Convention relating to the limitation of the liability of owners of sea-going ships signed at Brussels on October 10 1957.

Signed by Canada, October 10, 1957.

#### PUBLICATION

Canada Treaty Series 1951 No. 33. Protocol to amend the Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications, concluded at Geneva on September 12, 1923.

Canada Treaty Series 1951 No. 34. Protocol amending the Agreement for the Suppression of the Circulation of Obscene Publications, signed at Paris, on May 4, 1910.

Canada Treaty Series 1952 No. 20. International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1948.

Canada Treaty Series 1952 No. 26. Exchange of Notes (February 7 and March 1, 1952) between Canada and the United States of America relating to scientific investigations of the Fur Seals in the North Pacific Ocean.

Canada Treaty Series 1954 No. 10. International Regulations for preventing Collisions at Sea, 1948.

Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 16. Articles of Agreement of the International Finance Corporation.

Canada Treaty Series 1951 No. 35.

Exchange of Notes (November 17, 1949 and January 24, 1950) between Canada and the United States of America supplementing the Convention of 15 April 1935 relating to claims on account of damages caused by fumes emitted from the smelter at Trail, British Columbia.

Canada Treaty Series 1952 No. 29.

Certification of Able Seamen Convention, 1946.

Canada Treaty Series 1953 No. 24.

Certification of Ships' Cooks Convention, 1946.

Canada Treaty Series 1954 No. 14.

Exchange of Notes (August 17, 1954) between Canada and the United States of America, modifying the Exchange of Notes of June 30, 1952 concerning the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 22.

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Ireland for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 23.

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Ireland for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to duties on the estates of deceased persons.

- Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 24.
- Exchange of Notes (July 30, 1954 and October 29, 1955) between Canada and France modifying the air agreement signed at Ottawa August 1, 1950.
- Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 25.
- Exchange of Notes (December 20, 1955) between Canada and Norway concerning the loan to Norway of three Prestonian Class frigates.
- Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 28.
- Exchange of Notes (November 22 and December 20, 1955) between Canada and the United States of America relating to the Exchange of Routes under the Air Transport Agreement signed at Ottawa June 4, 1949.
- Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 29.
- Exchange of Notes (June 13, 1955) between Canada and the United States of America for the establishment of certain radar stations in the Newfoundland-Labrador area.
- Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 30.
- Exchange of Notes (June 15, 1955) between Canada and the United States of America for the establishment of certain radar stations in British Columbia, Ontario and Nova Scotia,
- Canada Treaty Series 1955 No. 31.
- Agreement replacing the Convention of June 21, 1920 as modified on May 31, 1937, concerning the International Institute of Refrigeration.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 11.
- Exchange of Notes (May 25 and July 20, 1956) between Canada and Belgium amending paragraph 4 of the Annex to the Agreement for Air Services signed at Ottawa, August 30, 1949.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS A Selected List

- a) Printed Documents:
- Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Annual report (15 February 1956 28 March 1957). E/2959, E/CN.11/454. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-fourth session, Supplement No. 2. N.Y., 8 May 1957. 68 p.
- Credit problems of small farmers in Asia and the Far East. Study prepared by the ECAFE/FAO Agriculture Division. E/CN.11/455. Bangkok 1957. 33 p. (booklet). Sales No.: 1957. ILF?
- 1957 Seminar on the Civil Responsibilities and Increased Participation of Asian Women in Public Life. (Bangkok, 5 to 16 August 1957). ST/TAA/HR/1. N.Y. 9 October 1957. 54 p. Sales No.: 1957.IV.10.
- Reports of International Arbitral Awards. Volume VII. Part One: Decisions of mixed claims commission. U.S.-Germany. N.Y., 1956. 404 p. (bil.) \$4.50. Sales No.: 1956.V.5.
- Yearbook of the United Nations 1956. N.Y., 1957. 586 p. \$12.50. Sales No.: 1957.I.1.
- Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1956. Volume II. N.Y., 1957. 155 p. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1957.XVII.6, Vol.II.
- Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1957. Geneva, 1957. 535 p. \$5.00.
- Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East covering the period 1 July 1956 to 30 June 1957. A/3686. N.Y., 1957. 50 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 14.
- Report of the Committee on Contributions. A/3714. N.Y., 1957. 5 p. GAOR: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 10.
- Railways and Steel (prepared by the Steel, Engineering and Housing Section of the Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, 1957). E/ECE/296, E/ECE/STEEL/115. Geneva, 21.VIII.1957. 63 p. Sales No.: 1957.II.E.5.
- Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1956. Volume I. ST/STAT/SER.G/7. N.Y., 18 July 1957. 629 p. \$7.00. Sales No.: 1957.XVII.6. Vol.I.

- Non-Self-Governing Territories. Summaries of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1956:
  - a) Indian Ocean Territories: Comoro Archipelago, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles, ST/TRI/B.1956/4, N.Y., 31 July 1957, 49 p.
  - b) West African Territories: French West Africa, Gambia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone. ST/TRI/B.1956/5. N.Y., 15 April 1957. 79 p.

#### ICJ

Case concerning right of passage over 1ndian territory (Portugal v. India) Preliminary objections. Judgment of November 26th, 1957. 59 p. (bil.) Sales No.: 171.

#### ILO

The Landless Farmer in Latin America. Conditions of tenants, share-farmers and similar categories of semi-independent and independent agricultural workers in Latin America. Geneva, 1957. 117 p. (Studies and Reports, New Series No. 47).

#### UNESCO

Study Abroad 1957-58. (Volume IX). Paris, 1957. 836 p. (English-French-Spanish). \$2.50. Political Sociology. An essay and bibliography. (Current Sociology, No. 2). Paris 1957. 168 p. (bil.).

Climatology. Reviews of Research. (Arid Zone Research - X). Paris, 1958. 190 p. \$5.00.

International Bibliography of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Vol. 1. (Documentation in the Social Sciences). Paris, 1958. 258 p. (bil.) \$5.50.

Problems of Humid Tropical Regions. (Humid Tropics Research). Paris, 1958. 102 p. (bil.) \$3.50.

Study of Tropical Vegetation. Proceedings of the Kandy symposium. (Humid Tropics Research). Jointly organized by the Government of Ceylon and Unesco, Ceylon, 19-21 March 1956. Paris, 1958. 226 p.

#### WHO

Proposed programme and budget estimates for the financial year 1 January - 31 December 1959. Geneva, December 1957. 395 p. \$3.25. Official Records of the WHO, No. 81.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



March 1958 Vol. 10 No. 3

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# The West Indies

The remarkable ability of the Commonwealth to adapt itself to changing conditions has again been illustrated by the creation of a new nation in the Caribbean — The West Indies — which, it is anticipated, will take its place as an independent member of the Commonwealth within a few years. Canada has a close interest in the new Federation because of the ties of friendship and commerce which have existed between the different islands of The West Indies and Canada, particularly the Atlantic Provinces, since the early eighteenth century, and which are continuing to grow in strength and importance at the present time.

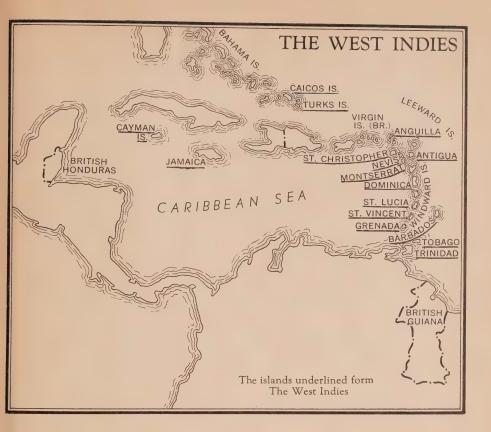
The idea of federating the British territories in The West Indies had been discussed from time to time for generations, but it became a practical possibility only after the Second World War. In 1945 the Secretary of State for the Colonies again advanced a proposal for a federation, stating that "the ultimate aim of The West Indian Federation will be internal self-government within the British Commonwealth".

In September 1947 the Secretary of State for the Colonies first met the West Indian representatives at Montego Bay in Jamaica to consider a federal plan. The conclusive conference was held in London in February 1956, when the representatives of the United Kingdom Government and of the West Indian Governments concerned reached final decisions on major outstanding issues and agreed on the procedure for settling any remaining matters prior to the establishment of the Federation. The discussions at this conference were based principally upon the plan for a British-Caribbean Federation drawn up in 1953 at the previous London Conference, and subsequently adopted by all the West Indian Governments concerned, upon the report of the Conference on freedom of movement held in Trinidad in March 1955, and on the reports published in January 1956 of the three commissions appointed to consider the judicial, fiscal and civil service aspects of federation.

On June 28, 1956 a bill was introduced in the United Kingdom House of Commons giving the Queen-in-Council the power to establish a British Caribbean Federation. This bill was given Royal assent on August 2, 1956 and a Constitution was proclaimed by Order-in-Council on July 31, 1957.

This Constitution began to come into effect on January 3, 1958 with the arrival at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hailes. During the first few months the Governor-General was advised by an advisory council. On March 25 the first federal election was held, and on April 22 Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret will inaugurate the federal legislature and a central government will be appointed, bringing the Constitution into full effect.

The name chosen by the Standing Federation Committee for the new Federation is "The West Indies". At the outset it will consist of 10 colonies: Barbados, Jamaica and dependencies (Cayman, Turks and Caicos Islands), Antigua, St. Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla, Montserrat, Trinidad and Tobago, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent.



#### The Islands

The British Caribbean Islands stretch from Grand Cayman, a Jamaican dependency in the eastern part of the Caribbean Sea, through Jamaica to the Leeward Islands, south from the Leewards past Barbados, and through the Windward Islands to Trinidad and Tobago, a total distance of about 1,800 miles.

Jamaica is the largest of the British West Indian Islands with an area of 4,411.21 square miles. The island is mountainous and rises in the centre to 7,402 feet. Its dependencies are the Cayman Islands, and the Turks and Caicos Islands. The estimate of Jamaica's population in 1955 was 1,537,063. Its main export products are sugar, salt cod, bananas, oil, bauxite and alumina, rum, pimento, coffee, tobacco and cocoa. Its chief imports are fruit, beverages, wheat and flour, textiles, motor cars, cement and fertilizer. The value of tourist trade in Jamaica, which has been described as the "pleasure island of the Caribbean", increases each year.

Trinidad and Tobago are the most southerly in the chain of islands. Trinidad is part of the South American Continent, from which it is separated by the shallow Gulf of Parin. Three ranges of mountains traverse this island from east to west. The total area of the colony is 1,980 square miles (Trinidad 1,864 and Tobago 116). The population was estimated to number 720,450 at the end of 1955. These islands export oil, sugar, cocoa, rum and asphalt, and import

fruit, beverages, tobacco, mineral oil (for refining), lubricants, chemicals, manufactured goods, machinery and transport equipment. In addition to the main industries of oil and sugar, Trinidad is the world's only supplier of angostura bitters.

Barbados is comparatively flat, rising in a series of table lands marked by well-defined terraces to the highest point. This island is the most easterly of the Caribbean Islands. Its total area is 166 square miles. At the end of 1955, the population was estimated at 229,113. The export products are sugar, molasses, rum, soap, margarine, edible oil and cotton lint, and the imports are animal foods, rice, flour, milk, lumber, cotton, artificial silk, machinery, motor vehicles, iron and steel. The main industries are those producing sugar and rum.

The Leeward Islands comprise the four colonies of Antigua, St. Christ-opher-Nevis-Anguilla, Montserrat and another group, the Virgin Islands, which have not yet decided to join the Federation. These islands belong to the chain of the Lesser Antilles, although some of the Virgin Islands belong to the eastern extreme of the Greater Antilles. The islands have a total area of 423 square miles, and the total population was estimated in 1955 at 128,977. The chief imports of these islands are fruit, apparel, piece-goods, timber and non-edible oils, and the main export products are sugar, molasses, lime products and salt.

The Windward Islands comprise Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the four colonies also forming part of the chain of islands known as the Lesser Antilles. These islands are of volcanic origin. The total area is 826 square miles, and the population is about 316,229. The main export products of these islands are bananas, cocoa, sugar, lime and cotton.

## Federal Capital

It was agreed at the final London Conference that the site of the capital should be in Trinidad. Negotiations are proceeding with the United States Government seeking relinquishment of the naval base at Chaguaramas, seven miles from Port-of-Spain, which West Indian leaders feel would be the most suitable site for a federal capital. In the meantime the Federal Government has set up temporary headquarters in Port-of-Spain.

#### The Constitution

The Federation will have full self-government in all matters except questions related to defence, external relations, and the maintenance of financial stability, for which the United Kingdom Government retains the right to make such laws as appear to be necessary. It had been agreed in the discussions on the Constitution that so long as the Federation was dependent on the United Kingdom Government for direct financial subsidies, such reservations were desirable. The federal legislature will have sole authority to make laws concerning matters contained in "The Exclusive Legislative List", including federal finance, federal research projects, defence, libraries and museums, immigration into the federation, federal law and the federal public service and the University College of The West Indies, and authority shared with the territories to make laws covering a wide range of subjects contained in "The Concurrent Legislative List". The Constitution is to be reviewed in five years' time, when it is hoped that the Federation will have sufficient financial and economic strength to assume full independence within the Commonwealth.

The federal legislature will consist of Her Majesty the Queen and two chambers—a senate and a house of representatives. The senate will consist of nineteen members who will be appointed by the Governor-General for five years. There will be two senators representing each territory, except Montserrat, which will have one The house of representatives will consist of 45 members, of whom 5 will be elected in Barbados, 17 in Jamaica, 10 in Trinidad and Tobago, one in Montserrat, and 2 in each of the other territories. These will be elected by adult suffrage. No member of either federal house will be allowed to serve in the legislative or executive council of any of the territories.

The executive authority of the federation will be exercised by a council of state, which will be the principal instrument of policy for the federation and will advise the Governor-General in the exercise of his functions. The council will consist of a prime minister elected by the house of representatives and subsequently appointed by the Governor-General, and ten other ministers. These ministers will be chosen by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the prime minister, and not less than three are to be members of the senate. The Governor-General may also nominate three persons holding office in the public service in the federation to have the right to attend the meetings of the council and to take part in discussions. So far as is practicable the Governor-General will attend and preside at meetings of the council of state.

A federal supreme court will be established, having jurisdiction in proceedings concerning the federation as a whole or involving more than one territory. It will also be the final court of appeal, there being no right of appeal to the Privy Council. There will be a chief justice with three or more federal justices appointed by the Governor-General in consultation with the prime minister.

# Financial Aid from the United Kingdom

Since 1946 the United Kingdom Government has provided The West Indies with grants in aid of administration and grants for special purposes, such as hurricane relief, amounting in all to nearly £8.5 million. In addition, assistance already made available or promised to The West Indies under the United Kingdom Colonial Development and Welfare Acts in the period 1946-60 amounts to some £37.5 million, of which it is estimated that some £14 million was still available in April 1957 for issue up to March 1960. Furthermore, facilities have been available to enable colonial governments to raise loans on the London market, and the Caribbean colonies have already raised some £25,000,000 since the Second World War. There has also been substantial United Kingdom investment in the private sector of British Caribbean economies.

Apart from these measures of direct financial assistance, the United Kingdom Government has adopted measures such as the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement and the price support schemes based on substantial United Kingdom guarantees for banana and citrus industries. These measures are taken to assist the region by insuring continuing stability in the marketing of these products.

The West Indies will continue to share in such financial assistance towards development and welfare as the United Kingdom Government may be able to make available to colonial territories.

#### Trade with The West Indies

Trade relations between Canada and The West Indies have existed for more than two hundred years. Trade was founded upon Canadian exports of fish, flour and other foodstuffs, and West Indies exports of sugar, rum, molasses, spices, and tropical fruits. At the turn of the 19th Century the British West Indies lost their market for sugar in the United States and became interested in the possibility of selling their sugar in Canada. This interest, plus the desire for Empire solidarity within the Imperial Preferential Tariff system, paved the way for the first Canada-West Indies Trade Agreement of 1912. Canada was granted preferential rates of duty on four-fifths of the general tariff on specified goods, and certain British West Indian products, notably sugar, were granted corresponding preferential tariff treatment in Canada. In 1920 this Agreement was replaced by a broader one under which preferences applied to most dutiable articles on both sides. Canada also undertook to provide specified shipping services to the area.

A third and more extensive Trade Agreement was signed on July 6, 1925 and came into operation on April 30, 1927. This Agreement, which has continued in force ever since, extended the scope of preference still further with special provisions referring to products and areas. This Agreement has undoubtedly encouraged the growth of trade.

A number of Canadian firms have already important interests in The West Indies. A new element in trade is the export of bauxite or alumina to Canada which has been of the greatest benefit to the economy of Jamaica, where a Canadian firm has established a large bauxite processing plant.

The tourist trade is also increasing, and there is a steady flow of Canadian visitors to the islands each year. In 1956, for example, an estimated 7,000 Canadians visited The West Indies. This tourist traffic is due in part to direct air and sea communications, and in part to improved facilities. The population of university students from the British West Indies in Canada has also increased, and nearly one thousand students from The West Indies are enrolled each year at Canadian universities.

The establishment of a customs union for the colonies in the federation would in due course require the drawing up of a new Canada-West Indies trade agreement. A Commission of Trade and Tariffs was formed to study the fiscal, economic and technical problems involved in the creation of a customs union, bearing in mind the possible accession to the federation of British Guinea and British Honduras. The Commission is to report its findings not later than two years after the establishment of the federal government.

#### Canadian Aid to The West Indies

Meetings have taken place between Canadian officials and federal officials from The West Indies as to ways in which Canada could be of assistance to this new country. Although a number of decisions as to the amount and kind of aid which it would be appropriate and useful for Canada to offer to The West Indies have yet to be made, one point has emerged very clearly, and that is that in this early stage of federation expert personnel from outside the area are urgently required. These views have been accepted, and on January 27, a measure to supply Canadian technical experts was approved by the Federal Government. On February 2 Mr. Eric Gold, housing expert from Canada,

arrived in Trinidad to give planning advice and administrative direction to The West Indies on housing. He is the first of a number of technical experts that Canada will be sending. Others who have been recruited, or are expected to be shortly, are advisers on statistics, on forestry, on fisheries, and on technical education. They will also train West Indian personnel to take over responsibility as soon as possible.

A long-term programme for economic assistance to The West Indies is also being worked out and, on March 10, Prime Minister Diefenbaker sent the following message to Lord Hailes, the Governor-General of The West Indies, and the Advisory Council:

"Following discussions between representatives of The West Indies and of the Canadian Government, my colleagues and I have had an opportunity to consider the needs of The West Indies for assistance in carrying out the economic development plans of the federation and how Canada could help most effectively. A few weeks ago interim arrangements were made to provide The West Indies with the services of some Canadian experts. We now have had an opportunity to consider further the Canadian aid programme for The West Indies. We recognize that an interisland shipping service, to move goods and people between the various islands, is one of the most acute needs of your new federation. This is a need which Canada is able and willing to meet and I am happy to be able to inform you that the Government has decided to recommend to Parliament that it authorize the Government to provide The West Indies with a ship to be used in your inter-island Service.

"Over the next few months there will be opportunities for consideration to be given to the design and other matters respecting this vessel. Further discussion regarding capital aid and technical assistance from Canada could best take place, I suggest, at the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference, to be held in Montreal in September.

"With this message I send my warm personal greetings to you and the Advisory Council and I assure you that the emergence of a new Commonwealth nation in the Western Hemisphere has the warm sympathy and the support of the people of Canada. We are looking forward to increasing and strengthening the traditional ties between the Canadian people and the people of the West Indies."

#### The West Indies' Aims

The purposes of West Indian leaders in setting up the federation were most eloquently outlined by The Honourable Norman Manley, Chief Minister of Jamaica, when he spoke at the first session of the Mount Allison University Summer Institute on "Canada and the West Indies Federation" which was held at the University College of The West Indies in Jamaica, August 2-4, 1957. Mr. Manley said:

"But what do we really aim to achieve? Many things. To begin with, I think we are all satisfied that federation is the greatest and for many of the small territories the only goal to national independence and freedom. The only hope of achieving dominion status for most of the islands is through federation, and many of us believe that the ambition

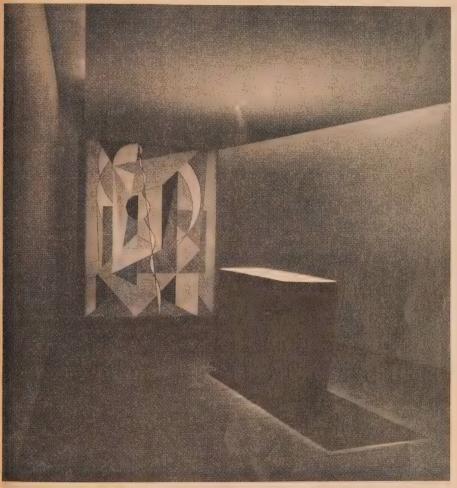
to become members of the Commonwealth of Nations is a great and worthy ambition.

"Many of us believe that the Commonwealth of Nations is one of the powerful political and economic forces for good in the world today. Some of us believe it would be tragic if it were to break down by differences and hope that now that it enlarges itself and that the membership grows and the basic concept of necessity changes—for it is changing—that it will survive the stresses and strains of its own growth and its own changes and evolve into a worthy force of peoples united by this strange—I might almost say this spiritual bond, notwithstanding the differences of race, of history, of outlook, of origin which are to be found in all the members that make up the Commonwealth.

"And it will be a great thing for our people when The West Indies becomes a Dominion—great for us, great for the people of Africa, of particular significance to the hundreds of thousands of Negroes that live in the United States of America who take a tremendous interest in the possibilities of the West Indies evolving a federation of their own and who know only too well that the status of minority groups in any country is greatly enhanced by the progress and development of their own blood brothers wherever it takes place in the world. That is why for them it is a matter sometimes of more moment than it is for our own unthinking citizens in Jamaica.

"And then again we aim, hard as the task is, to attempt to create civilized, modern conditions for our people. We have to break out of the limitations of the old colonial economy. We have to modernize our economy. We have to learn new methods in this world of industry. We have to so build upon the larger opportunity of our unity that we can create a society that can provide for its people the basic elements of a decent life."

# Canada and the United Nations



UNITED NATIONS MEDITATION ROOM

A fresco painting by the Swedish artist Bo Beskow is part of the continuing programme of redecoration of the Meditation Room at United Nations Headquarters in New York.

THE ISSUE before the 12th session of the General Assembly which overshadowed in importance all others was undoubtedly that of disarmament. This session also had before it a complaint about threats to the security of Syria and to international peace, (1) the questions of Cyprus, Algeria, (2) West Irian (West New Guinea), economic development of under-developed countries (3) and refugees, (3) matters in the economic, social and cultural fields and questions relating to dependent peoples.

<sup>(1)</sup> See article in the Bulletin of November 1957.(2) See article in the Bulletin of January 1958.

<sup>(3)</sup> See articles in the Bulletin of February 1958.

The question of disarmament was debated at length in the First (Political and Security) Committee and in plenary where a resolution was adopted which urged that an agreement be reached to provide *inter alia* for the suspension of nuclear weapons tests with effective international control; the cessation of the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes under effective control; the transfer under international supervision of stocks of fissionable material to non-weapon uses; the reduction of armed forces and armaments through adequate, safeguarded arrangements; the progressive establishment of ground and air inspection; and the study of an inspection system to ensure that the sending of objects through outer space should be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes. This was the 24-power resolution of which Canada was a co-sponsor and which largely embodied the proposals made by the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Canada during the Disarmament Sub-Committee talks in London last summer. It was approved by 56 nations in favour, 9 against (the Soviet bloc), and 15 abstentions.

A resolution to enlarge the membership of the Disarmament Commission from eleven to twenty-five members was approved by 60 nations, only the Soviet bloc voting against it. Canada played an active role in the negotiations leading up to this resolution as it had on the 24-power resolution. The Canadian position was stated to be that we did not consider that the disarmament proposals with which we were associated were "the only means by which at least some progress can be made towards disarmament" and that "we do not believe that a matter of some alteration in the United Nations disarmament bodies need inevitably be allowed to stand in the way of at least the opportunity for further negotiation." Canada did, however, oppose the Soviet resolution for an 82-member commission which was supported only by the Soviet bloc, because in common with other members of the United Nations it was thought it would serve no constructive end. The other resolution which Canada supported was that on collective action to inform and enlighten the peoples of the world as to the dangers of the armaments race and particularly as to the destructive effects of modern weapons. The Assembly discussion established that there was a wide measure of support for resuming negotiations on the basis of the proposals of the Western Powers but the end result of the debate was discouraging. The refusal of the Soviet Union to consider these proposals or even to participate in the expanded Disarmament Commission meant that the Assembly terminated its work in an atmosphere in which the prospects of an early resumption of negotiations did not appear promising.

# Cyprus

The debate on the Cyprus question took place from December 9 to 12 and was largely dominated by statements from the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey and included frequent charges and counter-charges concerning alleged atrocities. While Greece stood for the self-determination of the Cypriot people as a whole and contended that the question was clearly one between the United Kingdom and the people of Cyprus in which Turkey had only secondary interests, Turkey stressed that her interest was valid because Cyprus was an off-shore island of the Turkish mainland, and laid great emphasis on the rights of all peoples of the island. The United Kingdom considered that the resolution unanimously adopted by the Assembly on February 26, 1957 still applied. This resolution expressed the hope that negotiations would be

undertaken with a view to finding a peaceful, democratic and just solution in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

Egypt and Syria underlined that British occupation of the island threatened the security of the Arab states while the Soviet bloc laid emphasis on the role of Cyprus as a NATO base for missiles and atomic weapons. Latin-American speakers strongly supported the principle of self-determination. Most of the Asian countries however, while supporting this principle, generally expressed their trust in the ability of the United Kingdom to negotiate a successful compromise through peaceful and democratic means. The United States stressed that the best solution could be reached through the use of quiet diplomatic channels by the parties concerned.

Greece introduced a draft resolution expressing the Assembly's concern that no progress had been made towards a solution and the wish that the people of Cyprus would be given the opportunity to determine their own future by their right to the principle of self-determination. Canada, Chile, Denmark and Norway jointly submitted amendments to the Greek resolution to reaffirm the resolution adopted at the previous session and to express the Assembly's hope "that further negotiations and discussions between those concerned be promptly undertaken with a view to finding a peaceful, democratic and just solution in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations". In explaining the four-power amendments the Canadian Representative stated that as representatives of all points of view had referred to last year's resolution as one laying down a proper direction for progress in the dispute it was thought that this common ground should be re-emphasized in this year's resolution. He also pointed out that the operative amendments expressed the desire for a solution in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter rather than specifically and uniquely with the right of self-determination. While not denying the relevance of the principle of self-determination, he pointed out that it was only by seeing all the principles of the Charter in their organic and inter-related context that a fully equitable, and, in the best sense, democratic solution could be found. He considered it would be appropriate for the resolution to be adopted by the Committee to point to the principles involved without prejudging the many aspects of this difficult question and to express our heartfelt wish that the parties most concerned would be able to give these principles some lasting and meaningful application.

Greece accepted the amendments to the preamble of the resolution but submitted a sub-amendment to the operative paragraph proposed by the four powers. This sub-amendment expressed the Assembly's earnest hope "that further negotiations and discussions will be undertaken in a spirit of cooperation with a view to having the right of self-determination applied in the case of the people of Cyprus".

The provision sponsored by Greece in its sub-amendment was adopted by a roll-call vote of 33 to 18, Canada voting against, with 27 abstentions. The Greek draft resolution as amended was then adopted as a whole by a roll-call vote of 33 to 20, Canada voting against, with 25 abstentions.

When the draft resolution thus recommended by the First Committee was voted on by the Assembly itself in plenary meeting on December 14, the vote was 31 in favour, 23 against (including Canada), with 24 abstentions.

The proposal thus failed to carry, as a two-thirds majority was required for the adoption of the resolution.

#### West New Guinea

The future status of West New Guinea, after sovereignty over The Netherlands East Indies was transferred to Indonesia, was not settled in the 1949 Round-Table Agreements. This dispute was discussed in the United Nations General Assembly for the fourth successive year at the twelfth session. At the ninth(1) and eleventh sessions, resolutions calling for renewed negotiations between The Netherlands and Indonesia failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in plenary session. The tenth session passed a mild resolution expressing the hope—which later proved to be vain—that the negotiations, then scheduled to be held in Geneva early in 1955, between Indonesia and The Netherlands, would be fruitful.

At the twelfth session, the West New Guinea item was inscribed on the agenda by a vote of 49 in favour, 21 against and 11 abstentions (including Canada). The Canadian Representative abstained because, although the Canadian Government recongized that the General Assembly could discuss the subject, there did not appear to be any likelihood that the Assembly could contribute to a solution in practice. In the First Committee, a 19-power resolution, requesting both parties to find a solution to this "political dispute", the assistance of the Secretary-General and a progress report at the thirteenth session, was tabled. During the debate, the Indonesian Representative warned that, if the Assembly refused to take any mediatory action, Indonesia might resort to other "actions short of war". The Netherlands and Australian Representatives emphasized the "ethnological and geographical affinity" of the New Guinea territories under their administration.

The resolution was approved in Committee on November 26 by a vote of 42 in favour, 28 against (including Canada) and 11 abstentions. On December 1, in plenary session, one additional negative vote was cast; thus the resolution failed to secure the requisite two-thirds majority. This adverse vote in the General Assembly was followed, in December, 1957, by anti-Dutch measures in Indonesia.

#### Other Matters

The Second (Economic and Financial) Committee and subsequently the plenary adopted resolutions either unanimously or without opposition that recommended for favourable consideration the establishment of a Special Projects Fund, (2) and an Economic Commission for Africa and dealt with matters pertaining to the expansion of international trade, the financing of programmes of technical assistance and economic development.

The Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee reviewed the work of UNICEF and in a resolution later adopted unanimously by plenary expressed the hope that governments, organizations and individuals would give increased support to the Fund. In other resolutions the Committee and plenary decided to continue for five years the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and requested him to intensify the UNREF programme to achieve permanent solutions for refugees. The Committee also

See External Affairs, January, 1955, page 20.
 See article in the Bulletin of February 1958.

continued its work on the Draft International Covenants of Human Rights and dealt with matters concerning the status of women and their participation in programmes of community development, the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, and freedom of information.

To the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee was assigned the agenda items concerning dependent peoples and trust territories. As a result of its deliberations, resolutions were adopted concerning the status of the territory of South West Africa, the obligations of the Union of South Africa towards that territory and a Good Offices Committee to discuss with South Africa the basis for an agreement on the international status of the territory. In order to enable it to reach a decision concerning the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland (under French Administration) at its thirteenth session, if the Governments of France and Togoland should ask for this, the Assembly adopted a resolution which requested the Administering Authority to report to the Trusteeship Council on elections and the convening of a new Togolese Legislative Assembly and on any wishes which it might express in this connection. On the invitation of the Togolese Government it also appointed a UN Commissioner to supervise and report to it on the elections. Resolutions were approved concerning economic conditions in and economic development of Trust and non-self-governing territories and the availability of scholarships for students from those territories. Other problems before the Committee were the attainment of self-government or independence of Trust Territories, the situation in the French and British Administered Cameroons and the question of the frontier between Italian Administered Somaliland and Ethiopia.

In this brief summary of the twelfth session mention must also be made of the work of the Fifth (Financial and Administrative) Committee and of the Sixth (Legal) Committee. The Fifth Committee has the responsibility of reviewing United Nations expenditures for the past year and the budget for the coming year, of investigating the financial implications of Assembly decisions and of examining the administration of the organization. By a resolution adopted unanimously the scale of assessments was determined for members contributions to the United Nations budget for 1958. Canada's contribution is 3.09 per cent of the total or \$1.60 million.

The Sixth Committee considered the report of the International Law Commission on the work of its ninth session, the question of deferring aggression, the draft Code of Offences against the Peace and Security of Mankind and international criminal jurisdiction. The Committee was also asked for an opinion on the majority required by the General Assembly on resolutions relating to matters referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter (Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories).

During the twelfth session members voluntarily pledged approximately \$30 million towards the financing of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance to Under-Developed Countries. Of this amount Canada has, subject to Parliamentary approval, pledged \$2,000,000 for 1958 in addition to its assessed contributions to the regular technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies. Canada has also announced that, subject to Parliamentary approval, it would contribute \$650,000 and a large quantity of dry skimmed milk to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), \$200,000 to the United Nations Refugee Fund, and \$500,000 and (Continued on Page 83)

# Canadian National Commission For UNESCO

# By E. L. Fowlie\*

Marking an important occasion in Canada's relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the first meeting of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO was held in Ottawa February 5 and 6, 1958.

The newly formed Commission for UNESCO was organized under the sponsorship of the Canada Council in accordance with the Canada Council Act and an Order-in-Council of June 1957. Its President is Dr. N. A. M. Mac-Kenzie, President of the University of British Columbia and a member of the Canada Council. The Vice-President, Dr. J. F. Leddy, is also a member of the Council and the Secretary, Mr. Eugène Bussière, is the Associate Director of the Council.



#### UNESCO NATIONAL COMMISSION

Delegates and observers attending the first meeting of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, held in Ottawa on February 5 and 6, 1958, gathered on the steps of the Parliament Building for a group photograph. In the first row from left to right are Mrs. Rex Eaton; Dr. O. E. Ault; Mr. E. Bussière, Secretary of the Commission; Mr. Brooke Claxton, Chairman of The Canada Council; Mrs. A. Paradis; Dr. N. A. M. MacKenzie, President of the Commission; Dr. J. F. Leddy, Vice-President; Dr. G. E. Hall, Senator Donald Cameron, and Mrs. W. D. Tucker.

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Fowlie is assistant to the Secretary, Canadian National Commission for UNESCO.

At the meeting the constitution of the Commission was adopted and reports of a recently formed committee on the UNESCO programme and budget were heard and discussed. A committee was established to explore the possibility of participating in UNESCO's major project on the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values; biennial general meetings of the Commission were decided upon with the first general meeting tentatively scheduled for early in 1959; and membership of the Executive Committee of the Commission was completed.

#### The Constitution

The Constitution as adopted by the meeting provides for a membership of twenty-six members, some on a permanent and some on a rotating basis. All members are representatives of organizations concerned with or active in the fields of education, science, cultural affairs and mass communications. Among the permanent members are representatives of the Canada Council, the Department of External Affairs, the Canadian Education Association, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the National Research Council and the Canadian Arts Council. The Constitution also provides for a system of rotating membership for those organizations which have co-operating status with the Commission. To qualify for such status, organizations must be national in scope, maintain objectives in harmony with those of UNESCO and be able to make a useful contribution to UNESCO's programme. Members chosen from this category are l'Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes, the National Council of Women, Jeunesses musicales du Canada and the United Nations Association.

Reporting for the various panels which studied the UNESCO programme and budget were Dr. E. Sheffield, of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, on education; Mr. Marcel Ouimet, of the CBC, on mass communications; Dr. Kaye Lamb, of the National Library, on cultural activities; Dr. J. D. Babbitt, of the National Research Council, on the natural sciences; Dr. John Robbins, of the Humanities Research Council, on the social sciences, and Mr. D. Bartlett, of the Technical Co-operation Service, on the exchange of persons, participation and technical assistance programme.

Because of the close relationship between the Department of External Affairs and the National Commission, the Department is represented both on the Commission permanent membership and its Executive. Mr. Marcel Cadieux, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, represents the Department on the Executive Committee. Other members of the Executive are Dr. L. W. Shaw, Deputy Minister of Education for Prince Edward Island, representing the Canadian Education Association; Mr. Guy Roberge, Commissioner of the National Film Board, and Mr. Harry C. Campbell, of the United Nations Association.

#### **Functions of Commission**

Mr. René Maheu, Permanent Representative of UNESCO to the United Nations in New York, in an address to the meeting, said that "there are three main functions which are expected to be performed by a National Commission ... the first and main task is that you are to advise your Government on the problems relating to participation in the work of UNESCO." Mr. Maheu said (Continued on Page 84)

# The Asian Village in the Twentieth Century

## By Nathan Keyfitz\*

During most of the past two years I was associated with the Colombo Plan Bureau, a small office in Ceylon whose job is the promotion and co-ordination of technical assistance, and I worked for the Colombo Plan Council for Technical Assistance. Technical assistance includes the training of Asians in Canada, Britain, Australia and New Zealand, and the sending of experts to Asia to advise the countries there on the many problems that come up as they struggle towards economic development. The Canadian contribution to this international work is administered from Ottawa on agreements made separately with the several receiving countries. I saw many examples of effective help by Canada as I travelled around Asia under the instructions of the Council.

Of course I saw many things in addition to what the Council sent me out to see, and it is about these that I shall talk to you this evening. My first observation is that life in Asia is in many ways different from life in Canada, and has endless variety and colour to the eyes of a Canadian visitor. For at least half of the year in most parts the skies are clear and blue, in many parts the earth is red-brown, the warmth and the fairly regular monsoon rains of half the year make a rich vegetation. Men and women wear clothing which is very different from ours—usually not tailored but rather consisting of several yards of bright cotton or silk draped around the person. The colours are brightest in places like Burma, where there is not too much crowding and people have the surplus land and the surplus energy to wear fine clothes and engage in rich ceremonies. More food must be grown if the increasing population is to maintain its old culture and secure the amenities of the modern world.

# People Work Together

By and large Asians live in villages. A typical village consists of a hundred families, living in a cluster of houses, and surrounded by their fields, which for the whole village may be the size of one Canadian farm. In most parts there is private ownership of the fields though traditions of common ownership are spoken of, and there is a much more intimate relation among the villagers in the provision of services than we would find among a group of Canadian farmers. People are more in the custom of working together, looking after one another's children, engaging in house-building bees.

In one of the villages of Java where I lived for a few days a man was building his house. There was no possibility of his getting a mortgage on the sort of terms which are available in this part of the world. He found a source of clay, and for about a year shaped bricks out of the clay, with the help of his family, and he stacked the bricks, and then he baked them. After he had enough bricks he bought some lumber, cut other lumber from public forests

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Keyfitz, Senior Research Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, kindly gave permission for this reproduction of a talk given by him on the CBC on February 25, 1958.

near his home, and shaped the main structural members of his future house. After he had thus arranged for his building materials he issued a call to his neighbours. Even the busiest took a few days off from work, which it was possible for them to do since it was the dry season of the year when there is not much to do in the fields. Other neighbours who had less of their own work to occupy them took a month off to help him. The setting in place of the main roof beam was the crucial element in the construction of the house, both architecturally and ceremonially—it corresponds to laying a cornerstone in Western countries. (When the President of Indonesia is called out to initiate a new hospital the ceremony consists of his setting the roof beam in place.) And in due course another house was added to the village with little or no payment for labour except a bowl of rice for each of the helpers, cooked by the wife of my peasant friend and served about noon each day.

And it is the same with the construction of village public works such as irrigation canals, roads, and community centres or schools. Taxes are collected which pay for the materials, but the villagers turn out to do the work. There may be a rough assessment of so many days for each villager, but generally there is no quibbling about the amount of work and everyone joins in on an activity from which they will all get benefit. The decisions to undertake the work are made in democratic fashion, for village democracy is widespread in Asia.

## Working The Land

Thus the Asian village is a warm friendly sort of place in which however tight the crowding on the land there are social devices to make room for everybody. If you own ten acres in a crowded place like Java you are a rather rich person, and accordingly you have responsibilities. You may be physically able to work that land yourself and to sell the rice which is surplus to the needs of your family. But if you are an Asian farmer you do not like to work alone. At the beginning of the rainy season, when the first showers have made the earth soft enough to be ploughed, four or five of your fellow villagers come over with their teams of bullocks. All of you go round and round the field together, and not only work the earth until it is good and soft and puddled through and through, but you get it level so that later when the rice is growing, and the water is dammed up to give the rice the moisture that it needs, it will be possible to have exactly the same depth of water in all parts of the field. After two or three days you go on to the fields of one of the other members of the plowing team, and then on to the next.

Meanwhile various poorer families have each taken over an acre or two of your ten acres. A cousin of yours for instance may have been doing the planting in one of your fields for the last fifteen years, and both you and he feel that he has a right of a certain kind to do that planting. His women folk get out in the early morning, and they transplant the bright green rice shoots from a nearby nursery which has been given water and loving care before the rains started, and set each shoot firmly in place. For this work and for keeping the field clear of weeds your cousin can take a certain fraction, say one-third, of the crop. After three or four or five months of careful weeding the rice is waist high and is ready to be harvested. You could get out with a scythe and harvest those acres yourself, as grain is harvested in Europe. But once again your social responsibility enters, this time bringing in a wider circle of people than ever. When you decide that the grain is ripe you declare that reaping will begin at dawn the next day, and the word goes around, and by six o'clock



INDONESIAN SCENE
Rice farming near Bandung, Indonesia

there may be as many as a hundred people, mostly women, cutting away at the rice. Though the tools are simple, the field may be reaped in two or three hours, and each of the reapers is entitled to take away a part, perhaps one-tenth, of the amount he has reaped.

After all this is over you set aside what your family will need until the next harvest and then you sell the remainder. Generally you do not take it to the market in a cart, but rather sell it at the door to bearers who carry it to the market, perhaps five miles away, and there make a profit which is sufficient that they can eat for a day or so. At the market it is usually not bought by the final consumer, but by some other small trader who takes it to a further market. The sight of the men and women who line the roads of Java with baskets of rice and other provisions on their heads strikes a stranger as soon as he takes his first ride through the countryside. When the stranger gets closer to village life he sees these people not as a picturesque frame for the road but as a part of the means by which food gets divided up so that everybody has a little to eat. The system as a whole performs the functions of our wage labour, income tax, old age pension, and family allowances; these are all embraced in village co-operation, share cropping, and petty trade.

# Changes Wanted

When you see this system of Asian production and trade from the outside, people look happy enough in it, but after you have talked to the people you see that they are restless and want some changes just as you would if you were embedded in this centuries-old matrix. They now have some idea of the way in which people live elsewhere. Even if they feel that their village is well and democratically run, they want better protection against the sickness that is

always so close. They want some relief from the back-breaking work of carrying sixty pounds of rice or corn five miles to market every day if that happens to be the way they earn their living in the village scheme of co-operation. They want their children to go to school so that they may be more productive and so that they may participate in the modern world. Those who are walking want a bicycle, those who already have a bicycle want a motor scooter. They all want to be part not only of a village, but of a nation, one which can be an effective force in a world of nations. They want to see a strong and dignified central government operating according to the democratic procedures which have been traditional in the village in one form or another, but which require modification if they are to be transferred to the national stage. This magnification of village democracy to a national scale is only going to be possible if production can be increased.

#### Canadian Aid Welcome

Essentially the process of development must depend on local effort, but outside help is welcome, and is being given along lines that will ultimately affect the life of millions of Asian villagers. Canada is contributing to the building of dams that will enable a second crop to be harvested each year on land that now produces only one, for water rather than land is often the limiting factor in Asian agricultural output. She is providing engineering services and electric generating and transmitting equipment so that pumps can bring up underground water and so that sawmills and oil extraction and textile plants can operate more effectively. She is carrying on aerial surveys so that agricultural, forest and mineral resources can be effectively exploited.

In these and many other forms Canadian aid is today appearing on the Asian landscape and is helping the villager to make a better life for himself by combining his ancient culture with some of what the twentieth century offers.

#### Canada and the United Nations

(Continued from page 77)

a quantity of Canadian flour valued at \$1,500,000 to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. Under the various programmes within the scope of the organizations and agencies financed by the contributions of member states hundreds of experts and advisers have worked in some 100 countries and territories on projects of, for example, technical assistance, disease control, nutrition, health, agriculture, education. In UNICEF alone it was hoped that 45 million children and nursing and pregnant mothers would be benefitted during 1957.

# APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. D. V. LePan posted from duty with the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects to Ottawa, effective February 3, 1958.
- Mr. H. B. Singleton posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective February 3, 1958.
- Mr. E. B. Rogers, Canadian Ambassador to Peru, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Turkey. Proceeded to Ankara February 8, 1958.
- Mr. G. L. Seens posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective February 8, 1958.
- Mr. A. R. Menzies appointed High Commissioner for Canada in Malaya. Proceeded to Kuala Lumpur February 11, 1958.
- Mr. R. G. (Nik) Cavell appointed to the Department of External Affairs as High Commissioner for Canada in Ceylon, effective January 31, 1958. Proceeded to Colombo February 12, 1958.
- Mr. J. J. Hurley, OBE, appointed High Commissioner for Canada in South Africa. Proceeded to Pretoria effective February 17, 1958.
- Mr. R. H. Tait retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service, effective February 28, 1958.

#### Canadian National Commission for UNESCO

(Continued from page 79)

that the second vital function of a National Commission would be to serve as an agency of liaison and information between the UNESCO Secretariat and the many voluntary and non-governmental organizations which are concerned with UNESCO's areas of activity.

Finally, as is stated in the Commission's Constitution, Mr. Maheu said that a third function is: "To promote an understanding of the general objectives of UNESCO on the part of the people of Canada and facilitate Canadian participation in UNESCO affairs . . .". Referring to this third function, the President stated: "Our job is not to promote UNESCO but to promote the objectives of UNESCO". Among these objectives are the encouragement of understanding among the nations of the world, the promotion of the free flow of ideas and the wide diffusion of culture.

Among those attending the opening ceremonies were the Prime Minister, Mr. John G. Diefenbaker, and Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs. Mr. Brooke Claxton, in his capacity as Chairman of the Canada Council, explained the relationship between the Council and the Commission and brought assurances of support and good wishes to the Commission.

Special guests attending the meeting included Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger and Mr. W. S. Dix, Vice-Presidents of United States National Commission, and an observer from the French National Commission.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs Ottawa, Canada

# International Conference on the Law of the Sea

In the small hours of Monday morning April 28, the International Conference on the Law of the Sea concluded its deliberations. The next evening, in a formal ceremony at Geneva's Palais des Nations, the Hon. George Drew signed on behalf of Canada the Final Act of the Conference, four new conventions relating to various aspects of maritime law and a protocol regarding the settlement of disputes arising from the application of certain articles of the conventions. This was the culmination of more than nine weeks' intensive activity during which representatives of 86 nations considered the 73-article Report of the International Law Commission.

Nearly thirty years earlier, 42 nations had met together at The Hague in an effort to reach agreement on the codification of the law of the sea. Failure to find a common meeting ground on the important question of the breadth of the territorial sea led to the breakdown of the Conference. At Geneva, this issue was once again the focal point of the Conference's deliberations. Although this question remained unsettled it did not prevent the Conference from reaching agreement on every other major issue dealt with in the International Law Commission's report.

The Conference adopted 75 articles and produced international conventions on the continental shelf; the territorial sea and contiguous zone; the high seas; and fishing and conservation of the living resources of the high seas. By any standard, the Conference can be judged to have been an outstanding success.

The Conference had been called by resolution of the General Assembly (Resolution 1105(XI)-February 21, 1957) in order to examine the law of the sea, taking account not only of the legal but also of the technical, biological, economic and political aspects of the problem. The Assembly recommended that the Conference use the report of the International Law Commission as its basic document but that, in addition, consideration be given to a special problem not included within the compass of the International Law Commission's report—the question of free access to the sea of landlocked countries.

The International Law Commission's recommendations had two different aspects. On the one hand they sought to codify international law in fields where there already was extensive practice, precedent and doctrine. In some cases this involved little more than a clear statement of what was generally recognized international law. In others it required an attempt to reconcile conflicting or differing interpretations or practices, or to state a definite position in the hope that agreement might be possible.

On the other hand, the recommendations were concerned in some cases with the progressive development of the law. This applied particularly to such matters as the continental shelf where there was as yet no body of existing and recognized practice. It also applied, however, to a number of fields in which the body of law was either incomplete or not fully applicable to the conditions of the mid-twentieth century. In much of the Commission's work,

of course, it was not possible to make a categorical distinction between codification and development.

As the date for the Conference drew near, it appeared to Canadian observers that two of the major problems would be:

- (a) how to reconcile the growing desire on the part of States which do not have well-developed fisheries to stake a claim in the fishery resources of the seas with the desire of States which have long engaged in fishing to protect their established interests in these fisheries; and
- (b) how to reconcile the conflict between fishing States which fish largely off their own shores and those which fish off foreign shores—a conflict that has arisen largely as a result of the tendency of coastal States to attempt to exclude foreign fishermen from adjacent high seas.

The proceedings and results of the Conference amply bore out the accuracy of this forecast.

The Conference comprised four stages. First, there was a one-week plenary session, with no general debate, which approved the agenda and the rules of procedure and elected a president, thirteen vice-presidents and committee chairmen. This group of officers comprised the Conference's General Committee to which broad questions relating to the work of more than one committee were referred from time to time. A Drafting Committee was also selected.

The following five committees, each with a chairman, vice-chairman and rapporteur, were set up:

Committee I — Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone (Articles 1-25 and 66)

Committee II — High Seas—General Regime (Articles 26-48 and 61-65)

Committee III—High Seas—Fishing (Articles 49-60)

Committee IV—Continental Shelf (Articles 67-73)

Committee V Landlocked Countries (not dealt with by International Law Commission)

All committees were committees of the whole on which each of the eighty-six states participating in the Conference was entitled to be represented.

The second and third stages of the Conference took place in committee. Each committee had a general debate lasting approximately two weeks during which each delegation expressed its views generally on the articles assigned to the committee and put forward specific proposals or amendments for subsequent consideration. The general debate was followed by detailed discussion and voting on the articles seriatim. It was during this stage, which lasted approximately six weeks, that the major work of the Conference was accomplished.

The final stage was a further plenary session of one full week (including day and evening sittings Saturday and Sunday) for the purpose of approving the texts of the articles as adopted by each committee, together with the committees' recommendations as to the nature, form and content of the conventions or other instruments that should result from the Conference.

Any sober assessment of events and of the forces at work during the Conference would seem to lead to the inescapable conclusion that the stalemate on the territorial sea question was inevitable. Canada played a major role in the discussions and negotiations on this matter and it was not for lack of

initiative or goodwill that the efforts of its delegations to achieve a satisfactory solution did not produce the desired results.

#### Canada's Main Contribution

Canada's main contribution at the Conference toward the development of a code of international law that would meet the requirements of nations today was a concept that came to be known as "the Canadian proposal". Basically, this concept was to the effect that there should be a coastal zone of twelve miles, in which a state would have the same rights with regard to fishing as it had in its territorial sea. Thus, under the final Canadian plan, a state would be allowed, in addition to a territorial sea of up to six miles, six further miles in which it would have control over fishing. As this proposal introduced an entirely new procedure for extending fishing rights, it affected profoundly the whole course of discussion from the time it was first put forward. In fact it became accepted, in one guise or another, as a feature of all the plans for a solution of the problems of the breadth of the territorial sea. Near the end of the Conference the concept was incorporated in a much revised form in the final United States proposal, which differed from the Canadian in that it recognized the right of states fishing over a certain length of time in areas outside the territorial sea (extending under this resolution up to six miles) but within the twelve-mile contiguous zone, to continue to do so in future.

By the end of the Conference it had become quite apparent that, without the concept of a contiguous fishing zone, there would have been no hope whatever of reaching agreement on territorial limits. As long as coastal rights with regard to fisheries were considered to be coterminus with the territorial sea, the conflict between states interested in such coastal rights and those interested in freedom of the seas was much too great to allow the possibility of agreement. Thus, the Canadian formula for a twelve-mile contiguous fishing zone was the only proposal on this matter to be approved in committee. However it failed in plenary session to obtain the two-thirds majority necessary for its adoption (it received 35 votes in favour, 30 against with 20 abstentions). Under these circumstances, the Conference decided, by a vote of 48 in favour, 2 against with 26 abstentions, to request the United Nations General Assembly, at its forthcoming session this fall, to study "the advisability of convening a second International Conference of Plenipotentiaries for further consideration of the questions left unsettled by the present Conference." While no agreement thus proved possible on the breadth of the territorial sea or on the characteristics of the fishing zone that should be established, it seems safe to assume that any solution ultimately arrived at will incorporate the Canadian concept of a fishing zone in some form.

# Significant Results

Turning to other questions, the success of the Conference's work is evident in the results of every committee. From the standpoint of Canadian interest, significant results were achieved in a number of areas.

The Continental Shelf—A separate convention has emerged from the Conference covering this new and previously unregulated concept in international law. The convention defines the extent of the continental shelf and the nature of the coastal states rights over it. It was a Canadian proposal in Committee IV that led to the decision to adopt a separate instrument and in the plenary session

a further Canadian proposal resulted in the prohibition against reservations to the three most important substantive articles.

While the more contentious questions of the territorial sea and of fishing attracted more attention and occupied more of the time of the Conference, the Canadian Delegation was well aware of the fact that, in the long term, the achievement of a satisfactory regime for the continental shelf might be of considerably greater importance to Canada. While the final articles did not incorporate all the features that Canada had sought, damaging proposals were avoided and the result is highly satisfactory on the whole.

High Seas Fishing—Three points, in particular, should be mentioned. New articles provide that when conservation measures have been adopted in the high seas by any coastal state, these measures must be observed by fishermen from other countries. Another article provides that in emergency situations a coastal state may unilaterally enact necessary conservation measures on the high seas. Finally, the "abstention principle" was prominently mentioned during the debates and a declaration recommending its application received the support of the majority of nations but failed to gain the required two-thirds in plenary. Although defeated, the attention given to this principle has enhanced its status very considerably. Briefly, the abstention principle provides that if in any area of the high seas the maximum sustainable yield of any particular stock of fish is being obtained as a result of conservation and regulation by the states engaged in the fishery, then other states not including the coastal state would agree to abstain from that particular fishery.

Straight Baselines and Bays—As a starting point for measuring the breadth of the territorial sea, the principle of drawing straight baselines from headland to headland in the case of deeply indented coastlines rather than following the sinuosities of the coast was recognized in the decision of the International Court of Justice in the Anglo-Norwegian Fisheries Case. The adoption of an article which gives universal recognition to this principle is of particular interest to Canada since a great deal of its coastline would seem to qualify for the application of the straight baseline system. The principle has gained acceptance and will apply to any future agreement on either the territorial sea or contiguous zones for fishing or other purposes.

# Wide Measure of Agreement

The most striking feature of the Conference, as already observed, was the wide measure of agreement achieved on every important question except the measurement of the territorial sea. Another significant trend that was very much in evidence was the tendency for states to drift away from traditional political alignments or power groupings. The basic conflict appeared to be between those states having long-established coastal fishing interests and those which wished to see the widest measure of freedom to secure or maintain fishing rights in distant waters. As a result, some rather unusual alignments developed from time to time.

Of special importance to the outcome of the Conference was the position taken by the newer states. In this connection, Canada's role was not so much that of an important middle power, or even a senior member of the Commonwealth, as it was that of a coastal state seeking to obtain recognition of fishing rights in off-shore waters which would exclude so-called traditional rights of (Continued on Page 111)

# **Canada and the United Nations**

# U.S.S.R. Complaint Considered

Mr. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., charged in a press conference at Moscow April 18 that the United States was endangering peace by despatching military aircraft, carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs, in the direction of the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. This charge was followed the same day by a request by the Soviet Representative in New York for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the question of "Urgent measures to put an end to flights by United States military aircraft armed with atomic and hydrogen bombs in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union".

## The Soviet Complaint

The Security Council met on April 21 to consider the Soviet complaint. The United States Representative, Mr. Cabot Lodge, was in the chair as President of the Security Council for the month of April. The Representative of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Sobolev, opened the debate repeating in detail the charges which had been made by Mr. Gromyko at his press conference in Moscow. He said that for some time aircraft of the United States Air Force had been flown repeatedly through the Arctic regions in the direction of the territory of the U.S.S.R. with atomic and hydrogen bombs on board. He said that reports indicated that these flights were made whenever unidentified objects appeared on the radar screens of the United States Distant Early Warning system, but that on closer examination it had always proved to be the case that the blips on the radar screens were caused by electronic interference or by a shower of meteorites and not by guided missiles, ballistic rockets or similar objects. The aircraft therefore always returned to base.

What would happen, Mr. Sobolev asked, if American servicemen were unable to ascertain the truth in time and continued in their flight towards the borders of the Soviet Union? The Soviet Union would of course find it necessary to take immediate measures to meet the impending threat. Furthermore, if the Soviet Air Force were to act in the same way as the United States Air Force was doing, it too might take off in the direction of the United States, and United States bases elsewhere, to investigate unidentified objects which appeared on its radar screens. In such circumstances the air forces of the two countries might meet over the icy wastes of the Arctic and each come to the conclusion that an attack by the enemy was taking place and then the world would find itself caught in the "hurricane of atomic war". The Soviet Representative said that mankind had several times been "within a hair's breadth of catastrophe" and that by its "provocative action" the United States was holding the world "on the brink of war". Atomic war could, he said, break out at any moment" as the result of some slight error in judgment by an American technician, some lapse of attention, some miscalculation or some incorrect inference on the part of some American officer".

Mr. Sobolev elaborated on this thesis at some length, alluding to a feeling of "alarm and outrage" which he alleged was gripping European peoples who, he said, considered these acts of the American Air Force as "manifestations of progressive insanity". He said that the flights of American bombers were

bringing the "dreadful threat of atomic war" on the allies of the United States, referring particularly to the NATO allies, and that any hope that the "holocaust of atomic warfare" might by-pass the North American Continent was "a snare and a delusion". Maintaining that the Soviet people could not fail to experience "a profound feeling of indignation at these actions of the enemies of peace", he argued that these actions were inconsistent with the obligations of membership in the United Nations and in particular were inconsistent with a resolution adopted unanimously by the General Assembly at its last session, which called upon member states to exert every effort to strengthen international peace and develop friendly relations and co-operation. The Representative of the Soviet Union concluded his remarks by presenting a draft resolution by which the Security Council would call upon the United States "... to refrain from sending its military aircraft carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs in the direction of the frontiers of other States for the purpose of threatening their security or staging military demonstrations".

## The United States Reply

In his reply to the Soviet statement the United States Representative, Mr. Cabot Lodge, said that his government had done nothing that was in any way dangerous to peace and which was not demanded by the inescapable requirements of legitimate self-defence. He said that his government had tried many times without success to discover any willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to take positive steps towards easing tension and freeing resources for peaceful purposes. He recalled that in recent months the Soviet Union, turning its back on the United Nations, on the Disarmament Commission, on the Security Council, on the decision of the General Assembly, on the normal uses of diplomacy, on all the machinery available for consultation and negotiation, had demanded that there be a meeting of heads of governments for the professed purpose of easing tension and solving problems that divided them. He found it perplexing and regrettable that the Soviet Union, at a moment its leaders were proclaiming their desire for a meeting of Heads of Governments, should have made these charges of an alleged United States threat to peace.

It was against this background that Mr. Lodge asked the Council to view the issue presented by the Soviet complaint. He said that until fears of surprise attack were banished by collective international agreement the United States was compelled to take all steps necessary to protect itself from being overwhelmed. When a totalitarian state had the capacity to strike without warning it was mandatory for the United States to maintain its Strategic Air Command in a state of efficiency through constant practice, Mr. Lodge said, but all of its training exercises were designed to maintain the flights within areas which could not be considered provocative to the Soviet Union. Aircraft of the Strategic Air Command were launched only in a carefully planned and controlled way and procedures were followed which ensured that they could not pass beyond proper bounds, which were far from the Soviet Union or its satellites, without specific orders given personally by the President of the United States. These activities could not possibly be the accidental cause of war.

He went on to recall that the system of defence of the United States was erected at tremendous expense only, because of the aggressive policies of the

Soviet Union. The United States had no aggressive intentions against any country. Mr. Lodge then went on to list the various proposals which had been made by the United States which were designed to guard against surprise attack: the proposal made at Geneva in 1955 by President Eisenhower that the Soviet Union should agree with the United States to mutual aerial inspection of each other's territory; the proposal for an inspection system covering all the continental United States, Alaska, Canada and the Soviet Union; and a further alternative that the open sky system should start in the Arctic region. The last mentioned proposal concerning the Arctic, which one might have thought the Soviet Union would welcome, was treated with scorn. Other proposals had also been rejected by the Soviet Union—a proposal for technical disarmament studies, the five-point disarmament plan which was overwhelmingly endorsed by the twelfth session of the General Assembly, suggestions for a meeting of the Disarmament Commission which was enlarged for the express purpose of meeting the Soviet Union's views, and many others. He concluded by saying that the presentation of the charges against the United States in the Security Council was not the action of some one who wanted a Summit Conference to succeed or of someone who wanted peace.

#### The Canadian Position

The Canadian Representative, Mr. Charles Ritchie, following Mr. Lodge, opened his remarks by questioning the nature of the Soviet complaint. He considered that insufficient reason had been given for calling the Security Council into urgent session on the pretext that there was a "threat to the cause of peace", and that the Soviet complaint was insubstantial and unfounded. Stating that, while the Security Council had a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, this did not mean that the Council should be used to foster unrest and suspicion in international affairs, Mr. Ritchie went on:

In suggesting that the U.S.R.R. charges are unworthy of serious Council discussion, I should like to make some comment on the situation which the U.S.S.R. Government seeks to exploit, and that is the worldwide anxiety about the possibility of an outbreak of nuclear warfare. Weapons other than the bombers, which the U.S.S.R. statement complains about, are already within the grasp of the principal powers. The U.S.S.R. Government has demonstrated in a spectacular way its achievements in the field of ballistic missiles. These advances in science, with the terrible potential of war which they imply, are producing a profound anxiety in the minds of men. They have produced too an inherent danger of surprise attack which only adds to the apprehension abroad. It is this situation, this danger of surprise attack, which the nations of the world, and particularly the nuclear powers, should be discussing seriously, and not baseless and unwarranted charges raised for purposes we have reason to question.

Referring to the fact that positive proposals to deal with the fear of surprise attack—proposals with which Canada was closely associated—had been presented to the U.S.S.R. in some detail and had been dismissed with ridicule, Mr. Ritchie said:

If the allegations now put forward by the U.S.S.R. Government were at all serious, we should have expected them to be related to measures designed to reduce the danger of surprise attack. We could have hoped that there would be some U.S.S.R. response to the earlier proposals leading to new negotiations for a practical system of safeguards against surprise attack. Instead we have been treated to a recitation of angry allegations which really have very little to do either with reducing international tension or meeting the grave problems implicit in the development of nuclear arms.

Mr. Ritchie then went on to say that in the present international situation it had been necessary for Canada and its allies to maintain their defences. Referring to the fact that Canada was associated with its allies and in particular on this continent with the United States in certain defence arrangements which it considered essential and which it intended to continue in whatever form was required, Mr. Ritchie said that the Canadian Government must, however, "categorically deny that there is any aggressive or provocative intent in any of the defence efforts with which the Canadian Government is associated". He referred to a letter which the Prime Minister had received from the Head of the Soviet Government in January of this year, in connection with a proposal for a high-level meeting, which had contained suggestions of aggressive intent which the Canadian Government regarded as most objectionable. In his letter to the Prime Minister, the Head of the Soviet Government had referred to the existence of United States bases on Canadian soil. In his statement to the Council Mr. Ritchie quoted from the Prime Minister's reply to that letter in which he had said that Canada had every right to take measures of self-defence and that any actions it took in this regard resulted from a conviction that such measures were necessary. The Prime Minister had reminded the Head of the Soviet Government that he had last summer given assurance that in the context of a disarmament agreement the Canadian Government would be willing to open all or part of Canada to aerial and ground inspection on a basis of reciprocity and suggested that this was a type of proposal which should prove attractive to both the U.S.S.R. and Canada since they were neighbours across the Arctic. Stating that the situation had not changed since the Prime Minister had given these assurances, Mr. Ritchie continued:

As an Arctic neighbour of the U.S.S.R. Canada is still ready to cooperate in measures of inspection and control involving Canadian territory as a part of a mutually satisfactory disarmament agreement. It is regrettable that the U.S.S.R. dismissed proposals involving the Arctic region to guard against surprise attack as being of no interest to the U.S.S.R. If they could see no reason to consider these proposals, which were put forward in a serious desire to allay any concern which the U.S.S.R. might legitimately feel, and which could have helped to allay our own concern, what justification can there now be for the present charge? It is open to the U.S.S.R. to bring about an improvement in the international situation towards which it professes to be working by concerning itself with cooperation in the Arctic region on a system of control and inspection.

Recognizing that there were grave difficulties to be overcome in establishing such a system Mr. Ritchie said that it was for the purpose of establishing the kind and degree of inspection that would be necessary that the Western members of the sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission had proposed the creation of technical committees to study the details of an inspection scheme, but the U.S.S.R. Government had refused to participate in such a study. Mr. Ritchie concluded his remarks in the following words:

It is all the more strange that the U.S.S.R. Government should take this action before the Council today at a time when it asserts that it is anxious to arrange a summit meeting and in a period when diplomatic efforts are being made for the purpose of examining the possibilities that lie in this direction. Ever since the end of the twelfth session of the General Assembly the Western Powers have been seeking to persuade the U.S.S.R. to resume disarmament negotiations within the framework of the United Nations. We therefore ask the U.S.S.R. bloc once more to work toward adoption of methods of international inspection and control which would make broad agreement on disarmament measures possible and to work through the United Nations towards the attainment of conditions of trust and understanding which would greatly reduce the need of defence measures in all countries.

## The Position of Other Delegations

Following the statements of the U.S.S.R., the United States and Canada, all of the other members of the Council who spoke—China, France, United Kingdom, Japan, Iraq, Colombia and Panama—made short statements opposing the Soviet draft resolution. The Representative of Sweden did not intervene in the debate. The majority of the members of the Council expressed support for the Western proposals for dealing with the fear of surprise attack as well as recognition of the necessity of maintaining vigilance against surprise attack and of being prepared to meet it if it came. They also regretted the failure of the Soviet Union to respond to various disarmament proposals which had been put forward by the West or to participate in renewed disarmament discussions on the basis of a resolution which had been adopted by the General Assembly at its last session. Some representatives accused the Soviet Union of engaging in a propaganda exercise and questioned in particular the timing of the Soviet complaint. The Representative of the United Kingdom said "It seems, to say the least, strange that the Soviet Union should make this attack upon the United States at the United Nations just when the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States are trying to arrange talks with Mr. Gromyko in Moscow about a meeting of Heads of Governments."

At the conclusion of the debate the Chairman proposed that the Soviet draft resolution be put to the vote. However, the Soviet Representative proposed an adjournment until the following afternoon and, when this was rejected by the Council, an adjournment until the following morning. When this too was rejected, after some procedural discussion, the Soviet Representative replied to the statements made by the members with a repetition of the charges he had made earlier, drawing on newspaper reports and United States Government sources for support for his claim that the Soviet complaint was well-founded. Protesting against the Council's decision not to adjourn until the next day to discuss the matter further the Representative of the U.S.S.R. withdrew his draft resolution and the meeting adjourned.

Subsequently, at the request of the United States, the Security Council reconvened on April 29 to consider the establishment of an international inspection system in the Arctic Zone. An account of the Security Council's consideration of this proposal at meetings held on April 29 and May 2 will appear in the next issue of "External Affairs".

#### Status of Women

The twelfth annual session of the Commission on the Status of Women was held in Geneva from March 17 to April 3, 1958. Canada was participating in the work of the Commission for the first time and was represented by Mrs. Harry Quart, M.B.E., of Quebec City. Miss Marion Royce, Director of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labour, and Mr. Neill Currie, Department of External Affairs, accompanied Mrs. Quart to Geneva as advisers.

The function of the Commission, which is a subsidiary organ of the Economic and Social Council, is to prepare studies and make recommendations on all aspects of women's status in the political, economic, social, and educational fields. Member states are elected to the Commission for three-year terms and Canada will therefore be represented on the Commission until the end of 1960. Other newly elected countries which were serving on the Commission this year for the first time were Japan and Czechoslovakia. At present the other members of the 18-member body are Argentina, Belgium, China, Cuba, Dominican Republic, France, Israel, Mexico, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela. In accordance with established custom all of the representatives on the Commission at present are women, including some of the world's outstanding authorities on the status of women and their activities.

After electing officers—Begum Anwar Ahmed, of Pakistan, as Chairman, Miss Uldarica Manas, of Cuba, and Mrs. Zofia Dembinska, of Poland, as first and second Vice-Chairmen respectively and Mrs. Mina Ben-Zvi, of Israel, as Rapporteur—the Commission immediately began consideration of its heavy agenda. The principal subjects considered during the three weeks of discussion were: political rights of women; access of women to education; the status of women in private law; economic opportunities for women; the nationality of married women; equal pay for equal work; technical assistance and advisory services programmes in relation to the status of women; and the question of the frequency of the sessions of the Commission.

# Political Rights of Women

The Commission adopted a resolution designed to elicit from governments information about women's access to, and exercise of, public services and functions in their respective countries. The Commission decided to bring its study of these matters up to date in connection with its concern with the fact that while women had the right to vote and to be elected to legislative bodies in some 70 countries, only 41 countries had signed and only 29 had ratified or acceded to the United Nations Convention on the Political Rights of Women since it was opened for signature in March 1953. That Convention, which was drafted by the Commission at an earlier stage, contains three principal provisions, one dealing with the right of women to vote, another with their right to be elected to legislative bodies, and the other with the right to hold public office and exercise public functions. Canada acceded to the Convention in January 1957.

#### Status of Women in Private Law

The discussion of the item entitled "Status of Women in Private Law" revolved mainly on the questions of minimum age for marriage, registration of marriage and free consent to marriage. The Commission adopted a resolution inviting the Secretary-General to prepare, for the Commission's consideration

at its session in 1960, a draft convention prescribing a minimum age for marriage, preferably of not less than 16 years, the requirement of free consent of both parties to the marriage and compulsory registration of marriages. Although all representatives were agreed that young girls should be protected against too early marriages and against marriages without their consent, there was considerable divergence of opinion in the Commission about the method of approach. The majority thought that legislation, at both the international and the national level, would help to alter undesirable customs while others thought that hasty or premature action which would interfere with traditions and customs might expose young girls to even greater dangers, and therefore placed emphasis on education as the more efficacious approach at this stage. The Canadian Representative abstained from voting on the resolution largely because of the constitutional difficulties for Canada, where there is a wide variety of legislation on these questions among the several legislative jurisdictions.

During the consideration of this item the Commission also adopted a resolution asking the Economic and Social Council to request the World Health Organization to undertake an enquiry into the persistence of customs consisting in subjecting girls to ritual operations, and into the measures adopted or planned for putting a stop to such practices.

## **Economic Opportunities for Women**

The Commission considered the problems of working women, including working mothers, with family responsibilities. The background for its discussions consisted of reports by the Secretary-General, based on information presented by non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Council and by the International Labour Office. In her intervention in the debate on this subject, Mrs. Quart brought to the attention of the Commission a pamphlet entitled "Married Women Working for Pay in Eight Canadian Cities" which had been published recently by the Federal Department of Labour. The enquiry which had formed the basis of that report showed that most of the women interviewed were full time workers, that they felt that their work was for the benefit of their families and that their primary interest was in the home and family rather than a career. The enquiry had shown that the greatest problem for working women was the care of children. The majority tried to make arrangements to avoid removal of the child from the home, especially where young children were involved, but most of the mothers had children of school age and their principal concern was about what happened to the children between the time they arrived home from school and the time when the mother returned home from work.

Concluding its debate on this subject the Commission adopted a resolution which besides taking note of the information contained in the reports which had been submitted and thanking the various non-governmental organizations for their co-operation, drew attention to the assistance which the specialized agencies might be able to provide to member states in dealing with problems in this field.

The Commission also considered the question of the right of working women to rest and material security for old age and loss of capacity to work. The Commission heard a statement by the Representative of the International Labour Office who said that in addition to general legislation in which there

was a tendency to reduce the working day or week, a tendency from which women benefited, most countries had some special regulations applicable to women only. The Representative of the ILO stressed that there were two essential requirements for such regulations. First, they must be adapted to the actual and specific requirements of women workers and, second, they must enable the women to take their place in the labour market on an equal footing with men. Striking a balance between these two requirements constituted the basic problems in devising any regulations specifically concerned with women workers. Mrs. Quart endorsed this opinion and expressed agreement with the ILO Representative's remark that an excessive number of ill-directed measures would have harmful effects on women's chances of finding employment. Mrs. Quart added that although the need for regulations to safeguard the position of women workers was recognized, the trend in labour legislation in all provinces of Canada and in the federal field of jurisdiction was in the direction of laws that benefited all workers, men and women alike.

#### Retirement and Pension

In connection with the discussion of the reports by the Secretary-General and by the ILO on the age of retirement and the right to pension, Mrs. Quart gave the Commission an account of the results of a recent study made in Canada under the auspices of the Interdepartmental Committee on Older Workers. In its report, which was published under the title "Pension Plans and the Employment of Older Workers", the Canadian committee had recommended that as a general rule the normal retirement age for women should be the same as for men and that in other aspects of pension plans women should be



GENEVA MEETING

The opening session of the Commission on the Status of Women, held in the Economic and Social Council Chamber, Palais des Nations, Geneva, on March 17. treated in the same way as men. In this connection the Canadian Representative on the Commission co-sponsored, together with the Representatives of the Dominican Republic, France and Sweden, a draft resolution by which the Economic and Social Council would recommend "that all States Members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies facilitate, by all appropriate means, the equal treatment of men and women workers with respect to pension plans, and the implementation of the principle that the normal retirement age should be the same for men and women". This resolution was adopted by a vote of 10 in favour, 0 against, with 8 abstentions. The reasons for the abstentions were largely related to the existence in the countries concerned of legislation and practices which were at variance with the principles set out in the resolution.

## Nationality of Married Women

The discussion of nationality of married women consisted for the most part of expressions of hope that the Convention on this subject, which was opened for signature in February 1957, would soon come into force. At the time of the meeting of the Commission there had been five ratifications and several representatives expressed the hope that their respective countries would be the sixth to ratify and thus bring the Convention into force. Canada was one of the original signatories of the Convention and action with a view to early ratification is under consideration.

## Equal Pay for Equal Work

A draft pamphlet on equal pay for equal work which had been prepared by the Secretary-General in consultation with the International Labour Office was the main topic of discussion. The purpose of that pamphlet is to provide general information on the question for the use of interested individuals and organizations. Mrs. Quart made a detailed statement on the draft pamphlet suggesting that material be organized in such a way as to make a clear distinction between the problem of equal pay for men and women doing the same work in the same occupation and the wider question of lifting the low level of women's wages in general. She also suggested that the pamphlet include descriptions of positive attempts to eliminate differentials in the renumeration of men and women through both legislation and collective agreements. In this connection she tabled descriptions of two types of approach through collective bargaining that are proving effective in Canada.

The Commission did not adopt a resolution dealing with the substance of this subject but decided that it would be desirable for every member of the Commission to forward general comments on the draft pamphlet to the United Nations Secretariat and to the International Labour Office by the end of the current year, to assist the Secretariats concerned in preparing a further draft for the Commission's consideration at its next session.

# Technical Assistance and Advisory Services

The discussion of the item entitled "Technical Assistance and Advisory Services Programmes in Relation to the Status of Women" was concerned mainly with the organization of seminars on the status of women under the United Nations Programme of Advisory Services in the Field of Human Rights. One such regional seminar had been held in Bangkok, Thailand, in August 1957 on the subject "Civic Responsibilities and increased participation of Asian Women in public life". The Commission adopted unanimously a

resolution expressing the hope that it would be possible to organize a regional seminar on the same subject in either Africa or Latin America in 1959, that a regional seminar on the legal status of women in the family and on property rights of women be organized in Asia in 1960, that a regional seminar be held in 1961 in either Africa or Latin America depending upon where a seminar is held in 1959, and that a seminar be organized in Europe at a later date.

## Will Meet Annually

The Commission considered whether its meetings should be held annually or every two years. At a meeting of the Economic and Social Council last year there had been discussion of the possibility of establishing the principle that the Commission on the Status of Women, as well as the Commission on Human Rights, should in future hold their sessions every two years in line with the practice of some of the other functional commissions of the Economic and Social Council. No decision was taken in this connection and the Commissions concerned were asked to express their views. After lengthy and careful consideration the members of the Commission on the Status of Women adopted unanimously a resolution in which they expressed the belief that the work of the Commission could not at present be handled effectively in sessions less frequent than once a year and recommended to the Council that the Commission continue to meet annually.



#### DISTINGUISHED VISITOR

HRH Prince Bernhard, of The Netherlands, who visited Canada May 3-11, inspects an RCAF guard of honour following his arrival at Uplands Airport.

In Ottawa Prince Bernhard participated in the observance of the 15th anniversary of the Battle of the Atlantic, placing a floral remembrance at the National War Memorial to the memory of Canadians who fought and died in the Allied cause during the Second World War.

He received honorary degrees from the University of Montreal and the University of British Columbia, made a tour of St. Lawrence Seaway installations, presented wings to six student pilots of the Royal Netherlands Air Force in training at Gimli, Man., and was guest speaker at a luncheon given by the Canadian Club of Vancouver.

# **Tenth Anniversary of OEEC**

The Organization for European Cooperation (OEEC) celebrated its tenth anniversary in Paris April 25.

The conclusion of a decade of OEEC activity coincides with the coming into force of a revolutionary scheme of European economic co-operation among six OEEC countries, the European Economic Community (EEC), and with what may be the decisive phase of negotiations concerning the establishment of a broad European Free Trade Area, embracing the EEC. It may, therefore, be of particular interest at this time to review the nature and the achievements of OEEC in the ten years which have elapsed since the offer of Marshall aid brought it into being.

## Origins of OEEC: The Marshall Plan

The OEEC was conceived in 1947 in response to the generous and farsighted offer of the United States to provide assistance for a joint European economic recovery programme.

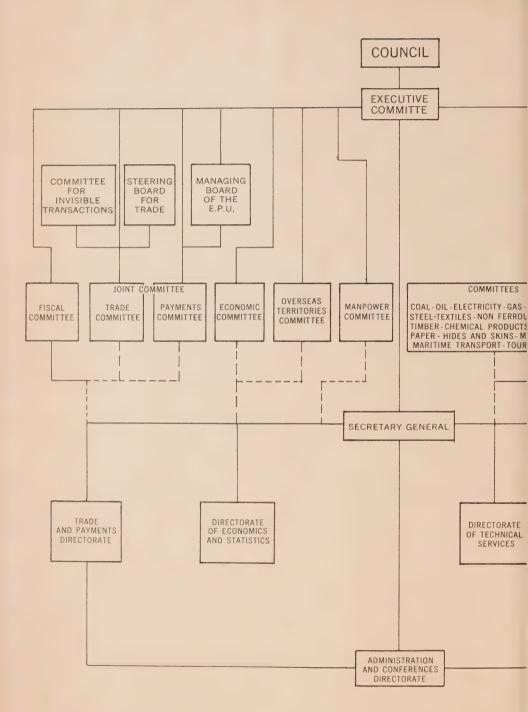
In the immediate post-war period, a new fabric of international co-operation had hopefully been constructed with a view to preserving peace. In the economic field the new spirit of co-operation, born not only of the war, but also of the painful memories of the great depression, found its expression in the establishment of a number of new international institutions, in particular the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. But these institutions were designed primarily for a world in which a measure of good order had been restored. They were not constructed to meet the problem of survival which still confronted Europe in 1947.

Europe in that year was facing a grave crisis. The generous economic aid which had been provided by the United States and Canada was exhausted and dollars were lacking to buy urgently required food and machinery. The drain on European gold and dollar reserves was continuing at the rate of 7 billion dollars per annum.

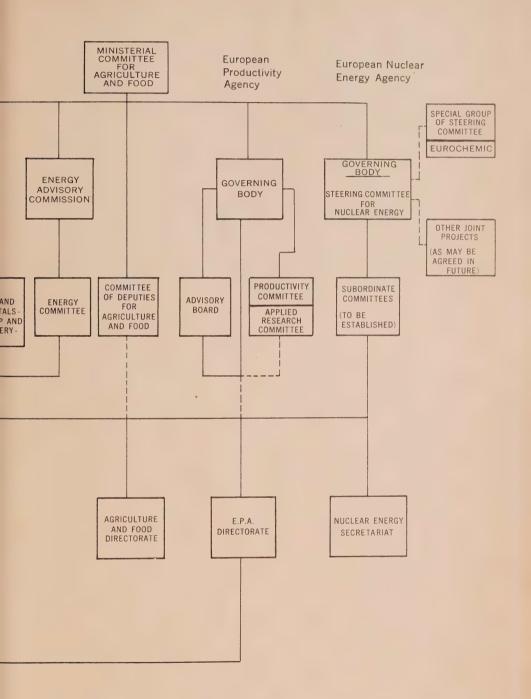
The American offer of assistance was made at this critical juncture, in the historic speech which General George C. Marshall, US Secretary of State delivered at Harvard on June 5, 1947. General Marshall made it known that the United States would be prepared to assist to the best of their ability in preparing and carrying out a joint European recovery programme. "The initiative", he added, "must, I think, come from Europe." "The Programme should be a joint one, agreed to by a number of, if not all, the European nations."

The US offer met an immediate response in Europe. A meeting between Messrs. Molotov, Bideault and Bevin was convened in Paris on June 27, 1947 at Mr. Bevin's suggestion. The U.S.S.R., however, refused to discuss a co-operative recovery programme and, as an important result of this decision, the Conference on European Economic Cooperation which began in Paris on July 12, 1947 was attended only by the Western European countries, i.e. the countries to the west of what was soon to become known as the Iron Curtain.

### DIAGRAM



### OF OEEC





ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

Mr. Derick Heathcoat Amory, Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom and Chairman of the Ministerial Council of the OEEC, addressing Ministerial representatives April 25 during Tenth Anniversary Celebrations at Paris.

A preliminary programme of recovery was drawn up and the first US aid allocation of 5,055 million US dollars was made as from April 1, 1948. The "Convention for European Economic Cooperation", which established the OEEC and defined the goals of European economic co-operation, was signed on April 16, 1948.

# Nature of the Organization

The preamble of the Convention gives some idea of the motive of the signatories: It expressed the view that a strong and prosperous European economy was essential for the attainment of the purpose of the United Nations, the preservation of individual liberty and the increase of general well-being, and that it would contribute to the maintenance of peace; it recognized that the economic systems of the signatories were inter-related and that only by close and lasting co-operation between the contracting parties could the prosperity of Europe be restored and maintained.

The first eight articles of the Convention laid down general obligations; member countries undertook, for instance, to promote production, through efficient use of their resources; to expand trade among themselves and to this end to achieve a multilateral system of payments and relax restrictions on trade; to achieve or maintain internal financial stability and a stable currency; to achieve and maintain full employment. In Article 6, the contracting parties committed themselves to co-operate with one another and with other countries to reduce tariffs and other barriers to trade, "with a view to achieving a sound and balanced multilateral trading system such as will accord with the prin-

ciples of the Havana Charter." (The Charter was the basis of GATT.) Article 5, in retrospect seems prophetic: Member countries undertook to study the possibility of "customs unions or analogous arrangements such as free trade areas".

The other articles of the Convention established the Organization and defined its institutions and their responsibilities.

## Membership and Institutions

There are seventeen member governments: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

Since June 3, 1950 the United States and Canada have taken part in the deliberations of the Organization and have participated in some of its activities as Associate Member Governments. US and Canadian representatives can attend all meetings and make their views known; but they do not take part in decisions of the Council; in some exercises which they join voluntarily their affairs are examined and recommendations are addressed to them, but they are under no obligation to accept them. As do the member governments, Canada and the United States maintain permanent delegations to the OEEC in Paris, headed by Ambassadors or Ministers accredited to the Organization.

Spain has participated fully in the work of the Organization on agriculture and food since January 14, 1955. By virtue of an Agreement signed on January 10, 1958 Spain is now a full member for all questions relating to agriculture, and for the rest can act as an associated member in all bodies where membership is not restricted.

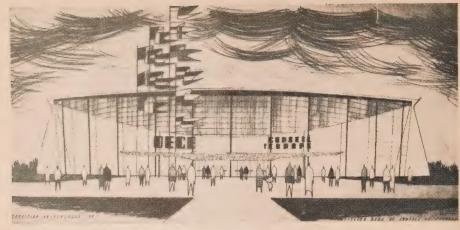
Yugoslavia also maintains a mission to the OEEC, since February 25, 1955 with the status of Observer, and under an Agreement signed on October 9, 1957 takes full part in the work of the European Productivity Agency.

The OEEC Council is the supreme body and takes all decisions of policy. It consists of the Permanent Delegates of the seventeen member countries. The Permanent Delegates of Canada and the United States participate in its deliberations. The Council meets on the average once a week, but, in addition, it meets periodically at Ministerial level. Decisions must be unanimous, although a member may declare no interest and abstain. Council is assisted by an executive committee and by a large number of standing committees and working parties.

### **Activities and Achievements**

The most important activities of OEEC, from the point of view of their economic effects on OEEC countries. and also perhaps on the growth of European co-operation, have probably been those relating to the liberalization of trade and payments in Europe. The early years of recovery under Marshall aid were, of course, of decisive importance as well.

The first task was to provide a basis for United States aid, by drawing up a joint long-term recovery programme for the period 1948-1952. This was a formidable job; and it brought about a new technique in international cooperation. The plans of individual countries covering the whole of their economic life had to be submitted and compared, inconsistencies and conflicts removed, and what remained moulded into one programme which had some



AT BRUSSELS FAIR
The OEEC Pavilion at the Brussels world fair.

chance of success. Objectives, statistical methods, and policies differed. Each programme was closely examined by the other members, and defended by those responsible for drawing it up.

The primary objective of the joint long-term recovery programme was to increase production and, as recovery progressed, efforts were made to tackle the problems of internal financial stability and the expansion of trade.

The results achieved were impressive. Production, which in 1947 was 12 per cent lower than in 1938, increased by 65 per cent between 1947 and 1952, and the targets set were surpassed in all the main sectors except coal. An equally remarkable result was the fact that after 1952 Europe was no longer in current deficit with the outside world.

During that period, United States assistance under the Marshall Plan amounted to 13.6\* billion US dollars. Its economic importance can be seen from the fact that it sufficed to pay for one-fourth of Europe's total imports of goods and services in the period 1947-1950. The expansion of production has continued at a high rate since 1952. By 1957, industrial production had risen by 120 per cent over 1947, agricultural output by 50 per cent, the volume of exports to the rest of the world by 180 per cent and gross national product per head by 55 per cent.

The expansion of intra-European trade was considered essential for the success of the recovery programme, not only as a requirement for the expansion of production and thus of exports, but also because it would tend to reduce Europe's dependence on dollar imports and facilitate the achievement of an equilibrium in Europe's balance of payments. A first task in this direction was to make European currencies convertible among themselves, at least to some degree, so as to permit a return to a multilateral system of trading.

<sup>\*</sup>This figure includes 1.022 billion dollars appropriated under the mutual security programme for the year 1951-52, which was allocated to the ERP; and also the sum of 478 million dollars which was made available to ERP for the year 1951-52 under congressional authority from funds appropriated for military assistance.

### **European Payments Union**

An early attempt at restoring multilateralism through the convertibility of sterling failed in 1947. This was followed by cautious attempts to provide additional finance for intra-European trade through compensation agreements. Finally, after many months of intensive negotiation, a new and much more ambitious scheme was devised which led to the setting up of the European Payments Union in September 1950. This arrangement provided real transferability among European currencies and a multilateralisation of credit. Under this scheme, each country's credits and debits with every other country are cancelled out at the end of each month, leaving a single credit or debit with the Union, and there is provision of automatic credit to cover a certain portion of any country's debt to the Union, the balance being paid in gold or dollars.

As the economic situation in Member countries improved, stricter policies were followed, and the credit element in the scheme was progressively reduced from an average of 60 per cent of monthly debts, where it stood initially, down to a flat 25 per cent, where it has remained since 1955. These moves in the direction of a "harder" payments system have tended to reduce the temptation to discriminate against the rest of the world. In 1955 also, a European Mcnetary Agreement was signed which is designed to replace the Union and preserve desirable forms of monetary co-operation, when world-wide convertibility is restored.

Though not designed to provide long-term financial assistance, the EPU has on a number of occasions granted special credits to countries in acute payments difficulties. In January 1958 for instance, France obtained a special credit of 250 million dollars to assist her in carrying out a programme of economic redressment.

#### **OEEC** Code of Liberalization

Under GATT, the only form of trade restriction which is recognized as legitimate under normal conditions is the tariff. GATT rules provide for the exchange of most-favoured nation treatment and for non-discrimination in trade. Quota restrictions are only permitted if their use can be justified by balance of payments difficulties, and then only under carefully defined conditions. Existing restrictions are examined periodically by GATT. Until recently, all member countries were deemed by the International Monetary Fund to be in balance of payment difficulties.

The EPU system made it possible for member countries to relax quota restrictions within Europe without undue risks. To ensure the gradual removal of these restrictions, an elaborate "code of liberalization" was adopted on August 18, 1950. Under the code, the proportion of the imports of a member country from all other member countries which are free of quota restrictions is expressed as a percentage of the value of imports in a reference year for each of the following three categories: (1) Agriculture; (2) Raw materials; (3) Manufactured goods. The code made it an obligation for member countries to remove quantitative restrictions up to a minimum percentage in each of the three categories, and overall, by specific dates. The minimum percentages have been steadily raised and now stand at 90 per cent for total private imports and 75 per cent for each of the three categories. These goals have been met and surpassed by most member countries. Escape clauses are provided against the possiblity of a severe balance of payment crisis in a member

country. These ensure that the reintroduction of quotas, if necessary, does not involve discrimination against member countries; that it is limited in duration to a minimum, and that no retaliatory action takes place so long as the recommendations and regulations of the OEEC are respected.

A Steering Board for Trade is responsible for seeing that the obligations of the code are respected, dealing with complaints and advising Council on problems in the field of trade.

The precise effects of the liberalization of trade within Europe are difficult to determine. It is significant, however, that the volume of intra-European trade by 1957 was four times larger than in 1947 and more than twice that of 1937-38. This increase is quite substantially larger, proportionally, than the increase achieved in OEEC imports from the outside world in the same period.

Some important measures of dollar liberalization have been taken by most member countries, as their economic situation improved. The extent of discrimination against the dollar area in the field of quantitative restrictions, nevertheless, remains important. The progress in dollar liberalization is examined periodically by the OEEC.

### Larger Programme of OEEC

OEEC co-operation has extended to many other activities. The following are some of the more important ones:

Economic Policy—Each year a comprehensive review and analysis of the economic developments in each member and associated country is conducted. Each government submits a memorandum expressing views on the economic situation and describing how it is being handled. Later, each government sends experts to Paris to defend its submission. The proceedings are formal and the reports published.

Twice a year, the principle economic advisers of member governments meet informally in OEEC to compare experiences and express views about future developments.

In addition to this, the situation in each member country is kept under constant review in the Managing Board of EPU, the Steering Board of Trade and the economic committee, and whenever problems arise, special reports and recommendations are submitted to Council.

Agriculture—The situation of agriculture in member and associated countries and governmental policies in this field are reviewed and appraised by a special group of countries headed by a committee of ministers of agriculture. Nevertheless, decisions are taken by Council which may, for these questions, be composed of the respective ministers of agriculture.

Energy—The OEEC, through its vertical committees, follows closely developments in production, prices and trade in a number of key economic sectors. This work is of special importance in the field of energy, where major developments in production are needed to permit the continued expansion of the European economy.

Nuclear Energy—Since February 1, a European Nuclear Energy Agency has been in existence. Its task will be to promote and advise on the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy in Europe. Joint projects grouping inter-

ested countries are envisaged for nuclear research and for the processing of nuclear fuels.

European Productivity Agency — Since the early days of the Marshall Plan, the OEEC has been concerned with the problem of promoting the use in Europe of the most modern production techniques and methods of organization. Through the dissemination of information, seminars, tours by businessmen, technicians, trade unionists, etc., and other methods, the EPA has worked to improve productivity. The US have made considerable contributions to this activity. Canada has participated in many EPA seminars and studies involving exchanges of experts, and since 1957 contributes annually a sum of 20,000 dollars for particular projects.

Scientific and Technical Co-operation — The OEEC has been concerned for some years with the very serious problem of increasing the number of scientists and technicians in member and associated countries to meet the challenge of modern technology and permit a continuation of the rapid rate of scientific development. The OEEC has also been active in developing co-operation in applied research among member and associated countries.

#### The Future of OEEC

The challenge facing OEEC in its eleventh year is whether a way can be found to reconcile the broad pattern of European co-operation which has been developed in the past decade with the bold scheme of economic integration to which six of its members have committed themselves under the treaty establishing the European Economic Community. With a view to preserving and extending European co-operation, a proposal to establish a European Free Trade Area associating the other OEEC countries with the EEC has been under active negotiation for some months in Paris. If these negotiations reach a successful conclusion, it may be that the name "OEEC" will go out of existence, and that a new name or set of initials will have to be added to the imposing and somewhat bewildering list of international bodies which have come into being since the end of the war. Should this take place, it appears to be widely accepted that the institutions of the OEEC and its experienced secretariat would serve as the instruments of the new free trade arrangements.

# The International Situation

Excerpt from an Address by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker to The Canadian Press, Toronto, April 16, 1958.

"I want now to refer, for a few minutes, to the international situation.

"We can put too much importance on intercontinental missiles without realizing at the same time the impact of those intercontinental missives which are today being received from the U.S.S.R. by leaders of the free world.

"We have not discharged our responsibilities. We have allowed the U.S.S.R. in recent months and years to achieve an authority over the hearts and souls of men by our failure to meet in an imaginative way the challenge of those "missives" sent by the U.S.S.R. And I know we all say that it is hypocritical for Mr. Khrushchev to quote the opinion of more than 9,200 scientists of 44 nations, to make his appeal to the conscience of humanity, emphasizing the hazards of 'fall-out' as a result of the testing of nuclear weapons. But it is no answer to those suggestions to label everything that is advanced by the U.S.S.R. as simple propaganda.

"The free world must, while maintaining its strength and unity, meet with imaginative statements this challenge. My hope is that the nations of the free world will announce in the immediate future their desire and willingness to discontinue nuclear tests, except for the application of known explosive techniques to peaceful purposes, provided that there is suitable international supervision.

"Dr. Willard Libby, one of the Commissioners of the U.S.A.E.C., stated before a Congressional Committee last month that there were a number of possible peaceful uses of nuclear explosions which should not be overlooked. He cited in particular the possibility, based upon a subterranean explosion staged by the U.S., that nuclear explosions could be used to restore the pressure in depleted oil fields. Other sources have referred to the earth-moving potential of nuclear explosions on projects similar to the construction of the Panama Canal. Although the practical potentialities of nuclear explosions for such purposes have yet to be assessed, it is apparent that there may be a case for international arrangements to supervise or even to organize nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. It is considered that such supervisory or organizational functions would not be incompatible with the functions of the International Atomic Energy Agency as defined in its statute and that the Agency might be the appropriate body to take such explosions within its jurisdiction.

"When there is a summit meeting, as I hope there will be if the U.S.S.R. through the preliminary diplomatic discussions shows that it intends to advance or to consider bona fide problems, then I would hope that the Secretary-General of the United Nations would be invited to participate as representative of the interests of the United Nations during any discussions on disarmament.

"The preliminary diplomatic discussions which the three Western powers have now agreed to initiate by way of diplomatic discussions with the Russians, April 17, should provide a test of whether or not the Soviet attitude towards a summit meeting is a genuine desire to achieve results, or is largely designed

for propaganda advantage. If the discussions indicate a desire on the part of the U.S.S.R. to achieve results, then Canada is prepared and is willing to take any step short of appeasement which would be conducive to a reduction of world tension, or would in any way facilitate East-West negotiations. Canada, being the nearest neighbour of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., is prepared to take its full part to facilitate the preparations for an effective summit meeting, or to contribute to the success of the meeting itself. Indeed, Canada would have no objection, in fact would welcome, the holding of that summit meeting here."

### International Conference on the Law of the Sea

(Continued from Page 89)

nations fishing in distant waters. Canada was thus closely aligned with new nations which have neither traditional claims to established fishing rights or privileges in distant waters nor well-developed fisheries in their own off-shore waters but which are looking more and more to this important source of food and income and regarding it as their national birthright.

When one considers the complexity of the problems and the wide range of conflicting interests involved, it must be acknowledged that agreement on so many aspects of the law of the sea is a very substantial achievement and marks this Conference as one of the most successful ever held under the auspices of the United Nations. The results of its work are bound to have far-reaching consequences, not only for Canada but for all states participating in its deliberations. In a very real sense, it has contributed towards the advancement of international understanding and goodwill in an important area of interest to all nations.

# **Prospects for a Summit Meeting**

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Sidney E. Smith, over the CBC Radio Network Sunday, April 20, 1958.

"As Secretary of State for External Affairs, I daily deal with the broad range of external relations with which Canada is concerned in this complex age. Among these, the need to find some means of working out peaceful solutions for issues which divide the Western world and the Soviet Union is at the present time uppermost in my mind. The prospect of another world conflagration that could let loose modern weapons of horrifying destructive force and risk the extinction of our civilization is not one which any responsible government can contemplate today. The course of both reason and self-interest for East and West alike lies in the search for a durable peace. The pressing need is, therefore, to explore ways in which existing tensions can be reduced and then to lay a firm foundation for mutual understanding on which the ultimate settlement of outstanding differences can be built.

"During recent months, there has been much discussion in the press, on radio and on television as to the value of convening a high level conference at which the world's leaders might discuss some of the major problems in a spirit of compromise. This matter has gained prominence through the extensive exchange of correspondence between heads of government on the question of a summit conference. I propose this evening to give you some indication of Canadian thinking on such a meeting.

"Canada's general approach to the concept of a summit conference has been developed in concert with our NATO allies. At the conclusion of the meeting of heads of government held in Paris last December, it was stated that "We are always ready to settle international problems by negotiation taking into account the legitimate interests of all . . . and we seek an end to world tension". In particular, we again stressed our willingness "to examine any proposal, from whatever source, for general or partial disarmament". This is perhaps the key question in any negotiations with the Soviet Union. Canadian representatives shared in many months of negotiations on this issue with the Russians and helped to prepare a comprehensive set of proposals which unfortunately the Soviet Union rejected in the United Nations.

"Against this background, the tentative suggestion for a summit meeting put forward by the Russians in December and expanded in mid-January was and continues to be under consideration. The Prime Minister, in his reply to Mr. Bulganin's letter, emphasized that the value of such a meeting would depend on the expectation of beneficial results, and that accordingly it should be carefully prepared. He told Mr. Bulganin, and I quote—

'I am sure that you will agree that a meeting of this kind which did not lead to positive agreement on at least some of the basic issues with which we are confronted might result in a public reaction more likely to heighten than lessen world tension. In order not to disappoint public opinion in our respective countries, we must, therefore, I submit, make sure that such a meeting be prepared in advance with the utmost care'. "Following consultation, the NATO governments placed great emphasis on this need for careful preparations in order to provide a framework for fruitful discussions at the summit. The Soviet Union, however, repeatedly insisted that preliminary talks to determine the nature and scope of the meeting were unnecessary and that such matters could be dealt with at the meeting itself. This Soviet unwillingness to agree to adequate preparation—the pick and shovel work of diplomacy—made it difficult to determine exactly what the U.S.S.R. had in mind. Moreover, the successive waves of letters emanating from Moscow and proposing agenda items in the form of preconceived Soviet solutions did not create the proper kind of climate in which conference preliminaries could be worked out.

"In these circumstances, what seemed to be required was a new initiative from NATO that would be both flexible and forthcoming. It was desirable to try to remove the question of a summit meeting from the arena of world propaganda. We in the West considered it necessary to ascertain whether the U.S.S.R. is genuinely prepared to participate in a meeting designed to achieve some definite results. We decided that this would best be achieved by narrowing down through private diplomatic discussions with the Russians the arena in which we might reasonably expect to make headway in eliminating East-West differences.

"This important problem was discussed in NATO late last month. On March 31, it was agreed that the United States, United Kingdom and French Ambassadors in Moscow should deliver a Western statement on the summit meeting to the Soviet Union. In this statement, the members of the Alliance referred to the necessity of making "a serious attempt to reach agreement on the main problems affecting the attainment of peace and stability in the world" and pointed to the desirability of a summit meeting "if it would provide opportunity for conducting serious discussions on major problems and would be an effective means of reaching agreement on significant subjects". At the same time, the statement called for preparatory work on the summit meeting to begin through diplomatic exchanges in Moscow in the second half of April leading to a meeting between foreign ministers. The main purpose of this preparatory work should, it was pointed out, be to examine the major questions at issue and so draw up a suitable agenda.

"The Russian reply of April 11 was disappointing in that it still insisted that preparations should be confined largely to procedural arrangements and contended that a summit meeting should be held whether or not preparatory work gave promise of success. Nevertheless, in a spirit of accommodation, the Western powers, with the approval of NATO, decided that the qualified Soviet acceptance of diplomatic discussions should be followed up. They have told the Russians that differences on preparation should be the first subject of the diplomatic talks, and that opposing positions on major issues must be examined to determine whether possibilities of agreement exist. The results of this examination must be satisfactory before a worthwhile summit meeting can be held. The present talks in Moscow should demonstrate whether the Soviet Union wants an effective conference or is chiefly interested in propaganda gains. And I may add in this regard that the recent Soviet accusations against the United States are hardly encouraging.

"In the event that agreement can subsequently be reached on satisfactory preparatory work, the selection of the agenda will still not be an easy task. A

number of items, most of them dealing with various aspects of disarmament, have already been suggested in the correspondence between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the West. The gap between the proposals made by either side is considerable and unfortunately there has been a tendency, as I mentioned earlier, for some of the agenda items to be submitted in the form of prejudged proposals. If we are to approach the summit with an open mind and a desire to reach agreement, we will have to settle on objectively formulated topics. I believe that agreement on this delicate question will be facilitated if the diplomatic negotiations consider the agenda in somewhat more general terms. Such broad subjects as disarmament or European security could surely first be accepted, and then the range of sub-topics under these headings, which both sides could agree to discuss, could be explored.

"I conclude with a word of caution. A summit meeting will not, I feel sure, produce any magic solution for all the problems that beset our troubled world, but I believe that a start can be made in decreasing tension and settling some problems or at the very minimum in setting up the machinery for this active and positive consideration. You will recall that on the initiative of the West we had one of these summit meetings in 1955 when the leaders of the United States, United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union met in Geneva. Although this meeting did not produce all the concrete results some of us hoped it would, it was by no means entirely barren. We must now continue from where Geneva left off. This may well mean that we should hold a series of meetings at various levels. Indeed, it is my view that we would be well advised not to entertain too great expectations for any single meeting. Rather, we should look into the future and envisage gradual progress through a number of meetings. With advantage we might also provide for the systematic maintenance of consultation between meetings in order that unsolved issues could be kept under continuous review. As the Greek historian Plutarch once wrote, 'Perseverance is more prevailing than violence; and many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, yield themselves up when taken little by little'.''

# APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. P. L. G. Asselin appointed to the Department of External Affairs as External Affairs Officer 6, effective March 1, 1958.
- Mr. H. T. W. Blockley resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective March 1, 1958.
- Miss M. L. S. Barrière resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective March 1, 1958.
- Mr. T. H. W. Read posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to the Office of the Canadian Commissioner, Port-of-Spain, effective March 5, 1958.
- Mr. G. R. Heasman appointed High Commissioner for Canada in New Zealand. Proceeded to Wellington March 7, 1958.
- Mr. H. B. Singleton posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Helsinki, effective March 10, 1958.
- Mr. M. H. Coleman posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective March 11, 1958.
- Mr. R. W. Clark posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective March 15, 1958.
- Mr. H. W. Walker resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective March 15, 1958.
- Mr. M. F. Yalden posted from Ottawa to Russian Language Training, Cambridge, effective March 18, 1958.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy posted from the Canadian Legation, Beirut, to Ottawa, effective March 20, 1958.
- Mr. J. O. Parry posted from the Canadian Legation, Helsinki, to Ottawa, effective March 21, 1958.
- Mr. P. A. Beaulieu posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to the Canadian Legation, Beirut, effective March 24, 1958.
- Mr. A. F. Hart posted from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to Ottawa, effective March 26, 1958.
- Miss S. Routier resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective April 1, 1958.
- Mr. d'I. G. Fortier posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective April 3, 1958.
- Mr. A. B. Bonnezen posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective April 8, 1958.
- Mr. G. G. Crean posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective April 10, 1958.
- Mr. J. P. Sigvaldason posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, to Ottawa, effective April 10, 1958.
- Mr. S. H. Nutting, DFM, posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective April 12, 1958.
- Mr. G. L. Seens posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective April 15, 1958.
- Mr. G. E. Hardy posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa, effective April 19, 1958.
- Miss E. L. Hill posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective April 19, 1958.
- Mr. E. P. Black posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective April 23, 1958.
- Mr. H. F. Davis posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective April 26, 1958.

#### TREATY INFORMATION

#### **Current Action**

### Bilateral

#### India

Financial Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of India.

Signed at Ottawa February 20, 1958. Entered into force February 20, 1958.

#### Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Trade Agreement between Canada and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Signed at Salisbury February 6, 1958. Entered into force February 7, 1958.

#### Portugal

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Portugal concerning non-immigrant visa arrangements between the two countries.

Signed at Lisbon January 24, 1958. Entered into force February 15, 1958.

#### Switzerland

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Confederation of Switzerland to provide for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Signed at Ottawa March 6, 1958.

#### Multilateral

Convention on damage caused by foreign aircraft to third parties on the surface. Done at Rome October 7, 1952.

Signed by Canada May 26, 1954.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited January 16, 1956.

Entered into force February 4, 1958.

#### **Publication**

Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 1, "Trade Agreement between Canada and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". Signed at Ottawa February 29, 1956.

Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 2.
"Exchange of Notes (March 8, 1956) between Canada and Hungary concerning the sale of wheat to Hungary".

Signed at London March 8, 1956.

Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 3. Exchange of Notes (December 19, 1955 and January 9, 1956) between Canada and Finland providing for the waiving of non-immigrant visa fees. Signed at Ottawa December 19, 1955 and January 9, 1956.

Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 4. Agreement between the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty for co-operation regarding atomic information. Signed at Paris June 22, 1955.

Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 5. International Wheat Agreement, 1956. Done at Washington in May 1956,

Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 7. Agreement between Canada and Denmark for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income. Signed at Ottawa September 30, 1955.

Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 8. Agreement relative to the British Commonwealth War Cemetery in Japan. Signed at Tokyo September 21, 1955.

### UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

Printed documents of the United Nations may be obtained in Canada at the following addresses: Agents: The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street, W., Toronto; Sub-Agents: Book Room Ltd., Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Bookstore, Montreal; Magasin des Etudiants de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal; University of Manitoba Bookstore, Winnipeg; University of Toronto Press and Bookstore, Toronto; University of British Columbia Bookstore, Vancouver.

Mimeographed United Nations documents are available to the general public by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York; and to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations from the United Nations Department of Public Information, New York.

Complete sets of United Nations documents may also be consulted at the following centres in Canada:

University of Alberta (English printed documents).

University of British Columbia (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Provincial Library of Manitoba (English printed and mimeographed documents).

University of Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Library of Parliament, Ottawa (English and French printed documents; also English and French mimeographed documents).

McGill University (English printed documents).

Laval University (French printed documents).

Dalhousie University (English printed documents).

University of Montreal (French printed and mimeographed documents).

University of New Brunswick (English printed documents).

Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto (English printed and mimeogaphed documents).

The United Nations Association in Canada, 237 Queen Street, Ottawa, operates an unofficial United Nations information service. Introductory material on the United Nations is sent, free of charge, on request; questions about the United Nations are answered; and pamphlets of general interest are sold. Prices lists enumerating the publications available can be obtained on request.

Current UN Documents include the following:

a) Printed Documents:

Commission on Human Rights. Report of the thirteenth session (Geneva, 1 - 26 April 1957). E/2970/Rev.1, E/CN.4/753/Rev.1. 12 August 1957. 34 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 4

United Nations Children's Fund. Report of the Executive Board:

a) 8 - 16 April 1957. E/2977, E/ICEF/344/Rev.1. October 1957. 24 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 2

b) 3 - 12 September 1957. E/3050, E/ICEF/353/Rev.1. October 1957. 34 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 2A.

Laws and Regulations on the Regime of the Territorial Sea. United Nations Legislative Series. ST/LEG.SER.B/6, December 1956. N.Y., 1957. 811 p. \$7.00

Economic and Social Council. Resolutions. E/3048/Add.1. N.Y., Jan. 1958. ECOSOC Official Records: Resumed 24th session, 10-13 Dec. 1957, Supplement No. 1A. 2 p.

Ammoun, Charles D. Study of discrimination in education, E/CN.4/Sub.2/181/Rev.1. N.Y., Aug. 1957. 182 p.

Technical Assistance Programme. International bibliography of public administration. ST/TAA/M/11. N.Y., Mar. 1957. Sales No.: 1957.II.H.2. Price: \$1.00. 101 p. (Eng.-Fr.-Spanish).

Non-self-governing territories. Summaries of information transmitted to the Secretary-General for 1956 and 1956-57. East African territories: British Somaliland, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar. ST/TRI/B.1957/2. N.Y., 1958. 56 p.

Water for Industrial Use. E/3058, ST/ECA/50. New York, 1958. (Department of Economic and Social Affairs). Sales No.: 58.II.B.1. 44 p. 50 cents.

Rules of Procedure of the Economic and Social Council. E/3063. New York, 1958. Sales No.: 58.1.3. 29 p.

Economic Survey of Latin America 1956. E/CN.12/427/Rev.1. New York, September 1957.
 Sales No.: 1957.II.G.1. 183 p. \$2.50.

Economic Survey of Europe in 1957. E/ECE/317. Sales No.: 58.II.E.1. \$4.00.

Statistical Yearbook 1957 (Ninth Issue). New York, 1957. Sales No.: 1957.XVII.1. 674 p.

Legal Status of Married Women. (Report submitted by the Secretary-General). ST/SOA/35. Sales No.: 1957.IV.8. 103 p. 75 cents.

A Manual for Economic and Functional Classification of Government Transactions. ST/TAA/M/12, ST/ECA/49. New York, 1958 (Department of Economic and Social Affairs). Sales No.: 58.XVI.2. 188 p. \$2.00.

#### ICAO\*

European Civil Aviation Conference—

Records of the Second Session-Madrid, 24 April - 11 May 1957.

Volume I—Report of the Session—Doc 7799, ECAC/2-1—84 p. \$1.00.

Volume II—Working Papers—Doc 7799, ECAC/2-2 477 p. \$4.75.

Volume III—Minutes—Doc 7799, ECAC/2-3—225 p. \$2.25.

Circular 52-AN/47—Flight crew fatigue and flight time limitations. 70 p. \$0.75.

Digest of Statistics No. 63—Fleet Personnel—1955.

Series FP-No. 9. Trilingual. 92 p. \$1.00.

Digest of Statistics No. 65—Traffic—1957-1956—

Series T-No. 14. Trilingual. 364 p. \$3.75.

Digest of Statistics No. 66. Financial Data—1956—

Series F-No. 10. Trilingual. 91 p. \$1.00.

Action of the Council—31st Session, Montreal, 4-19 June 1957. Doc 7819-C/902.

Panel on Vertical Separation of Aircraft—Report of the Second Meeting, Montreal, 3-14 June 1957. Doc 7835-AN/863.

Report of the Second South American/South Atlantic Regional Air Navigation Meeting, Sao Paulo 22 October-16 November 1957. Doc 7841, SAM/SAT/II.

Digest of Statistics No. 64. Traffic Flow-March 1956 Series, TF-No. 19.

#### ICJ

Case concerning sovereignty over certain frontier land (Belgium/Netherlands). Order of December 12th, 1957. Sales No.: 175. 5 p. (bil.).

### ILO

The ILO. in a changing world. Report of the Director-General to the forty-second session of the International Labour Conference (Geneva, 1958) and twelfth report of the ILO to the United Nations. Geneva, 1958. 127 p.

Financial and Budgetary Questions (including proposed budget for 1959). International Labour Conference, forty-second session (Geneva, 1958). Report II. 93 p.

International Directory of co-operative organizations. Geneva, 1958. 213 p. \$2.00.

Social Security. A workers' education manual. Geneva, 1958. 130 p.

#### UNESCO

A study of current bibliographies of national official publications. (UNESCO Bibliographical Handbooks—7). Paris, 1958. 244 p. \$3.00 (bil.)

Index translationum (No. 9). International Bibliography of translations. Paris, 1958. 694 p. (bil.). \$16.00

Proceedings of the UNESCO Symposium on Physical Oceanography, 1955 Tokyo. Marine Sciences
Programme. Published by UNESCO and Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.
292 p. \$4.50

Social Factors in Economic Growth. A trend report and bibliography. (Current Sociology, Volume VI, 1957, No. 3). Paris, 1958. Pp. 173 - 237 (bil.) \$1.25

Vacations Abroad, Volume X, 1958. Courses, Study Tours, Work Camps. Paris, 1958. 190 p. (Eng.-Fr.-Sp.). \$1.00

Protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict; by A. Noblecourt. Museums and Monuments—VIII. Translated from the Author's original French text of August, 1956. Paris, 1958. Price: \$7.50. 346 p. + 60 p. photographic plates.

\*ICAO publications are on sale in Canada from the Headquarters of the Organization, 503 International Aviation Building, Montreal.

- Report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organization in 1956. Paris, 1958. 269 p. \$4.00.
- The Teaching of Modern Languages. Report on the UNESCO Regional Seminar held in Sydney, January-February 1957. Published by the Australian National Advisory Committee for UNESCO. 1957. 72 p.
- XXth International Conference on Public Education 1957. UNESCO, Paris/IBE, Geneva. Publication No. 188. 164 p. \$1.75.
- Social Consequences of Autonomation. (International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 1, 1958). Paris, 1958. 166 p.

WHO

- The Work of WHO 1957. Annual Report of the Director-General to the World Health Assembly and to the United Nations. Geneva, April 1958. Official Records of the WHO, No. 82. 183 p. \$1.25.
- Handbook of resolutions and decisions of the World Health Assembly and the Executive Board. Fourth edition covering the period of 1948-1957. Geneva, December 1957. Price: \$4.00. 358 p.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

# **External Affairs in Parliament**

## Speech from The Throne

Governor General Vincent Massey read the Speech from The Throne to assembled Senators and Members of Parliament May 12, 1958 to open the first session of the 24th Parliament.

The portion of the Speech dealing with Canada's external relations follows:

"It is my pleasure to welcome you to this first session of the Twentyfourth Parliament of Canada. We all recall with pleasure the historic events of last autumn when Her Gracious Majesty was present to open Parliament herself and to receive the warm welcome and wide acclaim of her Canadian subjects. We look forward to the presence this summer of Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret to take part in the centennial ceremonies of British Columbia and to visit other parts of Canada.

"As further evidence of the expanding sense of mutual interest among the countries of the Commonwealth as well as the growth of the Commonwealth itself, it is pleasing and significant that we will be welcoming to Canada this summer both the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Ghana.

"My ministers have been glad to note the widely expressed desire of the peoples of many nations that the manifold advances of science shall be devoted to the betterment of mankind rather than to the arts and engines of war. My Government will continue to make unremitting efforts to assist in the peaceful solution of international problems and in the accomplishment by patient negotiation of a substantial measure of disarmament. In the meantime, my advisers will ask your support to maintain, in co-operation with our allies, armed forces adequate to deter any potential aggression.

"My Government believes that the condition of international economic affairs is such as to require major concerted efforts to encourage the expansion of trade. It is accordingly very gratifying that all countries of the Commonwealth have accepted the proposal of Canada that a Commonwealth trade and economic conference be held in September of this year in Montreal.

"We look forward with pleasure to the visits to Canada this summer of the President of the United States and the President of the Federal Republic of Germany. My ministers welcome the opportunities which these visits will afford for useful conversations."

## Norad

Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affiars, made the following statement May 19, 1958, in the House of Commons on tabling the Exchange of Notes\* concerning NORAD.

<sup>\*</sup>The Notes appear on pp. 125 and 126.

"Members of the House will recall that on August 1, 1957, the two Governments announced their agreement to the setting up of a system of integrated operational control of the air defence forces of Canada and the United States. An integrated headquarters was formed shortly thereafter and the Command has been operating on an interim basis for about nine months. In the light of intensive studies of the problems of continental air defence by expert authorities in the two countries, and the experience gained in the interim operation of NORAD, the Canadian and United States Governments have in this exchange of notes recorded formally their understanding of the need for integration of their air defence activities and their agreement on the principles, both military and political, on which the organization and operation of NORAD are based.

"For the past two decades the co-operation of Canada and the United States in the field of continental defence has grown ever more intimate. Even prior to the formation of NORAD, there was a close co-operation between the air defence forces of Canada and the United States arising out of the recognition that the air defence of the two countries had to be thought of as a single problem. Indeed, since 1954 an integrated system of air defence has been envisaged. Recent technological developments made it obvious to the two Governments that co-ordination of national plans was no longer adequate. It is a truism that our generation has witnessed a shrinking of the globe in our ever-increased ability to reduce the time required to go by air from continent to continent. Normally, we think of these developments as being most desirable. We must not, however, forget their implications for the defences which we must construct against the possibility of a surprise nuclear attack. We must, therefore, have in existence in peacetime an organization which, in the face of surprise attack, could immediately take defensive action over our own territories in accordance with a single air defence plan which had already been approved by the two Governments.

"This integration is the practical application of the principle of interdependence which inspires the activities of the NATO alliance. It will contribute to the effectiveness of the air defences of this continent; it will thereby increase the ability of Canada and the United States to meet the strategic objectives established in NATO for the Canada-United States Region. The effectiveness of such integration has been amply demonstrated in other NATO areas where integrated headquarters exercising operational control over assigned forces exist. Canadian forces, in company with the forces of our NATO allies, already come under the operational control of the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR); Canadians serve as well in the wholly integrated headquarters of the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT) and in wartime Canadian ships and maritime aircraft earmarked for NATO will come under SACLANT's operational control. There are, of course, many other integrated headquarters in the NATO military structure in which Canada is not represented, e.g., Allied Forces Central Europe and Allied Forces Mediterranean.

"Our joint defence of the continent cannot, of course, be thought of in isolation. This continental effort forms part of our contribution to NATO defences. The Canada-United States Region is an integral part of the NATO area for which strategic objectives have been established in NATO. The establishment of NORAD will assist our two Governments to meet these strategic objectives more effectively. The arrangements for air defence of Canada and the United States and the allocation of forces to NORAD for that task will be reported to NATO through the Canada-United States Regional Planning Group, which is made up of the Chiefs of Staff of Canada and the United States.

"As the agreement tabled today indicates, the Commnader-in-Chief NORAD will be responsible to the Chiefs of Staff Committee of Canada and the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, i.e., he will make his recommendations on air defence to them. They in turn will seek the approval of their political authorities for the implementation of such of these recommendations as are acceptable to them from a military point of view. The Commander-in-Chief NORAD will operate within a single air defence plan which will be approved by the two Governments. The appointment of the Commander-in-Chief NORAD and of his deputy will be approved by the two Governments. Detailed terms of reference for the Commander-in-Chief NORAD have also been approved by the two Governments. These terms of reference flow from, and are therefore consistent with, the principles established in the notes I have tabled today. In the interests of national security, these detailed terms of reference cannot be made public.

"Thus the NORAD exchange of notes makes formal provision for civilian control of the activities of the Command in the manner I have outlined. These provisions in a sense underline the obvious. Never, in the long and earnest consideration of this subject by the Canadian and United States Governments, has there been any doubt of the primacy of civilian authority; nor, I am sure, could there have been any real question on the point when preliminary consideration was given to this matter of integration during the lifetime of a previous administration in Canada.

"The establishment of integrated defence arrangements between Canada and the United States increases the importance of consultation between the two Governments on all matters affecting joint defence. This continuing process of consultation is not new. Once again, however, in the course of our discussions on the exchange of notes which I have tabled today, both countries recognized that their defence co-operation can be worked out on a mutually satisfactory basis only if such consultation is regularly and consistently undertaken. I can assure the House that the determination exists both in Ottawa and in Washington to ensure that such consultation will take place as required.

"I feel certain that the House will agree with me that this further evolution in the essential collaboration of Canada and the United States in continental defence will assist in the maintenance and development of the individual and collective capacity of the two Governments to fulfil their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty for the preservation of international peace and security.

# CANADIAN EMBASSY WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sir

I have the honour to refer to discussions which have taken place between the Canadian and the United States authorities concerning the necessity for integration of operational control of Canadian and United States Air Defences and, in particular, to the study and recommendations of the Canada-United States Military Study Group. These studies led to the joint announcement of August 1, 1957, by the Minister of National Defence of Canada and the Secretary of Defence of the United States, indicating that our two Governments had agreed to the setting up of a system of integrated operational control for the air defences in the continental United States, Canada and Alaska under an integrated command responsible to the Chiefs of Staff of both countries. Pursuant to the announcement of August 1, 1957, an integrated headquarters known as the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) has been established on an interim basis at Colorado Springs, Colorado.

For some years prior to the establishment of NORAD, it had been recognized that the air defence of Canada and the United States must be considered as a single problem. However, arrangements which existed between Canada and the United States provided only for the co-ordination of separate Canadian and United States air defence plans, but did not provide for the authoritative control of all air defence weapons which must be employed against an attacker.

The advent of nuclear weapons, the great improvements in the means of effecting their delivery, and the requirements of the air defence control systems demand rapid decisions to keep pace with the speed and tempo of technological developments. To counter the threat and to achieve maximum effectiveness of the air defence system, defensive operations must commence as early as possible and enemy forces must be kept constantly engaged. Arrangements for the co-ordination of national plans requiring consultation between national commanders before implementation had become inadequate in the face of a possible sudden attack, with little or no warning. It was essential, therefore, to have in existence in peacetime an organization, including the weapons, facilities and command structure, which could operate at the outset of hostilities in accordance with a single air defence plan approved in advance by national authorities.

Studies made by representatives of our two Governments led to the conclusion that the problem of the air defence of our two countries could best be met by delegating to an integrated headquarters, the task of exercising operational control over combat units of the national forces made available for the air defence of the two countries. Furthermore, the principle of an integrated headquarters exercising operational control over assigned forces has been well established in various parts of the North Atlantic Treaty area. The Canada-United States region is an integral part of the NATO area. In support of the strategic objectives established in NATO for the Canada-United States region and in accordance with the provisions of the North Atlantic Treaty, our two Governments have, by establishing the North American Air Defence Command, recognized the desirability of integrating headquarters exercising operational control over assigned air defence forces. The agreed integration is intended to assist the two Governments to develop and maintain their individual and collective capacity to resist air attack on their territories in North America in mutual self-defence.

The two Governments consider that the establishment of integrated air defence arrangements of the nature described increases the importance of the fullest possible consultation between the two Governments on all matters affecting the joint defence of North America, and that defence co-operation between them can be worked out on a mutually satisfactory basis only if such consultation is regularly and consistently undertaken.

In view of the foregoing considerations and on the basis of the experience gained in the operation on an interim basis of the North American Air Defence Command, my Government proposes that the following principles should govern the future organization and operations of the North American Air Defence Command.

- 1) The Commander-in-Chief NORAD (CINCNORAD) will be responsible to the Chiefs of Staff Committee of Canada and the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Uuited States, who in turn are responsible to their respective Governments. He will operate within a concept of air defence approved by the appropriate authorities of our two Governments, who will bear in mind their objectives in the defence of the Canada-United States region of the NATO area.
- 2) The North American Air Defence Command will include such combat units and individuals as are specifically allocated to it by the two Governments. The jurisdiction of the Commander-in-Chief, NORAD, over those units and individuals is limited to operational control as hereinafter defined.
- 3) "Operational Control" is the power to direct, co-ordinate, and control the operational activities of forces assigned, attached or otherwise made available. No permanent changes

May 12, 1958,

of station would be made without approval of the higher national authority concerned. Temporary reinforcement from one area to another, including the crossing of the International Boundary, to meet operational requirements will be within the authority of commanders having operational control. The basic command organization for the air defence forces of the two countries, including administration, discipline, internal organization and unit training, shall be exercised by national commanders responsible to their national authorities.

- 4) The appointment of CINCNORAD and his Deputy must be approved by the Canadian and United States Governments. They will not be from the same country, and CINCNORAD staff shall be an integrated joint staff composed of officers of both countries. During the absence of CINCNORAD, command will pass to the Deputy Commander.
- 5) The North Atlantic Treaty Organization will continue to be kept informed through the Canada-United States Regional Planning Group of arrangements for the air defence of North America.
- 6) The plans and procedures to be followed by NORAD in wartime shall be formulated and approved in peacetime by appropriate national authorities and shall be capable of rapid implementation in an emergency. Any plans or procedures recommended by NORAD which bear on the responsibilities of civilian departments or agencies of the two Governments shall be referred for decision by the appropriate military authorities to those agencies and departments and may be the subject of inter-governmental co-ordination.
- 7) Terms of reference for CINCNORAD and his Deputy will be consistent with the foregoing principles. Changes in these terms of reference may be made by agreement between the Canadian Chiefs of Staff Committee and the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, with approval of higher authority as appropriate, provided that these changes are in consonance with the principles set out in this Note.
- 8) The question of the financing of expenditures connected with the operation of the integrated headquarters of the North American Air Defence Command will be settled by mutual agreement between appropriate agencies of the two Governments.
- 9) The North American Air Defence Command shall be maintained in operation for a period of ten years or such shorter period as shall be agreed by both countries in the light of their mutual defence interests, and their objectives under the terms of the North Atlantic Treaty. The terms of this Agreement may be reviewed upon request of either country at any time.
- 10) The Agreement between parties to the North Atlantic Treaty regarding the status of their forces signed in London on June 19, 1951, shall apply.
- 11) The release to the public of information by CINCNORAD on matters of interest to Canada and the United States of America will in all cases be the subject of prior consultation and agreement between appropriate agencies of the two Governments.

If the United States Government concurs in the principles set out above, I propose that this Note and your reply should constitute an Agreement between our two Governments effective from the date of your reply.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

"N. A. Robertson" Ambassador of Canada.

The Honourable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States, Washington, D.C.

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 12, 1958.

Excellency,

I have the honour to refer to Your Excellency's Note No. 263 of May 12, 1958 proposing on behalf of the Canadian Government certain principles to govern the future organization and operation of the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD).

I am pleased to inform you that my Government concurs in the principles set forth in your Note. My Government further agrees with your proposal that your Note and this reply shall constitute an agreement between the two Governments, effective today.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

"Christian A. Herter" for the Secretary of State.

His Excellency Norman Robertson, Ambassador of Canada.

# **Exchange of Letters**

The following statement was made in the House of Commons June 2 by Prime Minister Diefenbaker on the latest letter from Mr. Krushchev of the U.S.S.R.:

"Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a short statement respecting the letter from Mr. Khrushchev which was handed to me on Saturday by the Soviet Ambassador. This letter was in reply to my letter to Mr. Khrushchev of May 9. The contents of the letter received have been carefully studied in the hope that it might contain promise of progress toward a settlement of some at least of the differences between our countries, and in particular the question of disarmament.

"The letter, unfortunately, reveals the continuing refusal of Mr. Khrushchev to understand the intentions of the Canadian Government in supporting the prosposal made recently in the United Nations Security Council for a system of control in the Arctic regions. This prosposal was an honest endeavour on the part of Canada and its allies to work out measures of control over military activities on this important frontier which would give security to all countries participating, including the Soviet Union. We have not had, nor do we have, any intention, as suggested in the letter to us, of imposing a system of inspection on the Russians. We are, however, seeking to work out in collaboration with them and our other Arctic neighbours a system which will satisfy the needs of all and remove the fears, from whichever side they may arise, of air attack launched without warning. For our part we are continuing to study the possibilities of such a system of control in the hope that the Soviet Union will come to recognize that this system would play an essential part in any effective scheme of security and disarmament.

"Mr. Khrushchev's letter is, however, not entirely negative. It does indicate willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to go along with prosposals recently made by President Eisenhower for an immediate study of methods for controlling the suspension of nuclear tests. I have made clear our anxiety that progress be made in this important aspect of disarmament, and welcome this promising sign. If this fruitful project is to be carried out, good will and a spirit of forbearance are required on all sides. For this reason, therefore, I will refrain from taking issue with Mr. Khrushchev over the misrepresentations and allegations in his letter and emphasize rather the more hopeful aspect of his message."

# Statement on Charge by U.S.S.R.

On June 3, Mr. Diefenbaker made the following statement on charges that Strategic Air Command bombers fly over Canada with nuclear weapons in the direction of the Soviet Union:

"Mr. Speaker the Leader of the Opposition indicated in general terms his intention to ask whether the charges that Strategic Air Command bombers fly over Canada with nuclear weapons in the direction of the Soviet union are true.

"First of all I should state that the letter from Mr. Krushchev is still being studied, and I would not wish to take a definite position now upon any of its details. May I, however, draw the attention of the Leader of the Opposition to page 3123 of Hansard for January 10, when the matter was before the House, and also page 3188 of Hansard of January 11, where earlier remarks by the Minister of National Defence and myself are to be found. Those replies and the answer given by the Minister of National Defence on November 27, 1957, on page 1566 of Hansard provide much of the answer to the present question. I refer specifically now to the latter question which appears on page 1566, where the hon, member for Burin-Burgeo (Mr. Carter) asked this question:

'May I direct a question to the Minister of National Defence. In view of a reported statement made by the British foreign minister to the effect that United States bombers flying on routine flights over Britain carry live bombs in order to maintain a state of readiness at all times, can the Minister state whether United States planes with such bombs are permitted to fly over Canada.'

"To which the Minister of National Defence replied as follows:

'By agreement with the United States, only with prior permission from Canada.'

"In the passages to which I have referred the House was informed that United States bomber aircraft carry nuclear weapons over Canada only with prior permission from Canada; that each flight is dealt with separately by specific application, and there is no blanket authority; that the weapons are inactivated in order to avoid the possibility of accidents; and that the procedures being followed are unchanged from those which had been instituted by the previous government.

"The earlier questions were more concerned with the nature of the international arrangements and with safety precautions than with the fact that flights by the Strategic Air Command might be taking place over Canada. Nevertheless, the answers to which I have referred did make it plain that such flights do take place. The Leader of the Opposition. I am sure, will at once recognize that it would not be in the public interest for me to give any indication of either the frequency of such flights or the numbers of aircraft involved. However, in order to provide information such as that to those who are of the Privy Council the Government will at all times be prepared to give that information privately. However, I wish to make one thing perfectly clear, that none of those flights to which I have made reference has approached or been to the borders of Canada and the U.S.S.R."

### Situation in France

Prime Minister Diefenbaker made the following statement June 3 in the House of Commons on developments in France:

"In recent weeks Canadians have watched the French political scene with concern and sympathy. Considering how closely our history and traditions are interwoven with those of France, the deep interest taken by our people in recent events there is not surprising. We now welcome the solution of the parliamentary crisis in France and express the sincere hope that under the leadership of their wartime hero, General Charles De Gaulle, as Prime Minister, France will enjoy political stability and economic prosperity.

"I know that I speak for all Canadians when I say I am confident that the warm and friendly relations which are inherent as between Canada and France and which have been strengthened in two world wars and in recent years by our common membership in NATO, will continue as before."



VISITS CAPITAL

Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, left, a recent visitor to Ottawa, seen with Mr. Roland Michener, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

# **Letters on Nuclear Weapons Testing**

Exchange of Correspondence between Mr. N. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker. (Letters of April 4 and May 9, 1958)

Moscow April 4, 1958.

Dear Prime Minister:

One of the most urgent questions of the international relations of our day and one which causes an especially profound concern to millions of people in all countries throughout the world is the need for the immediate cessation of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons of various kinds. It is not difficult to understand the deep anxiety which the continuation of experimental explosions of nuclear weapons arouses among all the strata of population, from political figures, experts and scientists to simple folk, ordinary workers of cities and villages, and mothers of families. It is these tests which accelerate the arms race, which facilitate the development of new destructive and lethal kinds of nuclear weapons, and which thus increase all the more the threat of an atomic war which hangs over mankind.

Moreover, even now, in time of peace, systematic experimental explosions of atomic and hydrogen weapons cause harm to the health of peaceful, unsuspecting, innocent people of different countries. In the petition signed by 9,235 scientists of 44 countries and submitted in January 1958 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, it states that each test explosion of a nuclear bomb increases the radioactive fall-out, thus causing harm to the health of people all over the world and jeopardizing the normal development of future generations.

Taking all this into account the Soviet Government has come to the conclusion that it is not possible to delay the solution of the problem of ending nuclear weapon tests any longer since irreparable damage to the health of the people cannot be permitted.

As of today only three powers—the U.S.S.R., the United States and Great Britain—possess nuclear weapons and it would therefore be comparatively easy to reach an agreement for ending nuclear weapon tests. Unless tests are ended now other countries can come in time to possess nuclear weapons and in such circumstances it will, of course, be more difficult to reach an agreement on the cessation of tests.

For the past three years the Soviet Government have repeatedly approached the Governments of the United States and Great Britain with the proposal to end atomic and hydrogen weapon tests. Since the Government of the United States as well as the Government of Great Britain did not wish to agree to the cessation of nuclear tests without a time-limit, the Soviet side put forward a proposal, as a beginning, to stop these tests at least for a limited period, for instance two to three years. The proposals of the U.S.S.R. on this question provide for the establishment of necessary international control over the cessation of tests.

In spite of all this an agreement to solve the question of the unconditional and immediate cessation or even of the temporary suspension of nuclear tests has unfortunately not yet been reached.

Motivated by a desire to make a practical start in the cessation everywhere of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests and thus to take the first step toward the complete liberation of mankind from the threat of an atomic war of annihilation, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has resolved to stop the testing of all types of atomic and hydrogen weapons in the Soviet Union.

Implementing this resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Government has decided unilaterally to stop the testing of all types of atomic and hydrogen weapons from March 31, 1958.

The Soviet Government has approached the Governments of the United States and Great Britain with a proposal to join in this measure. The Soviet Government calls upon the Government of Canada to support this initiative in the common interest of all mankind.

If the governments of the countries that now possess nuclear weapons support this proposal of the U.S.S.R. and take in their turn, a decision to stop further tests, then the question which causes profound concern to the peoples of the whole world will at last find its solution, and thus a great step will be made towards establishing genuine confidence between states and consolidating peace.

However, if the governments of the countries that are in possession of nuclear weapons do not wish to respond to this decision of the Soviet Government, preferring to leave everything as before, and continue experiments with atomic and hydrogen weapons, then the Soviet Union will, of course, have no other alternative, in the interests of ensuring its security, than to consider itself free of the obligations which it has assumed with regard to the cessation of nuclear tests. The Soviet Government would not like the matter to take this course.

Hope is expressed in the appeal of the Soviet Government to the Governments of the United States and Great Britain that these Governments will join in the initiative of the Soviet Union and thus make possible everywhere and forever the cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

This first practical step toward the protection of people from the calamities with which they are threatened by the modern nuclear weapon will immensely facilitate progress toward the solution of the task—the complete deliverance of the peoples from the threat of an atomic war. One will hardly deny that the cessation of experiments with atomic and hydrogen weapons will without doubt greatly improve the entire international political atmosphere, and will create more favourable conditions for settling other outstanding international problems.

Allow me, Mr. Prime Minister, to express the hope that the above-mentioned proposals of the Soviet Government will meet with a positive reaction on the part of the Government of Canada.

With sincere respect,

N. KHRUSHCHEV

Dear Mr. Chairman,

I have given careful study to your letter of April 4. I can assure you that the subject matter—the question of nuclear weapons testing—is of grave concern to the Canadian Government. It is in this spirit that I reply to your message.

You will, I know, be aware of the public statements already made by the Government of Canada since your Government announced its decision, subject to certain reservations, to stop the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. You may have observed that the Canadian reaction to this announcement has been cautious and that a sense of uneasiness has modified the satisfaction we were tempted at first to entertain.

Shortly before your letter was delivered, the Canadian Government issued a statement explaining our reservations about a unilateral gesture of this kind following an intensive series of Soviet nuclear tests. We considered that while the suspension of the Soviet nuclear testing programme was to be welcomed in the context of the radiation hazard, it justified no more than the frailest hope that progress on disarmament was at last near at hand. For it is axiomatic that disarmament, to be significant in these times, must be the product of negotiation and agreement among nations. The world can hardly be expected to repose confidence in the potential results of a decision which could be reversed overnight, and without consultation, by your Government.

It is because of the compelling need to erect, at whatever cost, some tangible and reliable foundation of mutual trust that I feel justified in asking you to clarify your position with regard to the establishment of an international system for the verification of nuclear tests. Assuming that you are willing to exchange views on this problem with other governments, I should be interested to know what type of practical measures you have in mind to ensure that tests of nuclear weapons were not being conducted anywhere in the world. I should further like to know whether you are prepared to negotiate seriously on this issue in the immediate future through the United Nations or diplomatic channels, or whether you insist on delaying discussions on these matters until a summit meeting has been arranged.

These questions spring from a conviction that governments, whether or not they dispose of nuclear weapons, have a right, indeed a duty, to work unceasingly for peace now, for the alternative is the possible obliteration of the human race. This is a matter of such profound significance to mankind that unilateral and conditional decisions to suspend the testing of nuclear arms are not a tolerable substitute for international agreement.

When I first learned of your Government's announcement regarding nuclear tests, I ventured to hope that this step heralded a genuine disposition to move towards agreement on other aspects of the disarmament problem. It has, therefore, been all the more disappointing and disturbing to me to observe the attitude which your Government has adopted in the recent Security Council discussions. Personally, I am at a loss to reconcile the Soviet attitude and argument in these meetings with the conciliatory tone of your message to me.

Canadians have noted with concern the unjust accusations which your Government suddenly levelled against the United States in the Security Council on April 21, at a time when preliminary negotiations towards a summit conference were on the point of beginning in Moscow. I must also tell you frankly that the people of Canada have watched incredulously the negative reaction of the Soviet Union to the proposals advanced on April 29 by the United States for the prevention of surprise attack in the Arctic regions. This is the very area regarding which we as Canadians are especially concerned. and which we have repeatedly offered to open to international scrutiny.

If you are really anxious about developments in the Arctic and if you wish to eliminate the possibility of surprise attack across the polar regions, I find it hard to understand why you should cast aside a proposal designed to increase mutual security in that area. Let me repeat here, Mr. Chairman, that we stand by our offer to make available for international inspection or control any part of our territory, in exchange for a comparable concession on your part. I would hope that you would accept some arrangement along these lines not only as an indication of our good faith, but as part of a first, experimental step in building a system of international safeguards against surprise attack. When there is, by your own admission, a danger of nuclear war breaking out by accident or miscalculation, it is difficult for Canadians to comprehend your refusal to engage even in technical discussions intended to explore the feasibility of an international system of control.

As you know, the Canadian Government has not been opposed to a summit meeting for which adequate preparation has been made in advance. You have yourself stressed the need for preparation, and I am sure that you would agree with me that considerable preliminary work will be required before satisfactory arrangement for a summit meeting can be completed. What I find difficult to understand and to justify is your view, if I have interpreted it correctly, that no progress can be made on such important and complicated questions as the control of nuclear tests and the prevention of surprise attack until the time for a summit meeting arrives.

> Yours sincerely, JOHN G. DIEFENBAKER

# State Visit of President of Germany

His Excellency Dr. Theodor Heuss, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, on the official invitation of the Government of Canada, made a visit to Canada from May 28 to June 4, accompanied by the Foreign Minister, Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, and by members of his suite. President Heuss was the first German Head of State ever to visit Canada.

Before starting his official visit to the capital, the President and his party spent three days making an informal tour of parts of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. The President and his party arrived at Quebec City direct from Germany on May 28, being welcomed at the airport by representatives of the Federal and Province of Quebec Governments. While in Quebec City, they visited l'Ile d'Orleans and Lac Beauport, and the President was given an honorary doctor's degree by Laval University. A dinner was given in his honour by the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec at "Bois de Coulonge".

Leaving Quebec City on the morning of May 30 for Montreal, the President and his party toured the Seaway installations south of Montreal and, later that day, left by air for Hamilton, spending that night at Niagara Falls.



-Capital Press

VISIT OF PRESIDENT OF GERMANY

Dr. Theodor Heuss, President of the West German Federal Republic, is welcomed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker, at the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa, June 2, 1958, during Dr. Heuss' tour of Canada. The following day, May 31, the party, after a scenic drive including views of the Falls, proceeded to Toronto where the Secretary of State for External Affairs gave a luncheon in honour of Dr. von Brentano, with whom he also had private conversations. That evening, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario received the President and his party at a dinner and at a reception, after which the visitors left by private train for Ottawa.

During his stay in Ottawa, President Heuss was the guest of His Excellency the Governor-General at Government House. On his arrival in the capital on Sunday morning, June 1, he was greeted at Union Station by the Governor-General, the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of Canada, as well as by the Dean and members of the Diplomatic Corps. On June 2, after placing a wreath at the National War Memorial, the President addressed members of both Houses of Parliament in the House of Commons Chamber. In his introduction, the Prime Minister of Canada said:

"We have intensive trade relations with Germany. We are co-operating in the fields of atomic energy, taxation and civil aviation. Believing that the preservation of human freedom—I know that the Members of Parliament have the same view, and that you share the view—transcends all other considerations, Canadians intend to nurture that spirit of good will with all like-minded nations. We reaffirm our belief in and support for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a defensive organization dedicated to peace and with no offensive objectives. I wish to make it clear that whatever threats may be made against those nations which believe in the mission of NATO and the necessity for its continuance, Canada will maintain forces in Europe as long as international disquiet and justifiable fears require Canadian participation.

"My hope is that if the Western world will maintain its unity of purpose and will not weary in its pursuit of peace with freedom, however uncertain and hesitant the steps to that objective may appear to be, that peace with justice under law will have been achieved.

"It is in that spirit, sir, that I welcome you to the Parliament of Canada in this Chamber with representatives of the Senate and the House of Commons present. We welcome you for the stands you have taken since assumption of the presidency of Germany in 1949, for that spirit of understanding and co-operation which has characterized your State. It is in that spirit that I welcome President Theodor Heuss, President of the Federal Republic of Germany and now ask him to speak."

After a few remarks in English and French, the President, speaking in German, expressed his appreciation for the opportunity to visit Canada, and extended cordial greetings to the people of Canada from the people of Germany. The President said:

"The days spent here have made me richer in understanding, as I have viewed venerable and historic Quebec; seen the living present of Toronto and Montreal and had the incomparable experience of seeing the St. Lawrence Seaway and Niagara Falls. And I know you will not mind my quiet feeling of pride when I think that 60 years ago, when the Falls were first harnessed to generate power, it was my native province that supplied the first turbines.

Like the Prime Minister, the President also stressed the importance of NATO as a defensive organization for the survival of the free world, stating:

"We in Germany have many reasons to be grateful to the Canadian Government and the people of Canada for their early and unwavering understanding.

"We appreciate what it means for Canada to maintain soldiers on German soil, to afford an opportunity to young German pilots to familiarize themselves with the constantly developing aircraft techniques, and to recognize and support the German people's demand for reunification by peaceful, democratic means.

"The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, of which both our countries and peoples are loyal members, is the political expression of mutual solidarity."

The Speaker of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Commons thanked the President for his address, after which a reception was given in his honour by members of both Houses. Later that day, the President had a private talk with the Prime Minister. In the evening, the Governor-General was host to President Heuss at a State dinner, followed by a reception at Government House. Also on June 2, a luncheon was given by the Minister of Justice in honour of Foreign Minister von Brentano, who later had private conversations with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Trade and Commerce, as well as with the Chairman, Canadian Association of NATO Parliamentarians. The members of this Association also received Dr. von Brentano at a reception in his honour.

During their stay in Ottawa, the President and his party visited various sections of the capital and of the City of Hull. On June 3, the Prime Minister gave a State luncheon in honour of President Heuss. In the afternoon, the President was taken for a drive to the Gatineau area, while the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs called on Foreign Minister von Brentano who, later, held a press conference at the Chateau Laurier. That evening, President Heuss was host to the Governor-General at a dinner at the Country Club, where he also later gave a reception. The official visit of the President ended with his departure, by air, direct for Washington on the morning of June 4.

# **Canada and the United Nations**

# US Proposal For Arctic Inspection Zone

At the request of the United States, the Security Council reconvened on April 29 to continue its consideration of the Soviet Union's complaint(\*) against the flights of United States aircraft armed with nuclear weapons. The first item of business was a United States draft resolution proposing the establishment of an international inspection system for a zone in the Arctic. The Soviet Representative, Mr. Sobolev, at once asked the president of the Council, Mr. Lodge, whether he intended to invoke rule 20 of the Council's Rules of Procedure which makes provision for the president at his own discretion to vacate the chair temporarily when a matter of direct concern to his country is before the Council. The representatives of the United Kingdom, Panama and France immediately expressed their confidence in Mr. Lodge's impartiality and he replied to Mr. Sobolev's question by announcing his intention to remain in the chair.

## The United States Proposal

Mr. Lodge began his presentation of the United States draft resolution by referring to a letter which President Eisenhower had sent to Premier Khrushchev the previous day, urging the Soviet Union to support the United States plan for an Arctic inspection zone as a means of easing tension, increasing confidence among states and reducing fears of a surprise attack. The United States flights which the Soviet Union complained of, Mr. Lodge contended, were "a necessary defensive measure against massive surprise attack and it follows, therefore, that if the danger of such an attack were removed, the need for this defence could be correspondingly lessened. The awesome destructive power of modern armaments," he said, "makes it at least theoretically possible to wipe out the military capacity of a state—even one of the greatest powers in a single attack, but such an attack must come without warning if it is to succeed. If there is a way to guard against massive surprise attack or to allay fears of such an attack—and the United States believes that there is—we must leave no stone unturned in our efforts to find it". In 1955, Mr. Lodge recalled, • President Eisenhower had introduced his "open skies" proposal and since then there had been growing support in many countries, including the U.S.S.R. itself, for the introduction of measures to guard against surprise attack. Mr. Lodge emphasized that the present United States proposal was entirely separate from the general topic of disarmament and was put forward only as a means of allaying Russian fears. The proposed zone, he said, would include all territory north of the Arctic Circle, as well as the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and parts of Alaska and Siberia, north of Latitude 50 and between Longitudes 140 West and 160 East. The necessary technical arrangements could be worked out by the five countries which had taken part in the 1957 disarmament talks, together with Norway and Denmark who had territory lying within the proposed Arctic zone.

"If we can proceed gradually and first experiment with limited measures of aerial and ground inspection" Mr. Lodge concluded, "it should facilitate

<sup>\*</sup>See External Affairs Bulletin, April-May, 1958, pp. 90-94.

the subsequent expansion of inspection. Once this limited inspection system has proved its value and begun to rebuild mutual confidence, any suspicions that ulterior motives underlie proposals for aerial inspection measures should be removed once and for all."

The Swedish Representative, Mr. Jarring, who spoke next, referred to the concern felt throughout the world at the high degree of preparedness maintained by the major powers and expressed his gratification that the question of measures against surprise attack was being considered. His delegation, he said, was prepared to support the United States draft resolution but wished to suggest the addition of a paragraph to the effect that the discussion of an Arctic inspection zone "might serve as a useful basis for the deliberations on the disarmament problem at the Summit Conference, on the convening of which, talks are in progress."

## The Soviet Reaction

The Soviet Representative, Mr. Sobolev, began his comments on the United States draft resolution by repeating the Soviet charge that flights of United States nuclear-armed aircraft towards the frontiers of the Soviet Union constituted a threat to peace. The Government of the United States, he said, could free the world from this threat by putting an immediate end to these flights. Instead of this, however, the United States, had undertaken a diversionary manœuvre in the Security Council by putting forward a proposal which was unrelated to the main problem. The United States motive in proposing the Arctic inspection zone, Mr. Sobolev charged, was to divert attention from the question of the flights of their nuclear-armed aircraft and at the same time to obtain intelligence data about a large area of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, he said, was peace-loving and consequently the United States' alleged fear of a surprise attack was groundless. The United States draft resolution, he went on, did nothing to allay the fears of an accidental nuclear war or to advance the cause of disarmament. The group of nations which the United States had suggested should participate in the Arctic inspection scheme was even more one-sided than the United Nations Disarmament Commission and the United States continued to abuse the majority of votes which it could command in the United Nations to try and impose solutions to disarmament problems. Such problems could only be solved, he said, by mutual agreement between the two sides concerned.

Mr. Sobolev concluded his remarks by stating that in the view of the Soviet Union, solutions to international problems could only be found at a Summit Conference. He then proceeded to submit a new draft resolution which once again asked the Security Council to call on the United States to cease the flights of its military aircraft armed with atomic and hydrogen bombs in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union. The Soviet draft resolution also proposed that the Security Council record its satisfaction that Summit Conference negotiations were under way and express the hope that such a conference would be held at the earliest possible date.

#### The Canadian Position

The next speaker was the Canadian Representative, Mr. Ritchie, who opened his remarks by pointing out that as long as the Western nations considered that their security was threatened, they would continue to insist on the right to take appropriate defensive measures, and that this was presumably



CONFER AT UN —Leo Rosenthal

Mr. Charles Ritchie, of Canada, President of the Security Council of the United Nations, confers with Mr.

Dag Hammarskjold, left, UN Secretary-General.

true of the Soviet Union as well. One of the major causes for concern, he said, was the threat of surprise attack but "the removal of that risk does not lie either in unilateral action or meaningless declarations. It is just because we recognize surprise attack as perhaps the most ominous of the dangers facing the world that the Canadian Government warmly welcomes the initiative which the United States has taken in the Security Council today. In our view, the proposal for the prompt establishment of a system of inspection in Northern areas to provide safeguards against the danger of surprise attack represents a practicable attempt to deal with this most deeply-rooted cause of anxiety and tension."

Mr. Ritchie went on to point out that the present occasion was one of the few in the history of the United Nations in which a member had requested the Security Council to convene to consider not a complaint or a report, but a positive and constructive proposal designed to assist the Council in maintaining peace and security. The Canadian Government, he reminded the Council, had already expressed its readiness to open the whole of Canada under a general system of inspection and was now prepared to have a part of Canada included in any initial scheme of inspection which would involve a zone containing a North American portion and a Soviet portion of relatively equal importance. "My point," he said, "is that we are not wedded to any specific proposal and that the essence of the Canadian position is that the areas on both sides should be of comparable importance so that the arrangements

should be equitable." The Canadian Government recognizes, he continued, that the establishment of a system of safeguards would mean that there might be international teams of observers equipped with electronic devices and the necessary communications, stationed in Canada with certain rights of inspection and freedom of movement. It also recognized that foreign aircraft might be authorized to overfly Canada for inspection purposes and that logistic support elements would probably be stationed in Canada. Furthermore, the Canadian Government realized that it might be asked to make a contribution to the system in the form of personnel, aircraft or other kinds of support. "We would like to think", he said, "that the proposal now before us is only a first-stage to be followed by disarmament measures relating to nuclear and conventional weapons . . . it is our hope that co-operation in the development of security in the Arctic can provide a basis for larger agreements relating to disarmament . . ."

Mr. Ritchie concluded his remarks by stating that the Canadian Delegation found the Soviet Union's reaction to the United States draft proposal, particularly its refusal to discuss the matter, depressing and in some ways incomprehensible. If the Soviet Union was sincerely worried about developments in the Arctic, he asked, why did it reject a proposal designed to set up inspection in the area? "We for our part," he said, "believe that the plan for the Northern zone of inspection is practicable and important and Canada pledges itself to give all support to the proposal. We hope that on second thought the Soviet Union Government will reconsider the negative response which the Soviet Union Representative has indicated today."

## Position of Other Delegations

Representatives of France, the United Kingdom, Japan, Panama, China and Iraq spoke after Mr. Ritchie and each one expressed his support of the United States draft resolution. The French Representative, Mr. Georges-Picot, indicated the tenor of their remarks when he welcomed the United States proposal as the ". . . surest way of eliminating the risks to which the Soviet Union Representative himself has pointed . . . and a prelude to disarmament". Most of the representatives reserved their position on both the Swedish amendment to the United States draft resolution and the new draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union.

Just before the Council adjourned for the day, the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjold deviated from his normal practice by intervening in the debate. Mr. Hammarskjold himself pointed out that he could rightly be criticized if an intervention on his part meant taking sides but he repeated the view he had expressed on a previous occasion "... that the Secretary-General had not only the right but the duty to intervene when he feels he should do so in support of the purposes of this organization and the principles laid down in the Charter". Mr. Hammarskjold recalled that during a recent press conference he had welcomed the Soviet Union's decision to suspend nuclear tests as a step towards disarmament and "... in the same spirit and on the same basis I wish today to welcome the initiative taken by the United States". The stalemate in the field of disarmament has been allowed to go on too long, he said, because governments had been too ambitious and would not be satisfied to make just a dent in the complicated problem. Also there had been a tendency for governments to wait for one another to take the first step. The main difficulty, however, he suggested ". . . is the crisis of trust from which all mankind is suffering

at the present time . . ." Initiatives such as the United States proposal, he concluded, are "... steps which could make a dent in the disarmament problem ... and if treated in good faith . . . could provide a first frail basis for the development of some kind of trust." Following the Secretary-General's remarks, the French Representative, Mr. Georges-Picot, proposed a forty-eight hour adjournment of the debate to give the representatives and their governments an opportunity to study the Swedish amendment, the new Russian draft resolution and Mr. Hammarskjold's statement.

## The Voting

When the Security Council reconvened at 11:00 A.M. on May 2, the Canadian Representative, Mr. Ritchie, had assumed the presidency for the month of May. Mr. Lodge was the first to speak, announcing his delegation's acceptance of the Swedish amendment to the United States draft resolution. In doing so, he suggested a change in the wording of the amendment so that it would refer to "A Summit Conference" rather than "the Summit Conference". This change was accepted by the Swedish Reperesentative, Mr. Jarring.

Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, Canada and Panama then spoke briefly. Mr. Soboley reiterated the Soviet Union's charges against the United States and repeated his contention that the United States draft resolution was "sheer propaganda", thus indicating that the Soviet Union's opposition to the United States proposal had not altered during the two-day recess. Without exception, the other representatives supported the United States draft resolution as amended by Sweden. Shortly after noon, when it became apparent that the time for a vote on the United States draft resolution was approaching, the Japanese Representative, Mr. Matsudaira, moved that the Council adjourn until 3 o'clock that afternoon.

When the members of the Council resumed their places after the recess, the president, Mr. Ritchie, proposed that the United States draft resolution be put to a vote. All of the members of the Council, with the exception of Mr. Sobolev, favoured the United States proposal but it was lost because the contrary Soviet vote constituted a veto. A vote was then taken on the Soviet draft resolution. Nine members of the Council voted against it, the Soviet Union was in favour and Sweden abstained, so that the draft resolution was defeated. After the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France had made brief statements explaining their votes on the Soviet draft resolution, the meeting adjourned.

# APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. D. M. Cornett posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective April 16, 1958.
- Mr. L. V. Ryan posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective April 30, 1958.
- Mr. S. Grey posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, effective May 2, 1958.
- Mr. G. Bertrand posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective May 6, 1958.
- Mr. J. A. Colvin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective May 7, 1958.
- Mr. A. B. Roger posted from the Canadian Embassy, Ciudad Trujillo to Ottawa, effective May 7, 1958.
- Mr. R. W. MacLaren posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective May 9, 1958.
- Mr. J. A. Dougan, MC, posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, effective May 9, 1958.
- Mrs. H. I. Dawson resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective May 10, 1958.
- Mr. F. J. L. Hudon postèd from Canada to the Canadian Embassy, Ciudad Trujillo, effective May 13, 1958.
- Mr. G. V. Beaudry posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington to the Canadian Embassy, Oslo, effective May 14, 1958.
- Miss A. L. Saint-Pierre posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective May 16, 1958.
- Mr. D. R. Hill posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective May 16, 1958.
- Mr. G. E. Hardy posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa, effective April 18, 1958.
- Mr. J. G. H. Halstead posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective May 24, 1958.
- Mr. J. C. G. Brown posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, effective May 26, 1958.
- Miss A. M. Ireland posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective May 26, 1958.
- Mr. G. H. Blouin posted from the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco to Ottawa, effective May 29, 1958.
- Mr. R. B. Edmonds posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, effective May 30, 1958.
- Mr. J. E. Brossard posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, effective May 30, 1958.
- Mr. J. E. Thibault posted from the Canadian Embassy, Oslo to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective May 31, 1958.

## TREATY INFORMATION

### **Current Action**

## Bilateral

#### . . .

Convention between the Government of Canada and the Government of Belgium for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

Signed at Ottawa April 10, 1958.

Convention between Canada and Belgium for the purpose of extending to the Belgian Congo and to the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under trusteeship the Convention between Canada and Belgium for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

Signed at Ottawa April 10, 1958.

#### Denmark

Exchange of Notes modifying the Agreement of 1949 with regard to Air Services.

Signed at Ottawa May 16, 1958. Entered into force May 16, 1958.

#### Norway

Exchange of Notes modifying the Agreement of 1950 with regard to Air Services.

Signed at Ottawa May 16, 1958. Entered into force May 16, 1958.

#### Pakistan

Convention between Canada and Pakistan concerning the priority of filing dates of Patents of Invention.

Signed at Karachi January 15, 1958. Entered into force April 15, 1958.

#### Sweder

Exchange of Notes modifying the Agreement of 1947 with regard to Air Services.

Signed at Ottawa May 16, 1958. Entered into force May 16, 1958.

#### United States of America

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning the "Buffalo-Fort Eric Peace Bridge".

Signed at Washington April 3 and 11, 1958.

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the organization and operation of the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD).

Signed at Washington May 12, 1958. Entered into force May 12, 1958.

#### Multilateral

Convention on the inter-governmental maritime consultative organization.

Accepted by Canada October 15, 1948. Entered into force March 17, 1958.

Final Act of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

Signed at Geneva April 29, 1958.

Convention on the territorial sea and the contiguous zone.

Signed at Geneva April 29, 1958.

Convention on the high seas.

Signed at Geneva April 29, 1958.

Convention of fishing and conservation of the living resources of the high seas. Signed at Geneva April 29, 1958.

Convention on the continental shelf.

Signed at Geneva April 29, 1958.

Optional Protocol of signature concerning the compulsory settlement of disputes. Signed at Geneva April 29, 1958.

#### **Publication**

- Canada Treaty Series 1952 No. 30. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Signed at Washington June 30, 1952.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 6. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America respecting the construction of housing units at Pepperrell Air Force Base, St. John's, Newfoundland. Signed at Ottawa April 18 and 19, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 9. International Tin Agreement. Done at London March 1, 1954. Signed by Canada June 28, 1954.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 10. Exchange of Notes between Canada and Honduras for the establishment of a commercial Modus Vivendi. Signed at Tegucigalpa July 11, 1956.

- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 12. Agreement regarding Financial support of the North Atlantic Ice Patrol. Done at Washington January 4, 1956. Signed by Canada July 5, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 13. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America extending participation in the Canadian Unemployment Insurance Act to Canadian employees of the United States Armed Forces in Canada. Signed at Washington December 20, 1955 and April 23, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 14. Exchange of Notes between Canada and Austria regarding the issuance of multi-entry visas to diplomatic representatives, officials and non-immigrants. Signed at Ottawa May 28 and June 19, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 15. Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of India respecting the reciprocal protection of the priority of patents of invention. Signed at Ottawa August 30, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 17. Agreement between Canada and France on the admission of of trainees. Signed at Ottawa October 4, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 18. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom extending the Double Taxation Agreement of June 5, 1946 with respect to Income Tax to Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar. Signed at Ottawa August 2, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 19. Exchange of Notes between Canada and France concerning burial arrangements in France for members of Canadian Forces and civilian components. Signed in Paris September 4, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 20. Agreement between the Government of Canada, the Government of the United Kingdom, and the Government of the United States of America as to the disposition of rights in atomic energy inventions. Signed at Washington September 24, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 22. Protocol relating to certain Amendments to the Convention on International Civil Aviation. Done at Montreal June 14, 1954.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 23. Exchange of Notes between Canada and Turkey regarding the issuance of multi-entry visas to diplomatic representatives, officials and non-immigrants. Signed at Ankara August 21, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1956 No. 24. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning the relocation of that part of the Roosevelt Bridge which crosses the Cornwall South Channel. Signed at Washington October 24, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 1. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning use of the Haines cut-off road by the United States Army for the winter maintenance of the Haines-Fairbanks Pipeline. Signed at Ottawa January 16 and 17, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 2. Agreement between Canada and the United Kingdom to amend the financial agreement signed at Ottawa March 6, 1946. Signed at Ottawa March 6, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 4. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning certain dredging works in the St. Mary's River and the St. Clair River sections of the Great Lakes connecting channels. Signed at Ottawa November 30, 1956, April 8 and 9, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 5. Protocol amending the International Sugar Agreement opened for signature at London on October 1, 1953. Done at London December 1, 1956. Signed by Canada December 17, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 6. Agreement on the Joint Financing of certain air navigation services in Iceland. Opened for signature at Geneva September 25, 1956. Signed by Canada November 28, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 8. Agreement between Canada and the United States of America amending the Agreement for co-operation on the civil uses of atomic energy signed at Washington June 15, 1955. Signed at Washington June 26, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 9. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning proposed navigation improvements to be undertaken in the Detroit River Section of the Great Lakes connecting Channels. Signed at Ottawa July 23 and October 26, 1956 and February 26, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 11. Exchange of Notes between Canada and India amending the Agreement of January 26, 1951 concerning the entry to Canada for permanent residence of citizens of India. Signed at New Delhi May 3, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 13. Exchange of Notes between Canada and Peru amending the Agreement of February 18, 1954 for air services between the two countries. Signed at Lima April 25 and June 5, 1957.

- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 16. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Netherlands providing for a continuation for a period of three years of Canada's NATO air training programme with respect to Aircrew Trainees. Signed at The Hague April 12, and 13, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 17. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Norway providing for a continuation for a period of three years of Canada's NATO air training programme with respect to aircrew trainees. Signed at Oslo April 17, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 21. Protocol between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America to the Convention for the protection, preservation and extension of the sockeye salmon fisheries in the Fraser River system signed at Washington on the 26th day of May 1930. Signed at Ottawa December 28, 1956.
- Canada Treaty Series 1953 No. 27. Protocol on the exercise of criminal jurisdiction over United Nations Forces in Japan. Signed at Tokyo October 26, 1953. Signed by Canada October 26, 1953.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\* A Selected List

#### a) Printed Documents:

- Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1957. ECAFE, Bangkok, 1958. (Also issued as Vol. VIII, No. 4 of the Economic Bulletin for Ecafe). 261 p. \$2.50.
- Energy in Latin America. Study prepared by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Latin America. E/CN.12/384/Rev.1. November 1957. 268 p. \$2.50. Sales No.: 1957. II.G.2.
- Commodity Survey, 1957. (Commission on International Commodity Trade). E/CN.13/27, ST/ECA/51. N.Y., 1958. 218 p. \$2.50. Sales No.: 58.II.D.1.
- Yearbook on Human Rights for 1955, N.Y., 1957, 430 p. \$4.50, Sales No.: 1958.XIV.1.

#### GATT

Basic instruments and selected documents. Sixth Supplement. Decisions, Reports, etc. of the Twelfth Session. Index. Geneva, March 1958. 183 p. \$1.50. Sales No.: GATT/1958-1.

#### TT.C

Audited Accounts for the thirty-ninth financial period (1957), and Reports thereon by Mr. Uno Brunskok, Auditor. Geneva, 1958. 54 p.

#### UNESCO

Report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organization in 1957. Paris, 1958. 256 p. \$5,00.

International Bibliography of Political Science, Vol. V. Paris, 1958. 296 p. (bil.). \$6.00.

International Bibliography of Sociology, Vol. VI. (Documentation in the Social Sciences). Paris, 1958. 271 p. (bil.) \$6.00.

#### WHO

The first ten years of the World Health Organization. Geneva, 1958. 538 p. \$5.00.

#### b) Mimeographed Documents:

- Report of the Universal Postal Union 1957. E/3072. 4 March 1958. 86 p. (Berne, International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union).
- Report of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for 1957-1958. E/3101. 23 April 1958. 62 p.

\*Printed documents of the United Nations may be obtained in Canada at the following addresses: Agents: The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street, W., Toronto; Sub-Agents: Book Room Ltd., Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Bookstore, Montreal; Magasin des Etudiants de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal: University of Manitoba Bookstore, Winnipeg; University of Toronto Press and Bookstore, Toronto; University of British Columbia Bookstore, Vancouver.

Mimeographed United Nations documents are available to the general public by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York; and to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations from the United Nations Department of Public Information, New York.

For more complete information see "External Affairs" for April-May, 1958, page 117.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



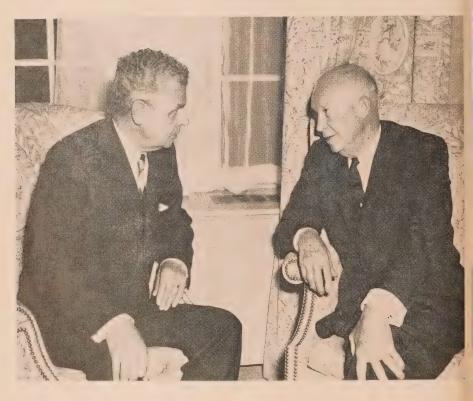
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Department of External Affairs Ottawa, Canada

# Heads of State Confer



President Dwight D. Eisenhower, of the United States, right, and Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, of Canada, discuss a point during Mr. Eisenhower's visit to Ottawa July 8-11. An article dealing with Mr. Eisenhower's visit in the context of Canada - United States relations will appear in the August issue of "External Affairs".

# Malaya: First Anniversary Of Independence

On August 31, 1958 the Federation of Malaya will have completed its first year as a fully-independent member of the Commonwealth. This first anniversary of independence, which is likely to be marked in the Federation itself by colourful celebrations, will provide the other nations of the world which are confronted with the remarkable success of Malaya's first year of nationhood with a useful opportunity to broaden their knowledge of the country and its people. In particular, countries which are bound by the link of Commonwealth solidarity and which entertain a special interest and admiration for this new Asian associate will be encouraged to develop a more intimate acquaintance with Malaya.

The Federation of Malaya as it exists today represents the rewarding result of an inspiring human experience, that of nation building. The chief architects, the Malayan people and the British administrators, had no easy task in making a nation out of the rugged Malayan peninsula and its multiracial population. In this sense the Malayan experience is truly an achievement in statesmanship. Moreover, it illustrates once more the vitality and constructiveness of democratic institutions and confirms the flexibility of the federal form of government when racially-diversified groups decide to unite to govern themselves while retaining a measure of local autonomy.

The Federation of Malaya, covering some 50,690 square miles, is about the size of the State of New York. The Malayan peninsula extends southwards from the narrow Kra Isthmus (between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea), which joins it to the south-east corner of Asia. In the north the Federation has a frontier with Thailand, and across the narrow Malacca Straits, to the south-west of the peninsula, lies the Island of Sumatra, part of the Republic of Indonesia. At its southernmost tip and connected to it by a causeway three-quarters of a mile long, is the Island of Singapore which, together with a number of adjacent islands, constitutes the colony of Singapore.

Malaya therefore is not lacking in geographic unity and occupies a focal position within the region of South-East Asia. Lying across the shortest sea route and almost equi-distant between India and China, astride the main sea and air routes to Australia and, across the Pacific, to the United States, Malaya obviously occupies a position of great strategic importance. However, the internal topography of the peninsula, four-fifths of which is still covered by dense jungle, does not alleviate the problems of the nation builders. The remaining cleared areas, representing one-fifth of the total territory, are stretches of land mainly situated on the west coast, in the north of the peninsula and along the principal rivers, which at an earlier period were the only highways of the country. In these areas the tin mines, rubber and coconut plantations, paddy fields and oil palm states which provide the Federation's main wealth are to be found.

## Unique Racial Relationship

The diversified population of the Federation of Malaya, approximately 7.000,000, is the product of a unique racial relationship, sometimes conflicting, yet interactive. Long before it came under British protection the peninsula had attracted people in large numbers from China, India, and elsewhere in Asia. Hindu social customs, fused with the traditional Malay practice, still survive today. During the 15th century the Moslem influence began to spread, and by the end of the 17th century had largely completed the conversion of the Malays to Islam. The Arabic then replaced the Indian alphabet. Under British administration the order and security maintained in the territory attracted an even larger Indian and Chinese immigration movement which, beginning shortly after the middle of the 19th century and continuing until the First World War, changed the structure of the population from 90 per cent Malay to 54 per cent Malay. It was at the beginning of this immigration wave that Kuala Lumpur (meaning muddy landing place), the capital of the Federation of Malaya, was founded on the shores of the Klang River by a small number of Chinese immigrants who were attracted by the rich deposits of tin which they had discovered in that part of the Malay State of Selangor. The Malayan Chinese have long been in control of the country's commerce and main industry, while the Indians have supplied the labour for rubber estates and government departments. The Malays, excepting the considerable number of those who have now joined the public service, have been mostly satisfied to remain small holders or fishermen unattracted by urban life. The difficulty for a population composed of such racially and occupationally different groups to realize the national unity necessary to the creation of a sovereign and democratic country has been among the most difficult challenges to overcome.

# **Economic Development**

Economically the Malayan peninsula presents relatively less difficulty to the nation builders. While the Malayan economy, supported mainly by the revenue of tin and rubber exports, is unbalanced and highly vulnerable, by Asian standards Malaya is a rich country. Malaya produces approximately one-third of the world's tin and rubber. This economic development, which has been rendered possible by the security maintained under British administration and by British capital, as well as by the enterprise and industry of the Chinese and Indian immigrants, is therefore a positive asset without which the establishment of Malaya as a modern independent nation would not have been possible. The modern economy of Malaya has been jointly built since the middle of the last century on the initiative of governmental administration and private enterprise. In addition to the challenge which had to be met from the national ruggedness of the country, a tremendous economic and social reconstruction task had to be undertaken after the Second World War when, under Japanese occupation, the economic progress of the country had come to a standstill.

In addition to all the natural difficulties which they had to resolve in achieving nationhood, the Malayan people, with the assistance of the United Kingdom Government, have been constantly engaged since 1948 in fighting against armed communist terrorism. The terrorists' resort to violence, conducted from their jungle hide-outs, was aimed at disrupting the economic and social order of the country in an open bid to overthrow the legal administration.

It is now history that the communist terrorists have failed in their seditious attempt. However, a small number of terrorists, estimated today at less than 1,500, still refuse to lay down their arms, and the task of eliminating them completely is still being pursued by the Malayan Government, which for this purpose requested at the time of independence the continuance of military assistance from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand.

#### The Government

In spite of all these obstacles Malaya became a sovereign and independent member of the Commonwealth on August 31, 1957, equipped with a developed economy and modern social services, an efficient administration and democratic political institutions. Under its new constitution the Federation of Malaya comprises the nine Malay States of Perlis, Kedah, Perak, Klantam, Trengannu, Pehang, Selangor, Negri Sembilam and Johore, and the two British settlements of Penang and Malacca. The Paramount Ruler or King of Malaya is elected for a period of five years among the states rulers. The ruler of Negri Sembilam was elected as the first Paramount Ruler of Malaya. The Parliament will consist of 100 elected members, and the Senate will be composed of 33 members mainly elected by the various state parliaments and partially nominated. The constitution provides for a strong central government with defined emergency powers granting the states a measure of economy and the exercise of residual legislative powers.

The present Government of Malaya is headed by Prime Minister Abdul Rahman Putra, one of the chief architects of Malayan independence and the leader of the Alliance Party, which comprises three communal parties, the United Malay National Organization, the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malay Indian Congress. The Alliance was elected to power in 1955 under the previous constitution and will probably remain in office until 1959, when new elections will be held in accordance with the new constitution. In September 1957, at the Twelfth Session of the General Assembly, the Federation of Malaya was unanimously admitted as a member of the United Nations; it has since then joined a number of international bodies and agencies, and has recently become the seventeenth member of the Colombo Plan Council.

The Canadian Government, which was represented by Mr. J. M. Macdonnell, Minister without Portfolio, at the Malayan independence celebrations, has now opened a permanent diplomatic mission in Kuala Lumpur. The Canadian High Commissioner's Office in Malaya was officially established on March 29, 1958, when the first Canadian High Commissioner to Malaya presented his Letter of Commission to the Malayan Paramount Ruler.

When, on August 31, 1958, the Malayan people celebrate the first anniversary of their emergence as an independent nation, it is with admiration for this inspiring achievement that the nations of the world and, in particular, members of the Commonwealth, will turn their attention to Malaya. The success of the Federation's first year as an independent nation does not mean that in achieving independence the Malayan people have resolved all their political, economic, and social problems; but it constitutes an encouraging indication that they enjoy the ability to solve, by the equitable use of their democratic institutions, the problems to come.

# **External Affairs in Parliament**

# Visit of Mr. Macmillan

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of the United Kingdom visited Ottawa early last month, and held discussions with Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and Members of the Cabinet. He addressed Members of the Senate and the House of Commons on June 13.

## **Discussions Reviewed**

Mr. Diefenbaker reported to the House of Commons June 20 on the discussions with Mr. Macmillan. He said:

"The discussions I had with Mr. Macmillan provided an opportunity to renew at first hand the understanding of our respective points of view. As both the late Mr. King and former Prime Minister Mr. St. Laurent said on more than one occasion, such consultations are a feature of the unique quality of the Commonwealth. It is one of the privileges of membership in this Commonwealth that prime ministers who share these ties can hold friendly and forthright discussions with each other from time to time about the problems which affect their respective countries, and also in a broader world context.

"In the talks we reviewed a number of international problems, ranging from the proposed summit conference to developments in the Middle East and the problems at the moment being faced by the Republic of France. We also spent some time in exchanging views on economic developments, particularly those relating to the forthcoming Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference.

"As hon, members know, the Canadian Government has felt that a summit conference might resolve some of the issues affecting relations of the free world and the communist bloc. But we also believe that before any such conference is called there must be full preparation on the lower levels in order to assure a reasonable degree of success. Many there are who look with anticipation to the holding of a summit conference as though it would resolve all of the problems, or many of the problems, that have existed between the free world and the communist countries since 1945. For that reason everything must be done, if a conference is to be called, to assure that it shall not fail in its objectives when it is convened. This would, I think, be worse than not having a conference at all.

"As hon, members know, technical discussions will commence at Geneva on July 1 regarding atomic inspection and the detection of nuclear explosions, in which conference the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R. will participate as well as other interested countries. If in consequence of this meeting in Geneva tangible progress is made, I think we might then be more optimistic about a summit conference taking place. Mr. Macmillan and I hope that a summit conference will take place, but both are aware of the fact that the West has not yet had any very encouraging indications from the U.S.S.R. that would lead the free world to believe confidently that the cold war will cease. When I make that statement I do so as well in the light of events that have taken

place in the last few days in Hungary, and also the extent to which Mr. Khrushchev has added to the propaganda warfare that has existed for the last year or so, and to an intensified extent in the last few days.

"Reference was also made to the political developments in Lebanon, and recently my colleague the Secretary of State for External Affairs reported on the part Canada could take in co-operation with other members of the United Nations in assisting the Security Council in its efforts to bring about an end to the disorders in that country. It was agreed between us that respect for the ideals of the United Nations in the Middle East, as elsewhere, would be a help to the observers of the United Nations in their task in that area.

"Another political development in the Middle East which has disturbed the free world, and particularly us in Canada because of our membership in the Commonwealth and in NATO, has been the disorderly situation in Cyprus. I can only say that as a result of the initiative being taken by the United Kingdom Government in its latest proposals that were revealed yesterday in the House of Commons there it is to be hoped that a solution of this problem may be worked out within a framework of conciliation and compromise.

"Discussions also centred around the situation in France, our close friend and valiant ally, and I think there is reason to be optimistic that the worst of the difficulties in that nation is over and that under General de Gaulle, our loyal and brave friend during the dark days of the last war, Canada will be able to look forward to seeing France resolve its present problems and to a continuation of intimate collaboration with France under General de Gaulle.

"As well we discussed the economic outlook on both sides of the Atlantic and its relation to the main problems and issues of policy that the United Kingdom and Canada are now considering. These discussions involved trade and economic development, not only as regards our two countries directly but also in respect of our relations with other countries as well. The main subjects of economic discussion were the policies to be followed at and the preparations being made for the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference. This included a review of a number of matters that are being studied by officials from all Commonwealth countries in London at the present time, to the end that proper foundations will be laid for a successful conference.

"Throughout these discussions there was a full realization of the evergrowing Soviet attack on the vulnerable and comparatively weakly defended economic front of the free world. It seems clear that this economic challenge is designed to outflank the political and military defences of the West. I believe that counteraction will be required in this field and can only be taken by co-operative measures to meet this new Soviet offensive. During the next few months the Canadian Government jointly with our friends and allies will take steps to meet this new Soviet offensive.

"Discussions are already under way with the North Atlantic Treaty Council, and I believe the result we hope will be achieved at the forthcoming Trade and Economic Conference in September will tend to strengthen the economies of the free world."

#### The Commonwealth

Addressing Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons, Prime Minister Macmillan spoke of "the immense force for good which the Commonwealth is and can be in the world today."

Of the Commonwealth, the United Kingdom Prime Minister said, in part:

"What is it that binds us together? The United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—we are, of course, held together by common origins and tradition. We feel a deep and personal loyalty to the Crown, perhaps never more than today. We are fortunate indeed to have in our Queen so noble a representative of the royal function. But there are many countries of the Commonwealth which do not share common origins or common allegiance. We are not, all of us, bound together by ties of race, colour or religion. In these countries of Asia and



DISTINGUISHED SPEAKER

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of the United Kingdom addressing Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons on June 13, 1958.

Africa even the Crown itself, so dear to you and to us, is respected more as a symbol of Commonwealth unity than as a real and personal object of loyalty.

"What, then, is this spirit that breathes upon this unique community of nations? It is, I think, closely connected with what I was trying to say just now about our parliamentary system and how we work it. It is the idea of free government, freedom of the law, of law and government separated, the judiciary uncontrolled by legislature or executive. It is the belief in government by consent, by debate, by committee, by local authority, by parliament. Above all, perhaps, it is the conviction that the state was made for man and not man for the state. People who believe in these ideals will never surrender to materialism or to tyranny.

"Of course the new nations of Asia and Africa have many problems and difficulties, but I have been deeply impressed with the deep impact which our people and our institutions have had upon these peoples of the East. I am quite sure of this; we do not gain in their estimation by denigrating the very real contributions which we have made. I am not thinking only of the great viceroys, the famous governors, the conquering generals; I am thinking about the work done throughout the subcontinent of India and throughout many parts of Asia and Africa by quite simple people—the district officer, the doctor, the missionary, the schoolmaster. These men come from humble homes; the small squire, the professional class and above all from vicarage and manse. The work done is not forgotten. It is still fruitful, more fruitful perhaps than they ever could have dreamed. All these ideas and examples have revivified the old societies of the East, and if now the new vigour and bursting energy of these lands seems sometimes wrongly directed, let us remember this simple fact. In the great struggle for the future of mankind which has continued throughout all history and is now perhaps more intense than ever, the ideals of the Commonwealth, steadily pursued, have put the Commonwealth nations firmly on the side of freedom.

"Military alliances, economic pacts, formal guarantees; all these are good and necessary and have served us well. We in Britain are proud to be the only nation to belong to all three defensive groupings in the world—NATO, SEATO and the Bagdad pact. Nevertheless these do not of themselves bring us new friends or win over the hesitant and doubtful, for this is a struggle partly of power and partly of ideas. In this struggle it is, in my view, the ideas and the ideals which will count, in the long run, and in all these the Commonwealth of today has a vital role to play.

"It would be wrong to think that in this world struggle we can take only a defensive posture. The steady growth of the Commonwealth is, indeed, the best evidence that our way of life is positive and vital. That is what we have to show to all the other peoples of the world who are hesitating to commit themselves, as well as to those who are at present under the yoke of Soviet domination.

"You may ask how will it all end. I do not believe that we need fear the future if we hold firm to our faith and our ideals. In time even the monolithic dictatorships crumble and change, for although the free world by its very diversity often seems weak, in its variety and above all in its freedom it is fundamentally strong. I do not believe that a purely materialistic concept of life will forever satisfy men and women; nor do I fear a continuing struggle of ideas. This I think should be our chosen battle-ground."

## Trade and Economic Conference

Mr. Macmillan said he hoped the forthcoming Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference would "march to great advance in Commonwealth co-operation in trade and commerce". Speaking of trade between Canada and the United Kingdom, Mr. Macmillan said:

"I was particularly pleased at the job done by the visiting Canadian Delegation a few months ago. The contacts that were built up and the close association that we have now with Canadian industry is going to produce some remarkable results as the months go by. We have with your Government the closest understanding. We have between your industries and ours novel and quite remarkable developments in practical co-operation. Your industrialists have been to see our country and how good the stuff is that we have to sell. We hope that our recent mission to Canada under Sir William Rootes will have helped us to add still further to our understanding. We are looking forward, therefore, to increased mutual trade and closer working in all industrial and economic fields".

## **Protest Executions**

Prime Minister Diefenbaker read to the Commons June 24 the diplomatic note to the Hungarian Government protesting against the execution of Imre Nagy, former premier of Hungary, and his associates. The note read:

"The revulsion and shock manifested throughout the world at the news of the execution of Imre Nagy, former premier of Hungary, and his associates, is shared by the Government and people of Canada.

"The fact that the victims were taken into custody after assurances were given by the Hungarian Government that no sanctions would be taken against them and that they could proceed freely to their homes makes their execution the more reprehensible.

"It is greatly to be regretted that the Hungarian Government has seen fit to carry out these harsh reprisals which flout the principles of justice and worsen the international climate.

"In 1956 and 1957, world opinion expressed itself unmistakably on the tragic events in Hungary through debates in the United Nations and in the report of the Special United Nations Committee of Investigation.

"These executions are, therefore, considered by the Canadian Government as part of an unjustifiable terrorist policy which is abhorrent to the people of Canada and which makes it difficult to maintain the hope that the Hungarian Government, along with other Governments of Eastern Europe, will be able to move forward toward a more liberal dispensation for their peoples".

# Canadian at Nuclear Tests Conference

Prime Minister Diefenbaker made the following statement in The House of Commons June 20 announcing the appointment of Dr. O. M. Solandt as a participant in talks to commence July 1 at Geneva on methods of verifying compliance with an agreement on the suspension of Nuclear Tests:

"... I would like to make an announcement concerning a matter of immediate importance respecting the projected talks on the technical methods of verifying compliance with an agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests.

"Exchanges on this question, have taken place in recent weeks between the United States and the Soviet Union the latest of which was in the form of a letter dated June 13 last from the Soviet Union to which the United States has delivered its reply as of today's date.

"Hon. members will understand that it is not for me to make public the text of this communication, which will be released in accordance with procedures agreed upon between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is, however, appropriate for me to announce that Canada was invited to nominate a scientist to participate as one of the experts on the Western side. It is therefore a pleasure for me to announce the appointment of Dr. O. M. Solandt, who for many years was Chairman of the Defence Research Board and is one of Canada's great scientists. Dr. Solandt is now Vice-Chairman of the Canadian National Railways in charge of research, and has agreed to make himself available for this important and exacting assignment. Dr. Solandt's name has therefore been included in the list of Western scientists contained in today's communication from the United States to the U.S.S.R.

"I felt that this announcement should be made in the House of Commons simultaneously with the announcement in Washington, and that hon. members should learn of the appointment in this way rather than through the medium of the newspapers".

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# Message to General de Gaulle

Prime Minister Diefenbaker last month sent the following message to General de Gaulle, of France:

"I have been following recent events in France which have led to the formation of the new government under your leadership with the concern and attention you would expect from the Government and people of Canada. We in Canada have a special place in our hearts for the great traditions of France from which we have drawn so much in the past and in the bonds of friendship and alliance which have linked our two countries for many years. It is my hope that the future may bring new means of cementing these associations in the wider context of our North Atlantic Community.

"I send you my congratulations on your accession to the premiership of the French Republic and my fervent wishes for success in the solution of the difficult problems which confront you. If my Government can, in any way, be helpful in the solution of some of these problems with which we are concerned, I trust you will reply on our desire to co-operate.

"While I realize that you are faced with immediate problems to which you will have to devote your attention, I hope that before long it may be possible for you to visit Canada. Apart from the great pleasure it would give me and the Canadian people to welcome you here, you might feel that your presence in Canada would serve to emphasize and give expression to the important role of France in the Western World, in North America as well as in Europe.

"In the complex and difficult world situation which confronts us all, I feel that the leadership of France can be of supreme importance in developing the basis for co-operation and concerned policy between Europe and North America, which I regard as fundamental to the solution of broader problems.

"I look forward to the time when I may have the honour of meeting you and of discussing some of these problems with you. In the meantime, I would reiterate my good wishes and those of the Canadian Government and people on your accession to the premiership of the French Republic".

In his reply, General de Gaulle wrote:

"I was very moved by the message you sent me. You have shown, in terms that touch the hearts of all Frenchmen, the friendship which unites our two nations and the spiritual heritage that inspires it.

"Like you, I hope that our Governments will be able to tighten still further the bonds useful for a better understanding by the European and North American peoples in dealing with the problems that they must face in common.

"I do not doubt that the noble Canadian nation will be happy to see France fully playing the role that is naturally hers in the world and, (Cont'd on Page 161)

# The Situation in Indonesia

Since achieving its independence in December 1949, after four years of alternate negotiations and hostilities with the Netherlands Government the Republic of Indonesia has been beset with internal problems and dissensions. The result, in February of this year, was the outbreak of civil war. There were difficulties inherent in the new Republic as a result of the disruption caused by the prolonged hostilities against Dutch forces prior to the achievement of independence and the almost complete lack of the traditions of self-government. In addition, a plethora of political parties of differing ideologies in the Indonesian Parliament (varying from the Rightist Muslim Party to the Communists) has created political instability resulting in frequent changes of the Cabinet. The latter is, in itself, a symptom of the country's many internal problems: the strong sectionalism in the far-flung archipelago, which is aggravated by a unitary rather than a federal structure of government; the lack of internal security, a by-product of the guerrilla warfare, first against the Japanese and then against the Dutch; and finally the economic weakness of the Republic.

# **Growing Estrangement**

Against this background, there had been a growing estrangement between the Central Government in Java and the outer islands over the question of local autonomy. Although containing only 40 per cent of the population of the Republic, the outer islands earn over 70 per cent of its foreign exchange and consider that they should have a larger share of the national income for reconstruction and development purposes. Dissatisfaction with the centralization of the administration had been coupled with concern over President Sukarno's institution of "guided democracy" through the establishment of a National Council of representatives of functional and other groups to serve as an advisory board to the Cabinet, an action which some consider to violate the spirit of the Constitution. There had been expressed additional concern over the growing influence of the Communist Party, which has emerged as the largest single party in Java, although it is not represented as such in the Cabinet. District army commanders in South and Central Sumatra and in the North Celebes and members of the Masjumi (Moslem) Party form the main opposition to the Central Government.

In December 1957, the Government, in line with its strongly nationalistic policy (and in reaction to the failure of the General Assembly of the United Nations to give the required two-thirds majority to a resolution for UN action on the Indonesian - Netherlands dispute over West Irian) instituted a series of measures by which banks, plantations and firms still controlled by the Dutch were placed under Indonesian supervision. Although there was no opposition to this action by political parties or groups, it was considered in some quarters in Indonesia that the action taken had been precipitate. Certainly the ensuing disruption of export industries and inter-island communications had a severe effect on the country's economy. The sharp increase in prices through the interruption in inter-island trade, which had been conducted by Dutch ships, gave rise to further discontent.

# Revolutionary Government Proclaimed

When, early in 1958, President Sukarno left Indonesia on his foreign tour, the disaffected groups in Sumatra and the North Celebes became more outspoken in their criticism of Government policies. The physical absence of President Sukarno appeared to provide the dissidents with an opportunity to attempt to force a change of policy. There were increasingly frequent reports, which proved to be accurate, that an opposition movement based in Sumatra was growing in strength. As a first move, early in February, the dissidents sent emissaries to President Sukarno, who was then in Tokyo, to discuss their grievances. He was not receptive to their demands and, on February 10, the anti-Communist military Commanders, and their civilian associates who formed the Sumatran group, broadcast an ultimatum to the Central Government demanding the resignation of the Cabinet, its replacement by a Cabinet under former Vice-President Dr. Hatta and the Sultan of Djogjakarta, and a return to "constitutional procedures" by President Sukarno. The refusal of the Central Government to consider these proposals resulted in a proclamation by the rebels, on February 15, of a new "Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia", headed by the former Governor of the Bank of Indonesia, Dr. Sjafruddin, and including the principal military rebel, Colonel Simbolan, as Foreign Minister. Others in the Cabinet included a former Prime Minister and a former Minister of Finance. The Central Government responded to this declaration by denouncing the rival government, outlawing the military and civilian leaders and, early in March, after evidently discarding the possibility of a compromise solution, instituting military operations against the dissidents.

It soon became evident that President Sukarno was determined to achieve a complete military victory. In the initial stages of the campaign, Government forces quickly recaptured oil installations in Central Sumatra and put down a revolt in Medan, the principal city and seaport of North Sumatra. In mid-April, the rebel centre of Padang was taken and by early May, with the recapture of the remaining rebel-held towns in Sumatra, organized resistance was virtually ended in that area and the insurgent headquarters moved to the North Celebes.

#### Guerrilla Activities

Government forces had defeated the dissidents in Sumatra with little difficulty and the leadership of the revolutionary movement was transferred from Dr. Sjafruddin to Colonel J. J. Warouw in the North Celebes. In Eastern Indonesia the Revolutionary Government, which had somehow obtained a small bomber force, appeared to achieve local air superiority. It successfully attacked oil installations and shipping, including a number of foreign ships and claimed the destruction of a number of Government aircraft on the ground. Government forces regained control of the situation, however, and, early in June, took the offensive in Eastern Indonesia. On June 26, they captured the main rebel centre of Menado in the North Celebes. By the end of June, the major military operation in the North Celebes appeared to be completed. Guerrilla activities and sabotage by the rebels were giving increasing concern in Sumatra, however, and it seemed likely that it would be some time before Government forces completed mopping-up operations in that area and in the North Celebes.

From the early days of the revolt, the Central Government and the Indonesian press claimed that rebel forces were receiving support from "unnamed foreign powers". These claims grew in number and intensity as rebel resistance in Eastern Indonesia stiffened and rebel air attacks increased. The Government claimed that the rebels had neither the financial means to purchase aircraft nor the pilots capable of accurate bombing. President Sukarno stated that the rebels were obtaining assistance from the Philippines and the Nationalist Chinese and that such assistance was damaging to United States - Indonesian relations, and there were indications that Indonesia might take the matter to the United Nations if it considered its appeal for non-intervention was being ignored. The situation was aggravated still further by the capture of a free-lance United States pilot flying with the rebel forces. The Indonesian fears of foreign intervention apparently have been allayed to some extent by the denial of the United States and other governments of any intention to interfere in the Indonesian rebellion and international tension has lessened.

The situation was complicated further by the difficulty experienced by Indonesia in obtaining shipments of arms and ships following Government action against Dutch interests. In this circumstance Djakarta turned to the Soviet bloc as an available source of supply. (A \$100 million loan negotiated earlier from the Soviet Union was ratified by Indonesia in February.) Purchases have included such items as fighters and bombers from Czechoslovakia. A number of ships have been purchased from the Soviet Union as well as from other countries outside the Soviet bloc.

Internally, the major Indonesian political parties, with the exception of the Masjumi, whose leaders have been connected with the Sumatran uprising, have aligned themselves behind President Sukarno in his refusal to negotiate and his determination to achieve a complete military defeat of the dissidents. The majority of Indonesians appear to have been apathetic toward actively assisting rebel resistance, and this, along with an apparent dislike of fighting fellow Indonesians, may well have had a profound effect on the fortunes of the dissidents. Despite these factors, there was speculation as Government forces met with increasing success that changes in the Cabinet were being contemplated and would be instituted after the successful completion of the military campaign. On June 25, President Sukarno did, in fact, announce a Cabinet reshuffle which abolished two redundant ministries, created five new Cabinet posts, dropped one member of the Cabinet and included four new members. Although there had been reports that Dr. Hatta or the Sultan of Djogjakarta might be included in a new Cabinet, this did not prove to be the case. The President, however, did announce the formation of a National Planning Board to deal with the economic problems of the country.

Although organized resistance against the Government has collapsed, apart from guerrilla activity, the underlying political and economic causes of dissatisfaction which gave rise to the revolt apparently remain, and the Djakarta Government still has to face the formidable task of devising a solution to them.

# ICAO Assembly: Eleventh Session

A net amount of \$3,672,000 (Canadian) to finance the activities of the International Civil Aviation Organization was voted by representatives of 52 member states who attended the Eleventh Session of the ICAO Assembly held in Montreal from May 20 to June 2, 1958.

The Assembly decided in principle that the contribution of any one member state should not exceed thirty per cent of the total contributions assessed in behalf of the ICAO budget. It therefore agreed to make a small reduction in the 1959 contribution of the United States, which now pays one-third of the total ICAO budget, to leave to the next session of the Assembly the decision by which this principle may be further implemented, and to request Council to study the assessment system.

The 1959 budget figure exceeded by \$361,200 a net budget of \$3,310,800 voted by the previous session of the Assembly for 1958. During the recent session, supplementary amounts were approved for the 1957 and 1958 budgets and were allocated among member states.

Funds were provided to allow the ICAO Implementation Panel to complete its work, which is expected to continue through 1958 and, if necessary, in the first months of next year. The Panel was set up by the ICAO Council



AT ICAO ASSEMBLY

Representatives of member countries of the International Civil Aviation Organization shown during deliberations at the Eleventh Assembly held in Montreal from May 20 to June 2.

to study the provision of air navigation facilities and services throughout the world and to consider what improvements will be necessary during the transition period when turbo-jet aircraft are being introduced on the world's air routes.

His Excellency Toru Hagiwara, Ambassador of Japan to Canada, was elected President of the Assembly; Mr. H. Jensen, Deputy Director of Civil Aviation of Denmark, Mr. G. Woldegiorgis, Director General of Civil Aviation of Ethiopia, Col. M. Gambetta del Pielago, Representative of Peru to ICAO, and Col. Miguel Orduna-Lopez, Representative of Spain on the Council of ICAO, were named Vice-Presidents; and Mr. A. Hepburn, Representative of Australia on the Council of ICAO, was chosen as Chairman, Administrative Commission.

Two non-member states and three international organizations were represented at the meeting in addition to 52 of the 72 member states. Of special interest to Canada was the participation in the Assembly for the first time of two new members of the Commonwealth—Ghana and the Federation of Malaya. Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia, other new member nations since the previous Tenth Assembly held in 1956, were also represented at the Eleventh Session.

Canada was represented at the Session by Mr. G. Morisset, of the Air Transport Board, as Chief Delegate, by Messrs. J. R. Belcher, Canadian Council Representative to ICAO, J. P. Houle, Air Transport Board, R. C. Monk, Department of Finance, and D. B. Wilson, Department of External Affairs, as Delegates, and Mr. R. Crossley of the Department of Transport, as Adviser.

# Message to General de Gaulle

(Continued from Page 156)

more specially, in the Western community in which Canada, for her part, fulfils so happily and effectively the role to which she is called.

"I thank you for your kind invitation to visit Canada where, in the hours of struggle, but also of glory, I received a welcome ever vivid in my memory. I hope that the tasks which I have had to assume will allow me soon the time to visit you".

# **Canada's Treaty Records**

O<sub>NE</sub> of the functions of the Department of External Affairs is to keep a record of all the international instruments which constitute an agreement involving rights and obligations between Canada and other countries. The recording of international agreements, which gives to the Department of External Affairs in this field functions equivalent to that of a registrar, may be said to flow logically from the responsibilities assigned to the Secretary of State for External Affairs under the authority of the Royal Prerogative and by virtue of the Department of External Affairs Act.

The constitutional authority to negotiate and conclude international agreements is, in Canada, a part of the Royal Prerogative, which in practice is exercised in the name of the Crown by the Governor-General in Council on the advice of the Secretary of State for External Affairs. The latter is responsible for the negotiation and conclusion of agreements under the *Department of External Affairs Act*, and particularly Section 4 of the Act which reads as follows:

"The Minister, as head of the Department, has the conduct of all official communications between the Government of Canada and the Government of any other country in connection with the external affairs of Canada, and is charged with such other duties as may be assigned to the Department by order of the Governor-in-Council in relation to such external affairs, or to the conduct and management of international or intercolonial negotiations so far as they may appertain to the Government of Canada."(1)

# Many Designations

International agreements as a whole are normally referred to in international practice under the generic term of "treaties." Canada, for instance, publishes the texts of all international agreements to which it becomes party in the Canada Treaty Series, the United Kingdom in the British Treaty Series; the United States issues yearly, in addition to its United States Treaty Series and other International Agreements, a list of treaties in force as of the first day of the current year.

The term *treaty*, however, includes many differently known instruments in which states, heads of states, or governments embody their mutual undertakings. The designations of international instruments most frequently used are the following: treaty, convention, agreement, protocol, declaration, general act, exchange of notes. Such other terms as pact, modus vivendi, covenant, charter, additional articles, agreed minutes, and proces verbal are also sometimes found in the international practice.

It is now well established that the designation as such has no legal significance as long as the instrument creates legal rights and obligations. The Permanent Court of International Justice stated in its Advisory Opinion

<sup>(1)</sup> International Postal Agreements are, however, the responsibility of the Postmaster-General under the Post Office Act, while the Aeronautics Act empowers the Minister of Transport to take such action as may be necessary to secure by international regulations or otherwise the rights of Canada in international air traffic.

concerning the *Customs Regime between Germany and Austria* that "from the standpoint of the obligatory character of international agreements, it is well known that such engagements may be taken in the form of treaties, conventions, declarations, agreements, protocols or exchanges of notes." (2)

Although in many cases there does not seem to be any obvious reasons for the choice of a particular designation of an international instrument, there is all the same in practice a tendency to justify some distinction as to form between the various designations. The British authority in matters of treaties, Sir Arnold McNair, comments as follows in his book *The Law of Treaties* on some of the terms used to designate international agreements:—

- (a) *Treaty* is usually reserved for the more solemn agreements such as treaty of peace, alliance, neutrality, arbitration;
- (b) Convention is more and more employed to describe multilateral or law-making agreements, although bilateral conventions are still numerous;
- (c) *Declaration* usually denotes an agreement which declares existing laws, with or without modifications, or creates new laws;
- (d) *Protocol* usually denotes an agreement amending or supplemental to another agreement. The term *protocol* is also constantly used in the expression *Protocol of signature* of a treaty;
- (e) General act is now usually employed when the instrument which enumerates the several treaties or conventions resulting from a conference itself becomes a treaty with the others either embodied in it or annexed to it.

# **Exchanges of Notes**

International agreements concluded in the form of an exchange of notes deserve a special mention if only because they have greatly multiplied in recent years and seem to indicate a modern trend, frequently commented upon by writers, "in the direction of making the procedure of conclusion of treaties less formal than in the past," as noted in the 1953 report on the law of treaties of the International Law Commission of the United Nations. (3) Whereas once only matters of secondary importance were normally settled by this procedure, it is employed nowadays for a great variety of purposes and, like an instrument which is properly designated as a treaty, it may deal with any matter which is a proper subject of international regulation. While the purpose of an agreement effected by an exchange of notes may not differ from that of an instrument designated by other names, it is strikingly different in its form. The relationship which it establishes or the obligations which it creates are recorded in two or more letters, usually called "notes," instead of a single formalized instrument. The notes are usually exchanged between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of one of the parties, and the diplomatic representative of the other. In the majority of cases, exchanges of notes do not need to be ratified before coming into force.

While international law does not prescribe any form for international instruments, states are sometimes bound by their constitutional or internal laws to adopt certain patterns for particular agreements. In Canada, — apart

<sup>(2)</sup> Series A/B, No. 41, p. 47.

<sup>(3)</sup> United Nations, General Assembly, A/CN. 4/63, 24 March, 1953, p. 45

perhaps from the Extradition Act which defines extradition arrangements with foreign states as those made by Her Majesty, there is no provision in Canadian law relating to the form of agreement, which is therefore largely a matter of convenience to the Canadian Government. In fact, Canadian practice over the years has largely adopted the following types:

- (a) International agreements between heads of states;
- (b) Intergovernmental agreements;
- (c) Exchanges of notes.

Since the end of the war the great majority of agreements to which Canada became a party were either intergovernmental (and they were then called convention, treaty or agreement) or exchanges of notes.

For the purpose of recording agreements the international instruments are normally classified as bilateral, when they involve two parties, and multilateral when they involve more than two parties. Within the Department, it is the responsibility of the Treaty Section to record and keep up to date the information concerning the status of international agreements to which Canada has been or is a party.

#### Maintenance of Records

The progressive maintenance of the records involves a constant collecting and controlling of all pertinent information relating to the status of instruments affecting Canada. This information is easily available in respect of bilateral agreements, since the two contracting parties are normally bound to take action modifying the status of an agreement either of a common accord, or after notification to the other contracting party. In the cases of multilateral agreements, the depository of the instrument, normally designated as such in the instrument itself, has the duties of receiving information from each individual party to the agreement and to communicate it to all parties. For instance, Canada is the depository of the Acts of the Universal Postal Union Congress of Ottawa, 1957 which were signed by more than 90 countries. As a depository, Canada is required to send a certified copy of the Act to all signatory governments, to receive instruments of ratification or accession and to inform each individual signatory government through diplomatic channels of such ratifications or accessions. Ratifications or accessions are, moreover, sometimes accompanied by reservations or declarations to which some of the parties to a multilateral agreement may wish to object. This information which, of course, may affect the status of an agreement is also communicated by the depository to all parties and duly recorded in the Treaty Section.

On the basis of its Treaty records, the Department of External Affairs publishes each month in this Bulletin details of Canada's action in respect of bilateral and multilateral agreements. The texts of international agreements to which Canada is a party are also published after they have come into force in the *Canada Treaty Series*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, already mentioned above. In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Canada Evidence Act* provides that treaties may be proved by the production of a copy thereof purporting to be printed by the Queen's Printer in Canada.

Once an agreement has come into force it is also registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations in accordance with paragraph 1 of Article 102 of the Charter, which reads as follows:

"Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it."

Treaties and international agreements thus registered with the Secretariat are published in the *United Nations Treaty Series*.



VISITORS FROM NIGERIA

Members of a delegation of Nigerian Parliamentarians who visited Ottawa early this month paid a visit to Prime Minister Diefenbaker July 7. Seen with Mr. Diefenbaker are, left, Chief Ohwotemu Oweh, leader of the group, and D. C. Ugwux.

# APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. D. K. Doherty posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, to Ottawa, effective May 30, 1958.
- Mr. C. J. Small posted from Ottawa to the Office of the Canadian Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong, effective May 30, 1958.
- Miss S. Weir posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective May 31, 1958.
- Mr. J. E. Redmond resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective May 31, 1958.
- Mr. R. W. Nadeau posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective June 2, 1958.
- Mr. D. Stansfield posted from the Canadian Embassy, Athens, to Ottawa, effective June 2, 1958.
- Miss M. F. MacKenzie posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective June 4, 1958.
- Mr. D. H. W. Kirkwood posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Athens, effective June 5, 1958.
- Mr. D. B. Hicks posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco-effective June 5, 1958.
- Mr. A. C. E. Joly de Lotbiniere posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to Ottawa, effective June 12, 1958.
- Mr. C. E. McGaughey posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, to Ottawa, effective June 12, 1958.
- Mr. P. V. Lyon posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective June 14, 1958.
- Mr. C. S. Gadd posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, to Ottawa, effective June 17, 1958.
- Mr. A. E. Blanchette posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective June 19, 1958.
- Mr. J. J. A. Asselin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, effective June 20, 1958.
- Mr. J. C. J. Cousineau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Beirut, effective June 24, 1958.
- Mr. S. Freifeld posted from the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, to Ottawa, effective June 25, 1958.
- Mr. K. W. MacLellan posted on temporary duty as Canadian Consul at Los Angeles, effective June 27, 1958.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, effective June 27, 1958.
- Miss Gladys M. Bearman has retired from the Department because of ill health.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

## A Selected List

- a) Printed Documents:
- United Nations Emergency Force. Budget estimates for the period 1 January to 31 December 1958. A/3823. N.Y., 1958. 14 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session Supplement No. 5A.
- Commission on Human Rights. Report of the Fourteenth Session (10 March 3 April 1958) E/3088, E/CN.4/769. 32 p. Ecosoc Official Records: Twenty-Sixth Session, Supplement No. 8.
- Commission on the Status of Women. Report of the Twelfth Session (17 March 3 April 1958). E/3096, E/CN.6/334. 23 p. Ecosoc Official Records: Twenty-Sixth Session, Supplement No. 7.
- Economic Commission for Latin America. Annual Report (30 May 1957 8 April 1958). E/3091, E/CN.12/AC.40/13/Rev.1. N.Y., 1958. 29 p. Ecosoc Official Records: Twenty-Sixth Session, Supplement No. 4.
- Economic Commission for Europe. Annual Report (16 May 1957 24 April 1958). E/3092, E/ECE/321. 60 p. Ecosoc Official Records: Twenty-Sixth Session, Supplement No. 3.
- Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Annual Report (29 March 1957 15 March 1958). E/3102, E/CN.11/482. N.Y., 1958. 68p. Ecosoc Official Records: Twenty-Sixth Session, Supplement No. 2.
- Economic developments in Africa 1956-1957. Supplement to World Economic Survey 1957. E/3117, ST/ECA/56. 84 p. Sales No.: 58.II.C.3.
- Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs. Supplement No. 1 to Volume I: Articles 1-54 of the Charter. N.Y., 1958. 370 p. \$4.00. Sales No.: 1957.V.4 (Supp.1) (Vol.I).
- Demographic Yearbook 1957. N.Y., 1957. 656 p. (bil.) \$6.50. Sales No.: 1957.XIII.1.
- Laws and Regulations regarding Diplomatic and Consular Privileges and Immunities. (United Nations Legislative Series Vol. VII). ST/LEG/SER.B/7. N.Y., 1958. 511 p. (bil.). \$5.00. Sales No.: 58.V.3.
- ICAO
- Annual Report of the Council to the Assembly for 1957. Doc 7866, A11-P/3.
- Manual of Airport and Air Navigation Facility Tariffs. Sixth edition, 1 January 1958. Doc 7100-AT/707/6.
- Summary of Aeronautical Information Services Provided by States. Sixth edition, January 1958 Doc 7383-AIS/503/6.
- Jet Operations Requirements Panel Third Meeting-Montreal, 17-28 June 1957.
  - Volume I—Report, Doc 7828, JOR/3-1.
  - Volume II—Working Papers, Doc 7828, JOR/3-2.

#### ICJ

Reports of Judgments, Advisory Opinions and Orders 1957, 211 p. (bil.).

# Safety and Health in Dock Work, I.L.O. Codes of Practice. Geneva, 1958. 125 p. \$1.00.

- UNESCO International Bibliography of Economics, Vol. V. (Documentation in the Social Sciences Series).
- Paris, 1958. 473 p. (bil.).
- b) Mimeographed Document: Statistical Commission. Report to the Economic and Social Council on the tenth session of the Statistical Commission held in New York from 28 April to 15 May 1958. E/3126, E/CN.3/-255. 23 May 1958. 69 p. (Report will be shortly issued in printed form as Supplement No. 6 to the Official Records of Ecosoc).



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



August 1958 Vol. 10 No. 8

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Department of External Affairs Ottawa, Canada



DURING PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

Relationships between the United States and Canada were examined closely during the visit to this country, July 8-11, of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, of the United States.

Seen above, left to right, are Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada; Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker; President Eisenhower; and Mr. John Foster Dulles, United States Secretary of State.

## **Canada-United States Relations**

Although President Eisenhower has been abroad on a few occasions in order to attend international conferences, he has not set foot outside the United States since assuming office to pay an official visit, except to Canada. He has made two such visits during his five and a half years of office. By so doing, he has underlined in a particularly gratifying way the special relationship that exists between his country and Canada. An examination of this special relationship, which has several distinctive features, would not be out of place at this time.

## Special Relations

Geography has made Canada and the United States neighbours; tradition, history and a common heritage have given the two countries a sense of common destiny; ready means of communication and commerce have created between them the world's largest market; the ideological conflict of the mid-twentieth century has made them partners in the defence of North America and, along with like-minded peoples in Europe, in the defence of the free world.

With one-tenth of the population of the United States, Canada is *prima faciė* severely handicapped in negotiating on an equal footing with its larger neighbour. Fortunately, a spirit of accommodation and a readiness to meet and discuss have usually prevailed and have gone a long way to providing the necessary counter-balance.

Problems are bound to arise between two countries varying so greatly in size and in economic and military strength yet interrelated in so many intricate ways, the more so when an almost unlimited freedom of speech and of the printed word is part of their common tradition. Some of these differences cannot be resolved but just have to be lived with; others can be disposed of without too much trouble when those within whose power it is to deal with them are prepared to sit down together and express their respective minds freely. To recognize the nature of the problem and to see that it may appear in a different light when viewed from a different national angle, at best goes a long way to suggesting a remedy, and at worst helps to reveal the conditions under which the problem can be lived with.

## Background

Some of the problems are more difficult of solution because of constitutional reasons. By Canadian constitutional practice, for example, the Government is responsible to Parliament and is dependent on the majority it enjoys in Parliament for the acceptance of its legislative recommendations. Under the United States Constitution, on the other hand, the Executive is not responsible to Congress and cannot commit Congress to any given course of action. This is an important consideration, when the ratification of treaties is at stake or when legitimate representations in respect of national legislation have to be made by foreign governments. The Constitutions of the two countries differ markedly in other respects as well. Certain areas of governmental activity which, in one country may be the exclusive preserve of the legislative body, may in the other be capable of delegation and therefore be susceptible to administrative action. The federal distribution of legislative powers is like-

wise quite different: What is constitutionally a federal responsibility in one country may be a provincial or a state responsibility in the other.

### Ottawa Meeting

It was against such a background, containing both favourable and unfavourable elements, that President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles in the course of their visit to Ottawa last month entered into discussions of matters of common concern with the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker, and Members of the Canadian Cabinet.

Because of a determination to co-ordinate at the highest possible level the already extensive co-operation in military matters, the President and the Prime Minister were able to announce the creation of a Joint Ministerial Committee on Defence Matters (text, page 173). As an indication of their common desire to reduce world tension, the two Heads of Government made known their agreement to urge forward the practical studies for devising control methods aimed at safeguarding against surprise attack in the Arctic region (text below).

The network of economic relationships built up between Canada and the United States is largely the creation of private initiative, some of them involving the establishment in Canada of subsidiary plants. Because of certain United States laws restricting trade relations with communist countries, problems can arise when laws applicable to the parent company in the United States are held to be equally applicable to the subsidiary established in Canada. Recognizing the special nature of such problems, the President and the Prime Minister agreed that every effort should be made to harmonize export policies (text, page 173).

The results of discussions between the Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers, however, are not measured solely by the number or subject-matter of the joint statements issued. Nor do these results lend themselves to precise measurement. In some ways the greatest benefit arising out of the July meeting may be found in the establishment of closer personal relations and greater mutual respect, creating common bonds. In addition, frank exchanges of ideas contribute immesaurably to better appreciation of one another's attitudes, views and purposes.

## Joint Statements

## Surprise Attack

The President and the Prime Minister discussed today questions concerning disarmament and in particular proposals for safeguards against surprise attack. This discussion reaffirmed the closeness of the views of the two governments on a suitable approach to these questions. Particularly, they emphasized the great importance which both countries attach to a system of control which would cover the Arctic and related areas.

The President and the Prime Minister exchanged views on the recent letter from Chairman Khrushchev to President Eisenhower with reference to expert examination of possible systems of supervision and control to prevent surprise attack. Although they recognized that certain aspects of Mr. Khrushchev's recent letter were unacceptable, they were nevertheless encouraged by certain elements of responsiveness to the earlier Western proposals on this

matter. Mr. Diefenbaker indicated Canada's willingness to make a constructive contribution to study of control methods and it was agreed that the experts of both countries would work together and in co-operation with those of other free world countries concerned in study of this problem.

July 9, 1958.

#### Committee on Joint Defence

The Prime Minister and the President have taken note of the intimate co-operation which exists between their two governments in matters relating to continental defence. In furtherance of the policy of both governments that such matters shall be subject to civilian decision and guidance, they have agreed that there will be established a cabinet committee to be known as the Canada-United States Committee on Joint Defence. This committee will consist in Canada of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Minister of National Defence and the Minister of Finance, and for the United States, of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defence and the Secretary of the Treasury. Other Ministers may participate on an Ad Hoc basis as requested by the committee. The committee will consult on matters bearing upon the common defence of the North American Continent which lies within the North Atlantic Treaty area. It will in a supervisory capacity supplement and not supplant existing joint boards and committees. The committee will normally meet alternately in Washington and Ottawa. The Chairman of each meeting will be the Secretary of State of the country in whose capital the meeting is held.

July 10, 1958.

## **Export Policies**

The Canadian and United States Governments have given consideration to situations where the export policies and laws of the two countries may not be in complete harmony. It has been agreed that in these cases there will be full consultation between the two governments with a view to finding through appropriate procedures satisfactory solutions to concrete problems as they arise.

July 9, 1958.

## **External Affairs in Parliament**

## Statement By Mr. Smith

During the external affairs debate in the House of Commons July 25, Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, spoke on certain factors of the international situation which very closely concern Canada. He said, in part:

#### Lebanon

The first item, of course, with which the House will expect me to deal is the grave and vital situation in the Middle East. I am sure there is no need for me to rehearse in detail the developments in that area during the past two weeks, because members are no doubt familiar with those developments; but with respect to Canada, and indeed the whole world, our attention is directed to New York, and I propose at the beginning of my remarks to give to the House a full account of the latest happenings there.

Before doing so, however, I should make reference to the developments in Lebanon leading up to this particular crisis, and give to the House some information with respect to the evolution of that crisis. Members will recall that on May 27, 1958, Lebanon presented charges to the Security Council of the United Nations simultaneously with those to the Arab League. The charge of Lebanon was that the United Arab Republic had intervened in its internal affairs. The Arab League had nothing to offer in the way of a solution of the issues involved in this charge and subsequently the Security Council, after discussion of the charges, decided to act in this particular regard.

May I remind the House, however, that there had never been any overt aggression from Syria into Lebanon. It had to do with indirect aggression. This was a new type of aggression with which the Security Council had to deal. It is difficult to define what is indirect aggression, yet the Security Council addressed itself to this question.

I may interpolate here that for some time the United Nations has been endeavouring without success to define indirect aggression, and certainly it was understood and recognized that the Security Council had power to investigate charges with respect to that type of intervention, indirect though it be, in the affairs of another country. And so on June 11 the Security Council set up an observation group, and I read part of the text of the resolution:

—to ensure that there is no illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other materiel across the Lebanese borders.

The Government of Canada considered that the situation which was unfolding in Lebanon merited prompt action. From the beginning in the discussions in the Security Council we gave our firm support to this resolution, a resolution that provided machinery under the auspices of the United Nations. We welcomed the resolution, Mr. Speaker, by reason of the fact that it afforded to the Secretary-General an opportunity to contribute to the stabilization of the situation in Lebanon. We also wel-

comed the ambit of the resolution that gave certain flexibility to the Secretary-General in carrying out or implementing the resolution's objectives.

That resolution was adopted on June 11. There was no veto and no dissenting vote. On that particular occasion, and it was very encouraging, the U.S.S.R. abstained from voting on the resolution. The Secretary-General then moved quickly, and within a few days he had officers of his observation corps present in Lebanon. Hon. members will recall that Canada immediately responded to the appeal from the Secretary-General and sent ten officers to join the observation group. Indeed, Canada at the moment has 11 officers there. A Canadian officer who was attached to the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization was seconded to the observation group in Lebanon.

This group, the United Nations observation group in Lebanon, has become known as UNOGIL, and that is the designation I shall use. It encountered at the outset many difficulties in carrying out its task. Initially the group had access to only 18 kilometers out of the 325 kilometers of Lebanon's frontier with Syria. Other difficulties were encountered by reason of the rugged nature of the terrain, the location of the border populations, and also by reason of the traditional freedom of people to move across the border from Syria to Lebanon, a freedom they have had for many years. Here was a fairly recent boundary line between Syria and Lebanon. Many of these initial difficulties, however, were overcome by the middle of July and the observer group, UNOGIL, had access to all the frontier areas between Lebanon and Syria. They had been increased in numbers and personnel and were also getting aircraft for the purpose of carrying out their directives from the Secretary-General.

During recent weeks there has been one frontier of Lebanon that has been quiet. That is the frontier with Israel. Indeed, I would point out that during this difficult period all of Israel's frontiers have been quiet. That is a tribute to Israel, to the United Arab Republic and to other countries, and it is also a tribute to the effectiveness of two other United Nations organizations, the United Nations Emergency Force along the Egyptian-Israeli armistice line and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization on Israel's other frontier.

Now to return to the narrative of events that I anticipated a few moments ago I would give. On July 14 there occurred the sudden, swift and violent revolution in Iraq which transformed the situation in the Middle East overnight. Within Lebanon it appeared still further to exacerbate internal dissensions and—of this I am convinced—the happenings in Iraq rendered UNOGIL incapable, at least temporarily, of meeting its responsibilities, in the dangerous situation thus created. And so it was in this situation that President Eisenhower responded promptly and affirmatively to a request from President Chamoun of Lebanon. As President Eisenhower stated at the time of the landing of United States troops in Lebanon, the Force was not there to engage in hostilities but to help Lebanon in its own efforts to stabilize the situation until—and I emphasize that word "until"—the United Nations could take the steps necessary to protect Lebanon's independence and integrity.

Two days later, as we recall, the United Kingdom found it necessary to take similar emergency action in response to an appeal from King Hussein of Jordan for military assistance in the face of a plot instigated from outside Jordan to overthrow the regime. I have been informed reliably, and I know, that there was not only a plot to overthrow the government in Jordan but also that the plot extended to other countries in the Middle East to overthrow their governments.

As the Prime Minister informed the House on July 17, the Canadian Government appreciated that the United States and the United Kingdom had no alternative but to take these interim measures. We knew then that both governments had stated specifically that the landing of troops and the keeping of troops there would be terminated as soon as the United Nations could take effective action. We understood the difficulty of the decision that the two countries, the United Kingdom and the United States, had been forced to take.

To return to the point I attempted to make a moment ago, we recognized clearly that the United Kingdom and the United States appreciated the ultimate authority and responsibility of the United Nations.

Since that time we in Canada have made every effort at the United Nations and in some of the capitals of the world to bring about as swiftly as possible those United Nations actions which would provide some instrumentality of the United Nations to the end that the United States would withdraw their forces from Lebanon and the United Kingdom would withdraw their forces from Jordan.

In the United Nations Security Council, the United States and the United Kingdom have joined, or we have joined with them and other countries, in promoting steps that would provide personnel on behalf of and under the United Nations that would in turn enable those two countries to withdraw their forces. To this end we gave full support last week to a draft resolution submitted to the Security Council by the United States. In brief, the purpose of that resolution was to enable the Secretary-General to establish an instrumentality—and the type of instrument would be in his good judgment—that would add to the forces of UNOGIL now in Lebanon. We supported that; yet at the end of last Friday, just one week ago, the Russians vetoed that proposal. That was on July 18.

With respect to my own activities at this time, I may say that I had flown to Washington where I had valuable discussions with Mr. Dulles and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, a valuable exchange of views. The newspapers have quoted me as taking the stand on behalf of Canada that there should be no expansion of military activities by these two countries, that is, outside of Lebanon and Jordan. The Prime Minister has also taken that stand, and he has so informed the House. From Washington I went to New York, where I had discussions with Mr. Hammarskjold. Then I came here to report fully on the situation as I saw it to the Prime Minister.

I got off the aeroplane on Saturday and heard for the first time that Mr. Khrushchev had extended an invitation for a summit meeting on the Middle East. At the Prime Minister's request I went back to New York

on Monday morning where I took charge of the Canadian Delegation, and I seized the opportunity then to express the hope that nations would respond to the invitation issued by Mr. Khrushchev for a summit meeting on the Middle East. I shall deal with that matter later.

On that particular day the Prime Minister informed the House that on Monday morning he had sent messages to Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Macmillan, and Mr. Nehru, and in those messages he expressed the hope that there would not be a negative reaction to the proposal put forward by Mr. Khrushchev.

In New York on Monday and Tuesday of last week our delegation worked very closely with the delegations from the United Kingdom, the United States and Japan in an endeavour to work out a compromise resolution which might be more acceptable to the Russians than the one they vetoed on Friday last, which had been put forward by the United States. This particular resolution was put forward by the Japanese. We were rather hopeful of this resolution that provided in its operative part for an increase in the observer group of UNOGIL and gave further authority to the Secretary-General to endeavour to stabilize the situation in Lebanon to the end that the United States could withdraw its forces.

As I said in the meeting of the Security Council on Monday of last week in support of this resolution, I deemed it a positive approach, one which offered the Council an opportunity to use and strengthen the United Nations machinery that it had in Lebanon; but this, too, the Soviet Union vetoed. And so, as far as the activities of the United Nations in Lebanon are concerned, we are back where we were at the beginning of last week. However, after the veto the Secretary-General expressed his determination to use the powers that had been voted to him on June 11 by the Security Council, and he said he would firmly proceed to implement his mandate in the resolution of the date to which I referred. I think it would be of interest to the House if I read a part of the statement the Secretary-General made on Tuesday afternoon after the veto of the Japanese resolution by the U.S.S.R. Mr. Hammarskjold said:

I am sure that I will act in accordance with the wishes of the members of the Council if I therefore use all opportunities offered to the Secretary-General within the limits set by the Charter toward developing the United Nations effort so as to help to prevent a further deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, and to assist in finding a road away from the dangerous point at which we now find ourselves.

Even before the Japanese resolution failed of adoption Mr. Hammar-skjold had decided to increase the personnel of the UNOGIL in Lebanon from about 135 officers to something approximating 200, and he requested Canada to send three additional observers. The Prime Minister has informed the House of Canada's ready response to that invitation from Mr. Hammarskjold, and I recall the words the Prime Minister uttered in this House, that Canada was willing to take that action, ready to do it, glad to do it, and then he made this statement:

Canada will supply immediately three of the additional observers, of course giving every attention to any further requirement of UNOGIL as events transpire.

Therefore what is needed now is an expansion of the scope and importance of UNOGIL activity. The hon. member for Essex East asked a question on Wednesday of this week. I was not in the House at the

time. The hon. member asked whether Canada had received any further invitation from the Secretary-General for additional personnel from this country. No invitation has come forward as yet, but Mr. Hammarskjold intimated on Tuesday afternoon at the meeting of the Security Council that if the Russians vetoed the Japanese resolution he would go to work immediately and evolve a plan for the increase in that particular group. That plan is now, we know, being developed but it has not yet been made final.

Members of the House may recall, Mr. Speaker, that at the time of the establishment of UNEF Mr. Hammarskjold, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, associated with himself an advisory committee of member states to assist him in the conduct of his task with respect to UNEF. There are indications now that Mr. Hammarskjold will invite certain countries to send representatives to such an advisory committee, and it may well be that he will choose the personnel of the advisory committee of UNEF, the advisory committee that has been in being for some time.

So that is where we stand now. A new United Nations body, not new since Tuesday afternoon but new since June 11, has been developed and set up, and we hope this body will be effective in enabling the Lebanese people to work out their own internal difficulties and dissensions in their own way. I have confidence that such a United Nations body, developed under a plan still to be presented by the Secretary-General, will be effective in establishing stability.

But what of the future? Is there a way to ensure permanently the independence and integrity of this small country with its unique balance of east and west, with its unique composition of population . . . We had discussions in Washington about the future of Lebanon. The discussions had to do with the possibility of having the Lebanese accept a position of neutrality. Favour was expressed by the United States and United Kingdom representatives with respect to that proposal.

I was not here on Monday, but I have read the address of that distinguished representative of a member of the Commonwealth, the Prime Minister of Ghana. I know that he also advanced that proposal when he addressed members of the House in joint session with members of the Senate. Can we work toward a status of neutrality for Lebanon and have an international guarantee of its neutrality such as is provided in effect for Austria? It cannot be imposed on the Lebanese, but it should not come as a novel suggestion to them because throughout the centuries, indeed from Phoenician times, the Lebanese have been merchants and traders. Their history shows that by reason of necessity to be friendly with as many people as possible in order to trade with them, they have over the centuries achieved that relationship with bordering countries.

Of course there is a new factor, one that I adverted to earlier in my remarks. Recently Lebanon has been rocked by pressures, sometimes violent pressures, from outside countries. Recently those pressures have been manifested in hostile radio broadcasts and other activities, and these pressures have brought about the vexed situation in which the Lebanese find themselves at this particular time. But it is, I think, possible to find

a way out of the situation along the lines I suggested a moment ago. I would expect that the Lebanese might welcome some arrangement establishing neutrality that would assure them their independence in this middle position. But I am convinced that that cannot be brought about without the practical assistance of the United Nations. Indeed, I think it might well require some physical manifestation of United Nations authority, a physical manifestation of such authority on the ground in Lebanon.

The task which the observer group is now performing and will perform to a greater and more successful degree, I hope, will be to insulate the political affairs of Lebanon from those of its neighbours and thus help to restore tranquility in that divided nation. That, Mr. Speaker, could be the forerunner of some continuing role on the part of the United Nations in that country, perhaps not unlike the role played not by the United Nations but by Canada and other members of the international commissions in Indochina. As hon, members will recall, these commissions were set up by the Geneva agreements of 1954.

In putting forward this suggestion I realize that the United Nations should proceed cautiously, but if the experiment were successful it might be used as a precedent for stabilizing other countries in the Middle East, torn not only by fierce internal antagonisms but by hostile external rivalries and tensions. The possiblity of insulation through the United Nations raises novel problems and vast difficulties, but so acute have the problems of this region become that we must cast our minds about to examine every possible line of approach which might offer the prospect of advance.

I make another reference to the stability not only of Lebanon but also of the Middle East. Much of their trouble can be traced to the economic difficulties in which they find themselves, and I would hope it would be possible to give some assurance of economic stability not only to Lebanon but to the whole Middle East that would warrant and promote political stability. In this particular task I can foresee for the United Nations and for other organizations a really valuable role.

## Meeting at the Top

As the Prime Minister said the other day in the House, this is not the time for stagnant thinking, and if there is anything in this new United Nations approach, the West could seize the opportunity at the summit meeting which now appears certain to be held in New York and endeavour to make a small beginning, at any rate, in the country of Lebanon.

That was one reason that prompted the Canadian Government to welcome the Soviet proposal of last Saturday, a proposal that contained offensive and provocative language giving unnecessary offence to the addressees. Indeed, I had occasion to point out to Mr. Sobolev when I was in New York that it was unnecessarily truculent and offensive. But I know I can speak for the Prime Minister when I say that in sending messages to President Eisenhower, Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Nehru, expressing hope that there would not be a negative attitude to Mr. Khrushchev's proposal, we had in mind that some constructive measure such as the one I have been indicating might be looked at and adopted not only for Lebanon but for the Middle East.

Then with reference to the message that was received by France, the United Kingdom and the United States from Mr. Khrushchev, we had in mind that a meeting at the top could result in a diminution of international tension. On Sunday we discussed also the terrible possibility. not the probability but the terrible possibility, of the nations of the world sliding into a global nuclear war. The leaders of the governments of this generation would never be forgiven if they did not exhaust every possible way of relieving, at least in some measure, international tension.

This was another basis for the messages that went out from the Prime Minister over the week-end. I can claim that in this regard Canada took the lead. The public expression of the desire of this Government to promote the holding of a summit meeting was the first public utterance on the western side in this respect. I took the opportunity in the Security Council, as did the Prime Minister when he informed the House on Monday, of making very clear our concept of the desirability of holding an international conference as suggested. I have in mind, but I cannot claim this, that my observations had something to do with the postponement at least of the U.S.S.R. proposal to call for a General Assembly meeting in which they could indulge in more propaganda.

I have in mind also that the stand of the Canadian Government, as expressed by me in the Security Council on Monday of last week, had something to do with the acceptance of the counterproposal put forward by Mr. Macmillan on behalf of the United Kingdom. The real significance to me of the resolution with respect to the holding of a meeting in the Security Council—I do now expect it will be a favourable decision—is that this meeting will be held under the aegis of the United Nations. The Security Council, and I quote from the United Nations Charter, was established for the following purpose:

In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

In my opinion, that is the proper forum for a meeting of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Eisenhower, General de Gaulle and others.

We have noted with encouragement that Mr. Khrushchev has responded to this proposal that was sent out in clearer terms, perhaps, from London than from any other capital, that this meeting should be held within the Security Council. It could be, it may be-I emphasize the word "may"—a meeting of momentous consequence. Again, I say that it is worth trying in terms of the voice of humanity. Furthermore, I have in mind that apart from the powers whom I have named and to whom the letters were addressed by the author, the presence of Mr. Nehru, the distinguished leader of one of the nations of the Commonwealth and a representative of the awakening world of Asia, would contribute much to such a conference.

With reference to the eventual composition of the Conference, I am sure that the House will have noted the observations made yesterday by Right Hon. Mr. Macmillan at Westminster. These are his words:

I am glad to note Mr. Khrushchev's latest letter recognizes . . . (that) . . . until the form of the meeting has been agreed it would be premature to lay down

which countries, which are not members of Security Council, should attend, or by whom they should be represented.

I agree with that particular view, at this stage, when there will have to be negotiations with respect to the time, with respect to the agenda and other matters. I would say this, however; that it will be for the Security Council to decide what nations, which are not members of the Security Council, should come to the table of the Security Council. That is a procedural matter for the Security Council. I saw it in operation on Monday and Tuesday of this week, for example. The Council, by formal resolution presented by the chairman before one meeting on Monday started and before the two meetings on Tuesday started, asked the representatives of the United Arab Republic, Lebanon and Jordan to come and be present at the Council table. I say again, Mr. Speaker, that is a matter for the Security Council to decide.

However, I express anxiety lest these matters having to do with who will sit and who will go to the meeting should jeopardize the holding of that meeting. Questions of this sort should not be insuperable or prevent the proposed meeting of the Security Council. In my opinion they should be treated and considered as secondary. With respect to this meeting in New York, whatever the date may be, I have in mind that it is desirable also, if some means can be found, to have the opinions of the numerous countries concerned, because no plan that may be evolved in the Security Council will be successful unless the proposals are accorded the approval of the peoples of those regions.

One of the problems we in Canada must always keep in mind is a concern, for example, lest the prosperity of Israel should not be safe-guarded in the forthcoming negotiations. Surely it will be possible to get the views of the Middle East countries whatever the procedural device may be. Many problems, as I indicated a moment ago, will arise on the subject of time, on the subject of the agenda and prior consultation. But when the Prime Minister spoke in this House on July 25 about the possibility of holding such a meeting within the Security Council he deliberately used words which took into account the flexible procedure that would have to be devised if this conference is to be brought into being.

I would express on behalf of Canada the hope that we will have this concept of flexibility. It is here, I believe, that the Secretary-General with his great experience and wisdom which he has shown particularly during the past two weeks, could be given the opportunity of devising some formula within the existing United Nations structure in order to enable these important conclusions to be reached with respect to those matters to which I referred, and to the end that the consultations at New York will be fruitful.

#### Indochina

It is not inappropriate that I announce at this time an important development in connection with the responsibilities of Canada in Indochina. I would just bring back to the attention of the members of the House the role that Canada has played through its membership in three international commissions in Indochina; one international commission in Laos, one in Cambodia and one in Viet Nam. That was an example I used a few moments ago. Here were powers sitting down at Geneva in

1954 to deal with dissensions in these three parts of Indochina. There was in that particular area the possibility, indeed the probability, of a collision of the communist powers on the one side and Western countries on the other.

What was done? There was established at the Geneva meeting machinery whereby the situation in these three countries could be stabilized or helped to be stabilized through the presence of international commissions. Canada was and is a member of those international commissions in the three countries, the other members being India and Poland. With the physical manifestation, if nothing else, of these three international commissions the result was that in Laos the Royal Government was enabled to bring about the stabilization of the situation there. There was a reconciliation of the communist forces and the royal force and there came about stability. On May 4 of this year supplementary elections were held in Laos and they indicated to Canada that its task had been performed in Laos through its membership in that commission.

Hence I informed the House recently that the Canadian Delegation to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos had introduced a resolution calling for the dissolution of the Commission. I wish now to inform the House that the International Commission for Laos was adjourned *sine die* on July 19. There were forces at work there—and you can guess their origin—which resisted the retirement or the adjournment of the Laos International Commission.

In the end Canada joined with others in bringing about this adjournment sine die. We made it very clear that we were not getting out by reason of any threats or suggestions by Laotians, but we had in mind the representations made here by Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of Laos, that after the election had been held and the situation stabilized, he felt that the Commission would have performed its task. That Commission can be reconvened in Laos at the call of the chairman, the representative for India. Canada must be consulted. If we go back by reason of any particular emergency we will always have in mind the rights of the Laotian Government, and we will not interfere with the sovereignty of that country. In the opinion of the Canadian Government the Commission which began its operations in 1954 has completed its task.

With respect to Viet Nam there is tension, as the members of the House well know, between South and North Viet Nam. That situation has not been stabilized. There is a need for the continuation of the work of the International Commission in Viet Nam, but we have advice that we can apply a formula similar to the Laos one to Cambodia where the situation has been stabilized.

I seize this opportunity to pay tribute to India, which provided a chairman, for its co-operation, and also to pay a tribute to the success of the Royal Government in Laos in bringing about a reconciliation of the two forces that were indeed hostile to one another. We will now take up the problem with respect to Cambodia. As I indicated a moment ago, we should be able to use the same formula of adjournment.

I come back to this concept that I advanced earlier with respect to Lebanon and with respect to certain other countries in the Middle East.

Is there not something in the example of the success of the International Commissions in Laos and Cambodia for a solution of some of the problems at least in some of the trouble spots in the Middle East?

#### Disarmament

I will now speak on the problem of disarmament. It may be that some will have the thought that we should not be talking about disarmament in the particularly vexed situation that we now have. I do not share that view. Indeed, the interest in and the desire for disarmament have been intensified by events in the past few weeks. In order to provide members of the House a perspective with respect to disarmament, a perspective that will be read with deeper concern during the present situation, I am tabling a White Paper with respect to the disarmament discussions in 1957.

I need hardly recall for the information of the House the breakdown of the negotiations that were carried on through the Subcommittee of the Commission on Disarmament established by the United Nations. France, the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada put forward certain proposals on August 29 of last year. They appeared to be a package deal, if I can use that expression. Since the time negotiations broke down, the Russians having flatly rejected the proposals, the countries of the West including Canada have been endeavouring to make clear that those proposals of August 29, 1957 were merely put forward as a basis of discussion. Indeed the Prime Minister in the General Assembly last year and I myself in the Political Committee of the United Nations and in the General Assembly urged that the Russians look at those proposals as being flexible. But that situation was not accepted by the U.S.S.R., and little if anything has been done within the United Nations since last autumn with respect to disarmament.

However, there have been some encouraging signs recently of a resumption of negotiations. We were all gratified that President Eisenhower felt it possible to make a suggestion with respect to one kind of disarmament or with respect to certain measures that could lead to one kind of disarmament, and he put those forward to Mr. Khrushchev. We are gratified and encouraged to hear that Mr. Khrushchev has accepted the proposal to establish a technical group for the purpose of examining the possibility of providing adequate supervision and control of nuclear tests and methods for the detection of nuclear tests.

The discussions began in Geneva on July 1 of this year with respect to the scientific problems involved. Even if I knew what had been happening at those discussions I would not understand the scientific problems, but I can say it is authoritatively reported that the talks between the scientists are making headway in an encouraging manner. Without attempting to predict the final outcome of this scientific conference. I am confident that significant findings will be made by this technical group. Canada, as the House knows, is represented there by Dr. O. M. Solandt who has associated with him four other Canadian scientists. The other Canadians are Mr. N. Larnder and Mr. A. K. Longair of the Defence Research Board, Dr. P. L. Willmore of the Dominion Observatory and Professor G. M. Volkoff of the University of British Columbia.

The Government has held the view that after the findings of this group are made known, in which findings we feel confidence could be placed, a method might be arrived at by which to detect nuclear tests, and then the countries carrying on such tests might then come to a political agreement with respect to the cessation of these tests. This is a view which has been advanced by the Prime Minister throughout the country on several occasions; but let me say that the detection and inspection, the control and supervision of nuclear power do not constitute in themselves a measure of disarmament. They are a means to ensure disarmament; they provide sanctions for a political agreement with respect to a type of disarmament, and I would express the hope that after the successful conclusion of the present technical studies there might be taken what could be regarded as a step having a revolutionary effect on the international climate.

An initial move might be made with respect to the cessation of further nuclear tests, and in that way there might be established some element of mutual trust and confidence, after which the nations concerned could move on to the more complex aspects of a disarmament programme. The suspension of nuclear tests with these guarantees as to detection could constitute the first step toward agreement, which agreement would in turn be the first step toward disarmament, even though this would not be the most important measure, which is that having to do with the use of nuclear weapons already proved.

There is another encouraging factor on which I would like to report with respect to disarmament. Mr. Eisenhower proposed that it would be useful to study practical measures to provide required safeguards against surprise attacks and we have been heartened by a rather affirmative reply by Mr. Khrushchev. We in Canada should promote in every possible way the holding of a meeting of scientists of a somewhat similar nature to the present Geneva meeting with respect to the detection of nuclear tests, in order to study means and methods of preventing surprise attacks. This is a matter which is, of course, of very direct concern to this country with particular reference to surprise attacks over the Arctic region.

I am sure I need not spell out the implications of this matter or draw a picture of what we have advocated in this regard. I reported on our advocacy at the Copenhagen meeting. The Russians had indicated—and this I would like to emphasize—that they might be willing to sit down with such a group. I do not think a political agreement would be necessary at this stage, any more than it has been necessary to enter into a political agreement with respect to the holding of nuclear tests while the current meeting of scientists is being held. I propose, however, that scientists should be brought together in order to study this further problem.

One cannot anticipate the measures which the scientists would put forward. They may have to do with electronic or radar devices, or they may be along the lines of ground inspection as proposed by the U.S.S.R., which could operate rather simply as a bilateral exchange of inspectors, or a more strictly supervised international system might be involved under the control of the United Nations. We could, however, make progress in this regard.

The U.S.S.R. has on many occasions replied to the proposal for detection or knowledge of the possibility of surprise attack over the Arctic that this really does not matter very much. To us in Canada, however, it does matter, and the Prime Minister indicated last summer that for the operation of a scheme to prevent surprise attack all of the Canadian territory would be made available on a reciprocal basis if the Russians would give a similar undertaking.

The proposal has now been made by the United States and Canada that both countries would throw open their territories to inspection to ensure against surprise attacks if the Russians would do likewise, but the U.S.S.R. wants this system extended to the United States bases in Europe. The United States has said, we will throw open Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, but if we go as far as Europe will you also agree to allow inspections of that kind? It seems to me, however, that without decisions at this time as to the exact location of such inspections we would at least make a start by arranging a meeting of scientists to consider effective scientific measures which could be taken in the event that such a political agreement were made.

To come back to the Arctic area, it would be easier to establish a system of control and supervision in that region than it would be in the more populous areas of the North American Continent; but we must arrive at some agreement, however small and paltry it may seem, to take a step forward in order to establish some measure of mutual trust and confidence. We could go on from there to deal with the more difficult areas and more complex problems. We must, however, always be conscious of a dilemma. Every government must be concerned about the security and safety of its people. Any government which failed in that respect would be guilty of a grave sin.

On the other hand, if we are not going to think about the possibility of disarmament, if we are not going to endeavour to take some steps, what is the situation ahead of us and of the world? There is a certain inevitability, an inexorable result, that might flow from a continuation of the building up of armaments on this side and on that side. That is what I meant when I used the word "dilemma" in terms of national and international security. We will have to break that down and give our people some assurance that we do not admit the abiding necessity of building up armaments, and that we intend—to use an expression that I employed in this House some months ago—to keep our powder dry and at the same time endeavour to make some advance in establishing mutual trust and confidence and come to some understanding with the U.S.S.R. I cannot believe that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. any more than the Canadian people want to go on and on in building up armaments. Indeed, there are suggestions and signs that it concerns them economically now as well as in terms of the possibility of an international conflict that would destroy the governments and many people of all countries.

## Aid to Underdeveloped Countries

I should now like to refer to another device of the U.S.S.R., and that is the economic device to the end that they might obtain and could obtain world domination. They have been infiltrating into countries in various parts of the world that are not yet committed to the U.S.S.R., to

the communist group, and not committed to the West. By economic penetration, by barter systems and loans and other means they are making advances in that regard. To me that might mean that they will win the victory in their search for world domination without ever firing a shot. I regard this as one of the most urgent aspects of our foreign relations and one of our major contributions to peace, the aid and assistance particularly of underdeveloped countries, and I know I speak for the Canadian Government when I say this. There are measures that are being taken—but I think they should be increased—to respond to this challenge.

With respect to Canada's role, during the past year we have continued to support the Colombo Plan and the Specialized Agencies within the United Nations. Indeed, in several instances the support has been increased as compared with the year before.

The Colombo Plan operates under the broad umbrella of an annual consultative conference. It really works out, though, that the assistance is given by bilateral arrangements between Canada and some other country, and out of these arrangements come discussions that have to do with the plans and priorities of the recipient country. There has been no suggestion on Canada's part, and I think it is wise and will be effective in the long run, of any political strings attached to the gifts.

With respect to the Colombo Plan, there are two countries that are not within the Colombo Plan but for which we have a deep concern, namely Ghana and the British West Indies. This House has been informed of the contributions that have been made to Ghana in terms of personnel and to the British West Indies also in terms of personnel. I will not take the time of the House to inform you with respect to the men who are now in those two countries, men who are particularly well qualified in their own chosen field, in order that they may assist these newly emerging countries and also help them to help themselves. The bulk of Canada's aid, however, is now under the Colombo Plan which is being directed to those parts of the world for which we have a special concern.

With respect to economic aid, I would remind the House that Canada has contributed to the establishment and the sustenance of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and we would hope that agency could be strengthened. We can take pride that Canada, on a per capita basis, is the second largest contributor to United Nations Technical Assistance; but getting away from the per capita yardstick, Canada is the fifth country of the world in terms of total contributions to the United Nations in her technical assistance and relief programmes.

Hon. members may recall—I am certain that those who were members of the committee on External Affairs last session will recall—that there was much consideration given to the possibility of establishing a fund within the United Nations to be known as SUNFED. That concept as conceived at the United Nations was given up and in its place there was proposed the establishment of a special fund. This proposal was referred to a preparatory committee of the United Nations on which Canada was represented. The Economic and Social Council is now considering the report of this preparatory committee, and at the next General

Assembly the final details should be settled and a new instrument of United Nations aid achieved. Canada has indicated that it would consider making an appropriate contribution to this fund provided that the organizational arrangements are well designed and provided that there is broad support for the proposal among, particularly, the contributor nations.

During the last session information was given to the House with respect to Canada's extension of its aid in terms of flour and wheat in emergency situations.

I would go back for a moment to the West Indian contribution. I recall that a few weeks ago the hon. member for Laurier asked a question with respect to the giving by Canada of a steamship for interisland communication in the British West Indies. I intimated then that there would be a team of shipping and shipbuilding experts sent from Canada. That team has been to Port of Spain and has now returned. We expect that a report will be made in due course concerning the specifications for the new ship that Canada has undertaken to build and give to the British West Indies.

We will be holding a conference with respect to trade and economic matters within the Commonwealth at Montreal in September of this year. There will be on the agenda of that conference an item relating to the economic progress of the underdeveloped parts of the Commonwealth. I am confident that through those discussions Canada can make a further contribution in respect of those nations to which I referred, a contribution not only of capital but also in terms of technical assistance. I should not like to leave the impression that under the Colombo Plan and other systems of aid to underdeveloped countries Canada has forgotten underdeveloped countries that are not members of the Commonwealth. The most of our assistance, however, has gone to the Commonwealth countries and, as I intimated a moment ago, further thought will be given to these matters in the context of the Montreal meeting.

My foregoing remarks have to do with countering the movements of the U.S.S.R. in the economic field. Indeed it is a fact, Mr. Speaker, that the West has given more and has been giving more for a longer time to underdeveloped parts of the world than the Soviet bloc. They are paying us the compliment now of following our activities in that regard, but you may be sure that their gifts always have a political string attached to them. I do not think we should ever endeavour to counter every Soviet gesture. We should work steadily, in co-operation with the people of those countries, within their plans and priorities in our earnest desire to help them and to bring reality to their hopes. In this way we can best counter the Russian activities in this regard and we can contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world.

I eagerly look forward to this debate and to the discussion in the meetings of the Committee on External Affairs, to the end that in the formulation of its external policy and in the implementation of this policy, Canada can speak with a strong voice.

# **NATO Air Training Plan**

On July 19 a colourful ceremony took place at RCAF Station, Winnipeg, marking the official termination of a plan which, since 1951, has produced nearly 5,500 pilots and navigators for 10 NATO countries. Acting as personal representative of General Norstad, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, Air Marshall Sir Hugh Constantine (RAF), Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Policy at Supreme Allied Headquarters Europe, presented an illuminated scroll to the RCAF in appreciation of their contribution to the building up of NATO's air defences. Sir Hugh Constantine had this to say: "I bring you the gratitude of all of Allied Command Europe for this very important contribution to the defence of our free world and to the cause to which we of NATO are dedicated—the preservation of peace through strength."

### Origin of the Plan

The NATO Air Training plan which in the early days of the North Atlantic Organization was one of Canada's major contributions to the strengthening of the Alliance, had its genesis in Article 3 of the North Atlantic Treaty which provides that the parties to the Treaty "separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack". It was recog-



NATO MARCHPAST

Concluding the colourful military ceremony which officially ended Canada's NATO Aircrew Training Plan at RCAF Station Winnipeg, on July 19, the NATO ensign and the RCAF Colour lead the flags of the NATO nations through a corridor of saluting guardsmen.

nized that a dangerous weakness existed in the absence of adequate numbers of properly qualified air crew to man the increasingly complex aircraft being produced for the air defences of Europe. More alarming even than this was the fact that there did not exist on the Continent adequate facilities for the training of these air crew for the next few years.

## Working Together

It was in this situation that the Canadian Government offered to NATO the services of the RCAF, its training facilities across Canada and its experience gained through the operation of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan which produced over 131,500 air crew during World War II.

The Governments of Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey and the United Kingdom have sent their young men for training in Canada under the plan. As the need to maintain the vast organization necessary for the operation of the plan has decreased special arrangements have been made, and are continuing, for the training of air crew for countries which do not maintain or have not yet developed air training facilities of their own. These include Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Germany.

#### Achievements

In welcoming and training these representatives of the air forces of her NATO allies, Canada has done more than simply contribute to NATO's air defences. In a very real sense there has been a meeting and mingling of cultures and outlooks which contribute to the development of an Atlantic community based on something far more important and enduring than a common anxiety over the strength and aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union. Here representatives of NATO countries and their hosts have learned to understand and like each other, respecting one another's points of view and gaining that knowledge of one another that makes true co-operation possible. This is taking place in Europe too where 10,000 Canadian servicemen are getting to know and to be known by their French and German hosts.

In the words of Mr. P-H. Spaak, Secretary-General of NATO, "The Canadian Air Training Programme for NATO pilots has provided a practical example of interdependence. It has materially assisted the Alliance in its efforts for collective defence for the preservation of peace and it has strengthened the bonds between the countries which form the Atlantic Community."

# **Address by Prime Minister of Ghana**

Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana, spent several days in Canada last month. During his visit he addressed a joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Commons, had talks with Prime Minister Diefenbaker and members of the Cabinet, visited St. Lawrence Seaway projects at Cornwall and Iroquois, Ontario, and was honoured at a civic luncheon and state banquet in Montreal.

In his address to members of the Senate and House of Commons, the Ghanaian Prime Minister said:

It is a great pleasure for me to address this august Assembly today. I wish to express the gratitude of the people of Ghana and my own appreciation for the honour your Prime Minister and his Government have done our country by inviting me to pay this visit to Canada. I wish to thank you very sincerely, Mr. Prime Minister, for the kind words with which you have just welcomed me.

#### The Commonwealth

We in Ghana have a strong feeling of pride in our Commonwealth membership. I had the privilege of attending the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in London last year, when for the first time in history the first African state entered that great and free association of states stretching across the world. The meeting provided an invaluable opportunity for establishing personal relationships with other Prime Ministers and political leaders, and I am particularly happy that I have been able to renew my friendship with your distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker, for whom I have had great admiration since my first meeting with him.

On attaining our independence we in Ghana chose to become a member of the Commonwealth of our own free will. We enjoy the same institutions of parliamentary democracy and the same climate of politics and public morality as the other members. We have the same respect for tradition and the same regard for ceremonial. We place the same value on the human individual and appreciate the dignity of restraint. We accept the sovereignty of law and the sanctity of the pledged word.

The family relationship between members of the Commonwealth which we have already experienced and which brings together countries widely differing in race, religion and social background, is an example of international association which we shall always support so long as it continues to be based on sound democratic principles and respect for the sovereignty of the member nations.

Canada is in a sense the founder of the Commonwealth, for it was in the conception of a free association between Canada and the mother country that the foundations of the Commonwealth were laid. Canada has made a great contribution to the world by the successful working of her institutions, her Government, the spectacular development of her national resources, and the constructive initiative taken in international



ON PARLIAMENT HILL

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, who visited Canada July 19–23, inspects a Canadian Army guard of honour before entering the Parliament Building to address the members of the Senate and House of Commons.

affairs. The spirit of tolerance and mutual confidence among peoples of different racial groups that has evolved in this community is an achievement which is a shining example to all of us. Canada also serves as an invaluable link between the great North American Continent and its people and the rest of the world.

#### Africa and the World

We believe that Ghana, as the first truly African state to join the Commonwealth, also has a contribution to make to the enrichment of the life of the world community. Just as you in Canada have given the world the benefit of your experience and views arising out of your position on this great Continent, so we in Africa hope that we will also be able to contribute our views for the common benefit of the community of nations. We feel that through us and through other African nations a general understanding between the African Continent and the various members of the Commonwealth will be developed. We realize the great responsibilities that this position imposes on us, but we are ready and prepared to take up the challenge.

Recently we took the initiative in convening a conference of independent African states, a conference which proved to be most successful. I myself have recently returned from a tour of the capitals of the other states which participated in the conference. We are endeavouring to establish among ourselves in Africa a fundamental unity on domestic and foreign policy which is, I think, of special significance to the role of the African nations in world affairs. We are determined to work together in the economic and cultural fields, with the object of raising the standard of life of our peoples and making a distinctive African contribution to international discussions and the achievement of world peace. We are determined that through mutual co-operation and collective leadership we free and independent African states shall not only safeguard our hardwon independence but also use all the means available to us to emancipate those of our brethren who are still under colonial rule.

I find nothing incompatible with our effectiveness as a member of the United Nations and the Commonwealth in pursuing an African objective and projecting an African personality. On the contrary I see in it great possibilities for good, because we should be able to bring to our deliberations in the United Nations and the Commonwealth a better understanding of the African point of view, and make a distinctive contribution toward reaching acceptable solutions to our many problems.

#### Ghana's Foreign Policy

I should like to take this opportunity to comment on certain aspects of our foreign policy. Basically the policy of our Government is one of non-alignment and positive neutrality. I have emphasized on several occasions, however, that this should not be interpreted as a purely negative neutralism. On the contrary, we will always adopt whatever positive policy will do most to safeguard our independence. We have a vested interest in peace, and we will do everything in our power to support the United Nations.

Like any other small countries we have appealed to the great powers to suspend nuclear bomb tests. We pray that progress can be made in achieving some degree of disarmament, thus permitting part of the vast resources now applied to the barren task of producing still more terrible weapons of destruction to be transferred to the constructive and hopeful task of assisting the peoples in the less developed countries to eliminate disease and poverty from their lives.

I have come to Canada at a time when great international tension has been generated by recent developments in the Middle East. The attitude of my Government to this situation was made clear in the statement issued on July 16, just before I left. We believe that any attempt to pass judgment on what has happened would at this stage simply heighten tension, and the task now is to secure a workable solution for the future. This, we suggest, could be based on three principles; the substitution of a United Nations force for the American troops now in Lebanon; the holding of free elections in that country under United Nations supervision, and the subsequent establishment of Lebanon as a free and independent state with a status of neutrality, internationally guaranteed on the analogy of Austria. As to the immediate situation, I am confident that I express the views of the leaders of the other independent African states when I say that all of us pray that the leaders of the great powers will come to an understanding which will spare us, who are not parties to their

disputes, and the rest of mankind from the unbelievable horrors of modern war. Today, so it seems to me, the fate of mankind rests in the hands of a few men. I pray that they are fully aware of their vast responsibilities.

May I say how greatly we in Ghana have been impressed and inspired by Canada's record in the field of international affairs in recent years. We feel that common sense, decency and reasonableness have invariably reinforced the admirable attitudes you have taken in the United Nations and the wise counsel which you have contributed to the Commonwealth.

One other aspect of our international relations on which I wish to touch is that of economic development. Like any other less developed country, we wish to banish disease, ignorance and poverty from our land. We realize that we can only do this in co-operation with other countries and governments. We are the world's greatest producer of cocoa, but like other one-crop countries we are at the mercy of world prices. As you know, the recession of the last year has already had disastrous political consequences quite apart from its economic effects for several of the governments of those less developed areas.

In our own case I attach the highest importance to increasing the productivity of our agriculture, and to starting the industrialization of our country. The cornerstone of our future development is the successful implementation of our great Volta river project for the production of aluminum. Here again the recession has affected our basic plans most profoundly for aluminum producers are now naturally reluctant to increase capacity. Like everyone else, I trust that this recession ends very quickly and that the expansion of the North American economy, which can so decisively affect our own hopes for the future and the hopes of all less developed countries will soon be resumed.

It is this situation which to me most vividly illustrates the community of interest and common purpose which should exist between the dollar and sterling areas on the one hand and the less developed countries on the other. The sustained development of the resources of the less developed countries would not only reduce their economic vulnerability and thus consolidate their vitally important political independence, but at the same time raw materials would continue to be produced for the more advanced industrial nations, thus ensuring the maintenance of high levels of employment and the expansion of world trade, a process which of itself is essential for the survival of the Western economies.

In recent years I believe that the common interest and identity of purpose between the wealthier nations and the less developed areas has not been adequately recognized. I hope the forthcoming Commonwealth Economic Conference will give adequate consideration to this basic truth, and in particular pay far greater attention than in the past to the political implications of economic development.

All of us in our separate ways, both as individuals and as nations, desperately seek for a world of peace where men and women may bring up their children in security and with confidence in the future. I believe that apart from general disarmament and the abolition of nuclear tests nothing could do more to achieve this hope than that all like-minded countries should gather together and co-operate in achieving sustained

and balanced economic development among themselves, thus expanding world trade and improving the common welfare of all people.

Before I conclude I should like to express the appreciation of my Government and the people of Ghana to this great country of Canada for the many manifestations of interest which you have already demonstrated in our affairs since independence, and for the very welcome assistance in a number of fields, economic, social and cultural, which we have received from you. We can best show our appreciation of this assistance by ensuring that it is used for the maximum benefit of all people.

May I thank you once again for the honour and privilege of addressing this great Assembly. I pray that this occasion will always be remembered as the beginning of an enduring friendship between Canada and Ghana, a friendship based on a common belief in the dignity of all mankind and in the right of all people to control their own affairs, dedicated to the pursuit of peace. Thank you.

## Laos Commission

On July 25, the Secretary of State for External Affairs informed the House of Commons that the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos had been adjourned sine die. He stated that Canada considered that the tasks which had been assigned to the Commission in July 1954 by the Geneva Conference had come to an end, and that the Canadian Delegation to the Commission had accordingly pressed for withdrawal of the Commission from Laos.

An article reporting Canada's position with regard to the Laos Commission will appear in the September issue of "External Affairs".

# Report on Law of Sea Conference

Mr. Alvin Hamilton, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, made the following statement in the House of Commons, July 25, 1958.

I would like to take advantage of this debate on external affairs to report to the House on Canada's participation in a very important international gathering which took place some three or four months ago . . . . the International Conference on the Law of the Sea held at the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva between February 24 and April 28 of this year. Sometimes in our preoccupation with the high principles and great hopes of the peoples of the world for the achievement of a family of nations living at peace with one another we forget the ordinary workaday procedures of the many hundreds of delegates and representatives of various countries who work, without the bright lights of publicity upon their efforts, and yet move steadily forward in man's progress' towards a more peaceful state. This report is a record of one of the more prosaic but none the less tangible steps forward made by mankind in its long and slow progress towards a peaceful civilization.

This Conference is one of the most significant of international conferences of recent years and one that has achieved far-reaching results. It is true that much more was heard of the failure of the Conference to reach agreement on the matter of fishing limits and the breadth of the territorial seas but may I remind the House and the nation that this was merely one article of 74. One hardly ever hears of the articles passed and which became part of international law, but this Conference dealt with problems which were very complex and which had a tremendous range of conflicting interests, namely those of 86 different nations. In order to achieve any sort of agreement with so much complexity and among so many nations is in itself a very substantial achievement.

It will, I know, be a source of satisfaction to hon, members on all sides of the House to learn that during the deliberations the Canadian Delegation played a leading role and its contribution, throughout the nine weeks of the Conference will long be remembered as one of the outstanding features of the Conference. A good deal of the credit for this must go to the Honourable George Drew who gave such vigorous and imaginative leadership to the Canadian Delegation and to the able and devoted team of officials who assisted Mr. Drew as members of that Delegation. During my own brief visit to Geneva I was able to observe at first hand that Mr. Drew was regarded on all sides as one of the persons playing a very major part in the Conference and one to whom the success of many of the negotiations was due.

It is worth while recalling here that the last Conference of a similar type on the Law of the Sea was held at The Hague in 1930. It was known as The Hague Codification Conference. At that time some 40 nations participated and the International Conference broke down on a single issue, the question of the breadth of the territorial sea. Twenty-eight years later with twice as many nations participating it seems rather

significant that this same obstacle to agreement did not bring the Conference to failure. The significant thing is that the participants achieved many things that went far beyond anything achieved in the whole history of international law since mankind first began to keep its history.

Specifically, the Conference produced four international conventions as well as a protocol providing for the judicial settlement of disputes. These four conventions were (1) a convention on the high seas; (2) a convention on fishing and the conservation of the living resources of the high seas; (3) a convention on the continental shelf; and (4) a convention on the territorial sea and contiguous zone. It was on April 29 that Mr. Drew signed these conventions on behalf of Canada as well as the protocol on the settlement of disputes and the final act of the Conference. I might say that Canada was the first nation to sign all six of the instruments embodying the results of the Conference. The four conventions and the protocol on the settlement of disputes are, of course, subject to ratification by the Government of Canada and will not enter into force until ratified by at least 22 nations . . . .

#### Background

Before dealing in more detail with the conventions and their significance to Canada it might be of interest to provide a little background on the events leading up to the Conference and the method of work adopted by the Conference. The Conference was called as a result of a resolution by the General Assembly of the United Nations on February 21, 1957— Resolution 1105X1. It grew out of the studies and recommendations made over the years by the International Law Commission of the United Nations which had been meeting since the initial formation of the United Nations in 1946. The Commission had given very intensive study to all aspects of maritime law and then produced an extremely comprehensive report. It provided for 73 articles and was a compilation of all the rules of the sea which have been adopted over the years by the various nations. These 73 recommendations or rules have two different aspects to them. On the one hand they sought to codify all existing international law where there was already in existence extensive practice, precedent and doctrine. Then, on the other hand, they were concerned with the progressive development of international law on matters such as the continental shelf that were as yet largely unregulated because 30 years ago at The Hague Conference they hardly thought of such a thing. And then, in addition, the Conference was asked by the General Assembly to consider a matter not included within the compass of the International Law Commission report the question of access to the sea by landlocked countries.

After a brief plenary session the Conference resolved itself into five committees of the whole, each of which was charged with the consideration of a group of related articles. The results of the committees' work were considered in the final plenary sessions during the last week of the Conference. The committees and the subject matter referred to each were as follows: Committee I, the territorial sea and contiguous zone, and specifically Articles 1 to 25 and Article 66 of the original I.L.C. report; Committee II, the high seas, general regime, and specifically Articles 26 to 48 and 61 to 65; Committee III, the high seas, fishing, and specifically Articles 48 to 60; Committee IV, the continental shelf, and specifically

Articles 67 to 73; and Committee V, access to the sea of landlocked countries. That was a new subject to be discussed at the Conference itself. It will be seen that the breakdown of the Conference into these five committees follows in general the subjects of the conventions I have already listed.

#### Agreement on Shelf

It may be of interest at this point to comment briefly on some of the results of the Conference which were of particular significance to Canada. In commenting on this I might point out that for the first time in history there is now an international agreement on the continental shelf. I mention this first because it is usually lost sight of because this subject was uneventful in terms of news coverage and as far as producing quarrels or differences is concerned.

The Continental Shelf Convention gives to the coastal state sovereign rights over the exploration and exploitation of the natural resources of the sea bed and subsoil off its coast out to a depth of 200 meters. It also provides that these rights may be exercised beyond that depth if the exploitation of the resources is a practical possibility. In the long term this agreement may have consequences of far-reaching importance to Canada in the development of underwater oil and mineral resources. It means, in effect, a very substantial addition to the potential area of Canada's natural resources. Those who have followed with interest the development of techniques in the exploration of resources know that we can drill for oil at depths of 1,500 feet under the surface of the sea.

It is not without significance that it was a proposal put forward by Canada in Committee IV that led to the adoption of the Convention on the continental shelf nor is it without significance that it was a Canadian proposal to the final plenary session that led to a prohibition against reservations to the three main substantive articles in the Convention. To have permitted these reservations might have undermined the whole purpose of the Convention. Finally, it was not without significance that it was Canada, which proposed that this Convention should enter into force when signed by 22 nations instead of 50 as proposed by another power.

## High Seas Fishing

The second convention dealt with fishing and the conservation of the living resources of the high seas. The Convention on High Seas Fishing is the first such general convention regulating high seas fishing and it accords well with Canadian interests. It recognizes the special interest of the coastal state in maintaining the productivity of the living resources of the high seas in areas adjacent to its territorial sea. It also entitles the coastal state to take part on an equal footing in any system of research or regulation for purposes of conservation in that area even though its own nationals may not carry on fishing there. To all people who understand the importance of fishing to underdeveloped countries, the significance of this particular article is self-evident. Further, it provides that when conservation measures in the high seas have been adopted by a coastal state, they must be observed by fishermen from other countries. And then finally, under emergency circumstances, coastal

states may unilaterally enact the necessary conservation measures on the high seas.

The third important feature to Canada was the question of straight base lines and bays. To those of us who live in the island portions of Canada the fact that our coastline is very irregular hardly comes to our attention but in trying to define territorial waters the sinuosity of our coastline is a matter that gives us considerable concern and therefore these regulations in this regard, as drafted and codified by this International Law of the Sea, are very important to the future of our country.

In the Convention on the territorial sea and the contiguous zone, Article 4 provides that where the coast is deeply indented the method of drawing straight base lines from headland to headland may be followed in setting the boundary of the territorial sea rather than following the sinuosities of the coastline. I think the importance of that can be realized. Thirdly, our shoreline now in so far as the territorial sea is concerned is not the line of the high water mark or the low water mark; it is a line drawn from headland to headland. This provision, which reflects the 1951 decision in the well-known Anglo-Norwegian fisheries case is of particular interest to Canada because much of our coastline is deeply indented, as I have already pointed out.

In the committee stage there was a move to impose a limitation of 15 miles on straight baselines which would have had undesirable results for us. However, action by Canada in the plenary session was successful in having this limitation removed. The Conference also adopted a provision recognizing that bays with mouths of 24 miles or less are to be regarded as internal waters. This limitation would not, of course, affect bays along coasts where the baseline system is applicable.

The fourth convention deals with the general law of the high seas. The Convention on the High Seas has perhaps less significance for Canada than the others because, in the main, it simply codifies existing international law. It provides for the first time a systematic compilation of recognized international law on a number of important matters and seeks to ensure the maximum freedom of the high seas. This applies not only to navigation but to fishing on the high seas, flying over the high seas and such activities as the laying of submarine cables and the building of pipe lines under the high seas.

Among other things, the Convention deals with such matters as the nationality of ships, safety of life at sea, the suppression of piracy and the slave trade, the right of hot pursuit in certain circumstances and the prevention of pollution of the seas by the discharge of oil or the dumping of radioactive waste. It was, Mr. Speaker, a very thorough compilation of the existing laws of the sea into a code which we now hope will be ratified by the great majority of the nations of the world.

I have referred in brief summary, Mr. Speaker, to some of the highlights of the four conventions. Now I would like to turn to the question of the breadth of the territorial sea and the related question of coastal fishing zones. It is on this subject, of course, that the publicity was given which attracted such widespread public interest. It is unfortunate in one way that this aspect of the Conference's work reached so much public interest because it tended to obscure many of the more constructive achievements of the Conference. I would like to give some of the background of this matter of the breadth of the territorial sea to see whether we cannot make clear what the problem is and the importance of Canada's contribution so far and what we think it can be in the future.

There has been no uniform practice, Mr. Speaker, in so far as the breadth of the territorial sea is concerned. Generally speaking, the great maritime nations have accepted and enforced the three-mile territorial sea off the coasts of the various countries of the world. Many countries for many years have had breadths of the territorial sea off their countries far more than three miles. There are countries with a four-mile territorial sea: there are several with a six-mile territorial sea and there is one with a nine-mile territorial sea-that is Mexico-and the Soviet Union has a 12-mile territorial sea. Some go beyond that, even to the extent of 200 miles. This great variety of claims on the breadth of the territorial sea indicates that there is no such thing as uniformity. Generally speaking, the maritime powers have insisted on and recognized only three miles, even though there has not been any direct challenge to the countries that have territorial seas of different widths. As a matter of interest, the U.S.S.R. has a terrritorial sea of 12 miles, going back to the days of the Czars and it is not likely that anyone is going to challenge anything that has been in existence for over 50 years.

Having given this background, I think it is now fitting for me to point out that this problem was so complex that the International Law Commission did not make any definite recommendations to this general conference of the United Nations on this matter, but simply pointed out that 12 miles in its opinion was the maximum limit that they thought should exist. Now, for some time Canada has felt that a 12-mile limit was necessary to protect our fishing interests but we have recognized that an extension of the territorial sea to 12 miles might jeopardize the proper interests of those nations and those people who want to maintain freedom of the sea and freedom for air navigation. Therefore, our dilemma was, how could we reconcile the defence interests, freedom of the seas and the freedom of the air, which really requires a very narrow territorial sea, and the needs of our people on our coasts for some priority in harvesting the fish off their shores?

It is a matter of general knowledge, Mr. Speaker, that at the present time by Canadian law we have forbidden Canadian trawlers to fish within 12 miles of our coasts, and yet, because there is no international law, the trawlers from foreign nations can come inside our 12-mile limit and do fish in waters that the Canadian people do not allow Canadian trawlers to fish in. Quite frankly, we would like to reserve those first 12 miles off our shores for the people who cannot afford the big trawlers and who would like to make a living out of this band of water that they can get to and from with their limited resources as far as capital equipment is concerned.

Now, that was the problem that we faced at this Conference, and this goes back for several months and years. The Canadian Government proposed what became known as the Canadian proposal. This was first put forward two years ago. Reduced to its simplest terms it was an attempt to reconcile the interests of defence, freedom of the seas and freedom of the air with the interests of the people who live in coastal states and whose living is largely dependent on the products of the sea off that coast. This Canadian proposal was very simply to have a three-mile territorial sea but to have an additional nine miles in which the coastal state would have exclusive rights for fishing. This became known in our minds at least as the three-and-nine mile proposal, three miles of territorial sea, and nine additional miles in which the littoral state would have exclusive fishing rights. At the present time under international law coastal states have certain rights in that 12-mile area with respect to sanitation, fiscal arrangements, customs arrangements and immigration and we thought we would like to extend that principle to include fishing.

I think it can be said, Mr. Speaker, that this suggestion was acceptable to Canadians generally and was supported by all political parties. During the Conference the basic conflict was between those states which have fishing interests off their own coasts and those that wish to see the widest measure of freedom to secure or to maintain fishing rights in distant waters off the coasts of other countries. The Canadian suggestion of a fishing zone in which a coastal state would have the same fishing rights as in its territorial sea was an entirely new concept and from the time of its introduction by Mr. Drew at Geneva it affected profoundly the whole course of discussion. Canada played a major role throughout the discussions and negotiations on this matter and it was not for any lack of initiative or good will on the part of Mr. Drew and the Canadian Delegation that the Canadian effort to achieve a satisfactory solution was not crowned with some success.

Here I might note that one of the most significant features of the Conference was the importance of the position taken by Canada to the newer national states. The Canadian Delegation was keenly aware of the legitimate aspirations of these newer nations which have neither traditional claims to established fishing rights in distant fishing waters nor well developed fisheries in their own offshore waters but which are looking more and more to this important source of food and income as a part of their national birthright. In plain language, Mr. Speaker, Canada took the lead among these newer national states in trying to achieve greater economic security and stability for their own people and at the same time to express the new nationalism of their people in a responsible manner. We were very keenly aware of the legitimate demands of these nations.

Our delegation enjoyed the very closest and friendliest relations with the African and Asian Delegates, particularly with the very able Delegates from our Commonwealth partners, Sir Claude Correa from Ceylon, Mr. Bing who represented the new Commonwealth nation of Ghana, Mr. Suffian from Malaya and Dr. Bhutto from Pakistan. I want to acknowledge the constructive and important contribution of the delegation from India under the leadership of Dr. Senn.

We also had occasion to work very closely with the delegation from Mexico, particularly Dr. Robles who represented that delegation on the First Committee. I should like to pay a warm tribute to Prince Wan of Thailand, the President of the Conference, to the able chairmen of the

five main committees and in particular Professor K. G. Bailey, Solicitor General of Australia, who presided over the deliberations of the First Committee which dealt with the vexing problem of the breadth of the territorial sea and fishing zone.

I should like to relate to the House, if I may, an anecdote which occurred on the Friday preceding the very tense and dramatic voting on Saturday in the second last week of the Conference when Mr. Dean made a very brilliant exposition of the United States proposal lasting for 45 or 50 minutes. The hon. Mr. Drew representing the Canadian Delegation spontaneously walked up to the podium without notes and, taking about 45 minutes, put forward in one of the most brilliant presentations the case of Canada and the smaller nations as opposed to those who had so-called traditional fishing claims in distant waters. Professor Bailey, the chairman, got up and told the assembled delegates that they would rarely see such a high standard of parliamentary presentation of argument as they had witnessed that day and the whole convention floor of delegates of 86 nations took time out to applaud these two very fine men.

It is my impression that the significance of the Canadian proposal. which was adopted by a simple majority vote of the Committee but which did not get the necessary two-thirds majority in the plenary session, was made quite evident in spite of the bitter opposition from most of the major powers. It is my impression that the majority vote accorded the Canadian proposal in committee represents the first time in any United Nations conference that an important substantive matter has passed without the support of any of the five permanent members of the Security Council. I wish the House could see the picture as I saw it with the United Kingdom, the United States, China, France and the U.S.S.R., together with all their friends over whom they have influence and exercise persuasion, massed against Canada, India, Mexico, Libya and many of the newer and vounger nations reaching out for some claim to fish in the waters off their coasts. I wish hon, members could have been there to see the little nations, in spite of all the pressure of the five permanent members of the Security Council united on one side of a very important substantive issue, mustering a majority. I believe that is the first time the five permanent members have been defeated when they were on one side of an issue.

Although the Canadian proposal was rejected in the plenary session, a new concept of international law has been introduced which must surely be taken into account in any future consideration of this question. In the early stages of the Conference the United States of America supported the Canadian proposal. Later, however, the United States Delegation introduced a proposal of its own for a 6-mile territorial sea with an additional fishing zone. The fishing zone in the United States proposal, however, was not exclusive because it granted so-called traditional rights in perpetuity in the 6-mile zone.

The United Kingdom had introduced earlier a 6-mile territorial sea proposal which was in reality a 3-mile territorial sea with an additional 3-mile fishing zone. The Canadian Delegation made every effort to accommodate these two important and friendly partners. As a matter of fact, it was very much because of our concern over the defence aspects so far as the United Kingdom and the United States were concerned that we originally introduced the proposal for a 3-mile territorial sea and 9-mile fishing zone instead of a straight 12-mile territorial sea.

It was very disappointing when first the United Kingdom and then the United States abandoned the 3-mile rule after we had made such efforts to accommodate them, and after this development the Canadian Delegation felt justified in converting its proposal into a 6-mile territorial sea with an additional 6-mile fishing zone, the form in which it received a majority in the committee vote, in an effort to reach general agreement. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, in the final analysis the central issue before the Conference was not whether there should be a fishing zone but whether it should be subject to existing traditional rights as proposed by the United States or whether it should be exclusive and without impediment as proposed by Canada.

It is quite evident that the Canadian proposal had a tremendous impact on the conference. Without this concept there would have been no hope whatever of agreement because of the basic conflict between those states interested in coastal fishing rights and those interested in maintaining the maximum freedom of the high seas. This question remains unsettled for the moment, but it has not been forgotten and is still under very active international consideration. I might point out in this connection that the Conference adopted a resolution put forward by Cuba in these words:

—to request the General Assembly to study at its thirteenth session (1958) the advisability of convening a second international conference of plenipotentiaries for further consideration of the questions left unsettled by the present conference.

It is felt in New York, Mr. Speaker, that the Canadian Delegation will press for a second conference to be held at the earliest possible date to carry on the consideration of this question. I think it is safe to assume that any solution ultimately arrived at will incorporate the Canadian fishing zone concept in one form or another. At any rate, the Canadian position remains that the concept of an exclusive fishing zone should be adopted, and our efforts will be directed to this end. Agreement on a regime of law is very important to us, and to all countries. Without it, conflict and disagreement are inevitable, with dangers to the peace and welfare of all countries.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that agreement can be reached, and when it is achieved Canada will have played a significant part in reaching it. In closing, may I repeat that in spite of the fact that the questions of the territorial sea and the fishing zones have not yet been completely resolved, the Conference on the Law of the Sea can be regarded, both from the Canadian viewpoint and from the standpoint of strengthening international relations, as a most significant milestone.

# APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. F. Clarke posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, to Ottawa effective April 20, 1958.
- Mr. J. F. R. Mitchell, D.F.C., posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective June 6, 1958.
- Mr. R. P. Cameron posted from the Canadian Embassy, Stockholm, to Ottawa, effective June 7, 1958.
- Mr. A. B. Roger posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro. Arrived Rio June 27, 1958.
- Mr. J. D. Foote posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, to Ottawa, effective June 27, 1958.
- Miss E. P. MacCallum retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service, effective July 1, 1958.
- Miss O. E. Hobbs posted from the Canadian Consulate, Hamburg, to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective July 5, 1958.
- Mr. S. Freifeld posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, effective July 8, 1958.
- Mr. R. L. Rogers posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective July 10, 1958.
- Mr. G. G. Riddell posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective July 11, 1958.
- Mr. J. E. G. Hardy posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective July 11, 1958.
- Mr. L. H. LaVigne posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective July 14, 1958.
- Mr. G. S. Murray on loan from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to the United Nations Secretariat, effective July 14, 1958.
- Mr. H. F. Feaver posted from the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, to Ottawa, effective July 17, 1958.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier, Canadian Commissioner, posted from the International Supervisory Commission for Laos, Vientiane, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective July 21, 1958.
- Mr. N. Haffey posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective July 22, 1958.
- Mr. G. E. Cox posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective July 25, 1958.
- Mr. W. F. Stone posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, effective July 30, 1958.
- Mr. W. M. Pappin has retired from the Department of External Affairs, effective July 10, 1958.

# TREATY INFORMATION Current Action

#### Bilateral

#### Denmark

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Denmark modifying the Exchange of Notes of September 22 and October 14, 1949 concerning visas.

Signed at Ottawa July 14, 1958. Entered into force July 14, 1958.

#### Norway

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Norway modifying the Exchange of Notes of March 4 and 13, 1950 concerning visas.

Signed at Ottawa July 14, 1958. Entered into force July 14, 1958.

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Norway concerning the transfer to Norway of the three Prestonian Class Frigates on loan to that country.

Signed at Oslo July 1, 1958. Entered into force July 1, 1958.

#### Sweden

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Sweden modifying the Agreement of 1949 concerning visas.

Signed at Ottawa, July 14, 1958. Entered into force, July 14, 1958.

#### **United States of America**

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning aerial refueling facilities in Canadian territory.

Signed at Ottawa June 20, 1958. Entered into force June 20, 1958.

#### Multilateral

The International Convention for the prevention of pollution of the sea by oil, 1954. Signed by Canada May 12, 1954.

Canada's Instrument of Accession deposited December 19, 1956. Entered into force July 26, 1958.

#### Publication

- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 7. Agreement on the Joint Financing of certain Air Navigation Services in Greenland and the Faroe Islands. Opened for signature at Geneva September 25, 1956. Instrument of acceptance of Canada deposited January 18, 1957. In force for Canada January 18, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 18. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Denmark providing for a continuation for a period of three years of Canada's NATO Air Training Programme with respect to Aircrew Trainees. Signed at Copenhagen April 17, 1957. In force April 17, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 22. Convention between Canada and the United States of America further modifying and supplementing the Convention and accompanying Protocol of March 4, 1942, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of income taxes, as modified by the Supplementary Convention of June 12, 1950. Signed at Ottawa August 8, 1956. Instruments of ratification exchanged at Washington September 26, 1957. In force September 26, 1957.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



September 1958 Vol. 10 No. 9

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Department of External Affairs Ottawa, Canada



Visit to Canada of H.R.H.



From July 12 to August 11, Canadians had the pleasure of the first visit to North America of Her Royal Highness The Princess Margaret, sister to Her Majesty The Queen. The Princess, who travelled through seven of Canada's ten provinces, charmed all those who saw and met her.

Shown here are two aspects of Her Royal Highness's visit. In the top photograph, the Princess is seen with Mrs. Diefenbaker, The Prime Minister and His Excellency the Governor General of Canada before entering the Prime Minister's official residence at 24 Sussex Drive in Ottawa on August 2.

The other photograph shows the Princess during an informal moment in Banff National Park, with officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and of the National Parks Service.

## **Canada and the United Nations**

## **Emergency Special Session on Middle East**

The first "Emergency Special Session" of the United Nations General Assembly to be held since the Suez and Hungarian crises of November 1956 took place from August 8 to August 21 of this year, in connection with the Middle East situation resulting from events in Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. The session was called by unanimous decision of the members of the Security Council in a resolution of August 7 "taking into account that the lack of unanimity of its permanent members" at its July 18 and July 22 meetings (i.e., those at which the United States and Japanese resolutions on Lebanon, and the Soviet resolution on Lebanon and Jordan had been defeated) had "prevented it from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security".

Although resolutions for the summoning of an Assembly session had been submitted by the United States and Soviet representatives as early as July 18, these resolutions had been held in abeyance during the discussion of Premier Khrushchev's July 19 proposal for a conference of the Heads of Government of the U.S.S.R., the USA, the UK, France and India, with the participation of the United Nations Secretary-General, to discuss the Middle East. It will be recalled that after a considerable interchange of correspondence between the Soviet Union and the Western powers, the representatives of Canada and the United Kingdom had on August 1 submitted formal requests for a special Security Council meeting on August 12. This meeting was intended to initiate procedures which, in the opinion of Canada and other states, would have made possible within the framework of the United Nations the holding of useful informal consultations at a high level among the great powers and such others as might have been associated with them, to deal with not only the problems of Lebanon and Jordan, but also more deep-rooted Middle East issues. Premier Khrushchev having rejected this proposal in a statement of August 5, there was then no alternative but to proceed, as the Soviet Union thereupon proposed, with the convening within 24 hours of an emergency special session of the General Assembly. The Security Council made no attempt to define the Assembly's agenda item, which was subscribed simply as "Questions considered by the Security Council at its 838th meeting on 7 August 1958".

### **Auspicious Opening**

The Assembly proceedings opened auspiciously on August 8 with what the Secretary of State for External Affairs described as a "helpful" and "able" statement by the United Nations Secretary-General. Mr. Hammarskjold, in the words of the Secretary of State for External Affairs to the House of Comnons on August 23.

"set the tone for a constructive debate. He outlined on that occasion what he termed some of the basic needs for action in the region of the Middle East and suggested the desirability of finding a formula by which the affairs of the states of the region could be looked at very carefully and whereby they could take a more positive attitude with respect to the affairs of their neighbours.

"Second, in that introductory statement he emphasized the need of finding a formula to permit a United Nations solution to the problems of



**EXCHANGING VIEWS** 

Mr. Sidney E. Smith, left, Secretary of State for External Affairs, is seen exchanging views with Mr. Maurice Couve de Murville, France's Minister for Foreign Affairs, at United Nations, New York.

Lebanon and Jordan. Third, he held forth on the need for a co-operative approach to the economic problems of the Arab Middle East. While he made no specific proposals, he succeeded on that occasion in drawing the attention of the 81 nations represented in the General Assembly to the important truth that the key to the problems of the region rests largely in the hands of the states of the area themselves.

"The second important contribution to the opening discussions . . . was made by the President of the United States of America. On August 13 he successfully attempted to translate some of the principles enunciated by the Secretary-General into positive proposals . . . He addressed himself in a positive fashion not only to the immediate but to the long term problems of the Middle East, and . . . insisted at all times that any remedy for the anxious situation there and any solutions to the problems must be put forward and carried out by the United Nations. He took great care to say that he was not suggesting that the United States alone should carry out these measures, but rather would promote solutions of short term and long term problems under the aegis of the United Nations . .

"The President emphasized, as did the Secretary-General on August 8, the need to recognize the right of the peoples of the Arab nations to determine their own destinies, and he stated positively that no one could ever envisage solutions to their problems which would be permanent if they were in any manner imposed on the nations of the Middle East.

"The third statement to which I should like to refer is that made by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, who promptly endorsed President Eisenhower's remarks. That is the background which set the stage for the very constructive and profitable debate."

#### Soviet Resolution

The first formal resolution to be submitted to the Assembly was that proposed by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. The following was the text:

The General Assembly,

Recognizing the necessity of adopting urgent measures for the relaxation of tension in the area of the Near and Middle East in the interests of preserving universal peace,

Recommends the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom to withdraw their troops from the territory of Lebanon and Jordan without delay;

Instructs the Secretary-General to strengthen the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon in accordance with the plan presented by the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon in its second report, and to send an observation group to Jordan with a view to the supervision of the withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom troops from Lebanon and Jordan, and of the situation along the frontiers of those countries.

The Soviet resolution was seen from the start to have no prospect of adoption, because the majority of delegations recognized that the Assembly, as the Secretary of State for External Affairs subsequently reported to Parliament, "had been convened to do much more than simply arrange for the substitution of United Nations action for national action in Lebanon and Jordan... The Secretary-General would be given no opportunity to eliminate the underlying cause of tension" and the Soviet resolution "held no hope or promise for reasonable and moderate discussion in the Assembly free of propaganda of the cold war."

#### Task of Middle Powers

The next stage in the Assembly's deliberations was described by the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the following terms to the House of Commons on August 23:

"By reason of . . . the narrow and negative basis of the Soviet resolution, several countries wondered whether they could not offer to the General Assembly a resolution that would be more constructive . . . than the one that had been proposed by the U.S.S.R.; a resolution that would lay the ground work for a comprehensive consideration of the problems of the Middle East; a resolution that would use the Secretary-General as . . . the instrument of the United Nations in this particular field of trouble and excitement; a resolution that would lay the foundations for durable peace and stability in the area.

"So, as so often happens, it fell to certain middle powers to undertake the difficult task of devising a resolution which would seek to attain this objective, while at the same time taking into consideration the many widely divergent points of view and conflicting interests. So Canada and Norway found themselves playing a leading role in presenting to the General Assembly a type of resolution that would be constructive and comprehensive as compared with the esentially negative one that had been presented by Mr. Gromyko of the U.S.S.R....

"While . . . we were formulating this Canadian-Norwegian resolution there were other representatives, particularly in the Afro-Asian group, who were active in drafting their own resolution which reflected their overriding reoccupation with the question of troop withdrawal. The Norwegian and Canadian Delegations, on the other hand, were striving . . . for something much broader . . . in terms of Assembly support . . . a resolution that would enable the United Nations, through the Secretary-General and otherwise, to get at the basic roots of the Middle East problem and not to deal only with the symptoms of that situation.

"For our part we in the Canadian Delegation kept certain principles and objectives clearly before us throughout the whole period of intense negotiation . . . In the first place . . . we wanted something which would command the support of the Arabs themselves; for it seemed obvious that there could be no durable settlement in the Middle East without not only the consent of the Arab countries but their active co-operation . . .

"The second principle that the Canadian Delegation had in mind always... was that regional support alone... would not suffice without the complementary support and co-operation of the great powers, all of whom are committed in various ways in the disputes of the Middle East.

"Third, the Canadian Delegation was intent upon finding a reasonable solution satisfactory to all the principal states concerned to cover... the problem of troop withdrawal. This would have to be something which would give to the United Nations and particularly to the Secretary-General a central role without, however, confining the mandate to the narrow issue of troop withdrawal.

"It would at the same time—I refer to the draft resolution—we hoped create a situation by which the United Nations would be enabled to exert a benevolent and constructive influence . . . in the Middle East, through helping to establish an economic institution for the collective benefit of the Arab states and to provide perhaps an economic undergirding . . . that would make for a new and happier basis for the relations not only among themselves but with the neighbouring states in the area . . .

"We did not expect necessarily to have all these principles and objectives set forth in detail in the resolution. But what the Canadian Delegation wanted was to find a starting point from which the objective which I have endeavoured to describe here today could be pursued."

#### **Draft Resolution**

Long and arduous negotiations followed during which the draft resolution was revised no less than seven times. Finally, on August 18, the following text was introduced into the Assembly by the Deputy Foreign Minister of Norway, with Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Liberia, Panama and Paraguay as the other co-sponsors:

The General Assembly.

Having considered the item "Questions discussed at the 838th meeting of the Security Council on 7 August 1958",

Noting the declarations addressed to the President of the General Assembly of 18 August 1958 by the United States regarding United States forces now in Lebanon and their withdrawal and by the United Kingdom regarding British forces now in Jordan and their withdrawal.

Noting the Charter aim that States should "practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours",

Α.

- 1. Reaffirms that all Member States should "refrain from any threats or acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence or integrity of any State, or at fomenting civil strife and subverting the will of the people of any State";
- 2. Calls upon all Member States strictly to observe these obligations and to ensure that their conduct, by word and deed, in relation to the general area of the Near East, conforms to the above-mentioned policy.

В

Requests the Secretary-General, in accordance with the Charter, forthwith to make such practical arrangements as he, in consultation with the Governments concerned, may find would adequately serve to help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter in relation to Lebanon and Jordan in present circumstances, having in mind Section A of the present resolution.

C

- 1. Notes that the Secretary-General has studies in preparation of the consideration by the thirteenth session of the General Assembly of the feasibility of establishing a stand-by United Nations Peace Force;
- 2. Invites the Secretary-General to continue his studies now under way and in this context to consult as appropriate with the Arab countries of the Near East with a view to possible assistance regarding an Arab development institution designed to further economic growth in these countries.

D.

- 1. Requests Member States to co-operate fully in carrying out this resolution;
- 2. *Invites* the Secretary-General to report hereunder, as appropriate, the first such report to be made not later than 30 September 1958.

#### Analysis by Canadian Representative

Following the Norwegian presentation of the text of the formal resolution to the Assembly, the Canadian representative, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, analyzed for the Assembly on August 19 some of the broad considerations which had guided the Canadian Delegation in its approach and which he considered should be borne in mind in reaching a decision. He started by admitting that the resolution was not ideal, and would probably not be entirely satisfactory to any one country or grouping of countries, but commented that this was perhaps inevitable—and not necessarily a weakness—when the objective was a reconciliation of conflicting interests. After stating that the active co-operation of the Arab states and the identification of all the major powers with the purposes of the resolution were essential to its fulfillment, Mr. Smith went on to remind the Assembly that there rested on all members, particularly those with direct interests in the Middle East, "a solemn obligation to exercise self-denial and restraint while our search for answers to the immediate needs . . . and for a peaceful and prosperous pattern . . . in the future are in progress."

The Minister then discussed the role to be assigned to the Secretary-General under the terms of the draft resolution, and expressed confidence in Mr. Hammarskjold's "unique qualifications to meet this new challenge." Speaking of the communications addressed to the President of the Assembly on August 18 by the United States and United Kingdom representatives regarding withdrawal of their forces from Lebanon and Jordan, Mr. Smith urged all members to "accept those letters as a renewed manifestation of their desire (i.e., that of the US and UK) and intention for an early termination to a situation which they and all of us recognize could have unfortunate consequences." He then outlined the Canadian attitude to the wider issues raised

for the United Nations by the Lebanese and Jordanian problems, in the following terms:

"The questions of principle relate to the extent to which the UN is at liberty to intervene in matters which Member States could regard as of domestic concern. I think that it will be generally agreed that the UN has neither the right nor the duty to interfere in a country to support one form of government or political party, or to prevent another form of government or political party taking its place. Similarly, the Charter would seem to confer no right or duty on this organization to promote or prevent a political union of sovereign countries which may wish to merge their separate sovereignties in a larger union or federation . . .

"But does this doctrine mean that the UN can have no interest in or answer to questions so fundamental to the original complaints which gave rise to this Assembly? It may be good international law, but is it an adequate answer to the urgent problems of policy with which the members of the international community are now confronted? It is equally good international law that a duly constituted and legally recognized government can request another government to send troops into its territory to buttress its security, and that the state so invited is at liberty, under international law, to respond to this request. To describe the response of the USA to the Lebanese government's appeal for help, and the response of the UK to that of the Government of Jordan as "agression" is ridiculous and could make nonsense of the most central and serious provisions of the Charter. At the same time, the generalized assertion for such a right to seek and receive assistance from any government willing to give it, could greatly complicate the search for peaceful adjustments of situations that might contain a threat to the peace. These are problems of policy for which our present canons of international law do not give adequate guidance.

"Similarly, the way in which the succession to power in a state is effected may have a profound impact on the structure and sense of security of neighbouring states. A sudden and violent change of regime in one country may have repercussions which may lead neighbouring countries to feel that their external security is threatened. How can we work out a tolerable reconciliation between the principle, central to the whole conception of the UN, that each state has the right to determine for itself what its form of government shall be, with the equally important consideration that no country should have the privilege of jeopardizing the peace and security of its neighbours? These considerations must both be taken into account in attempting to formulate an appropriate UN treatment of the problems which are before the Assembly."

Mr. Smith went on to suggest to the Assembly that not all the concepts of international law or the assumptions on which the Charter is based are realized with equal fullness in all parts of the world. He continued,

"We would do well to recognize that the members of the Arab region in the Middle East may feel that they... are in a special relationship with one another. Their relations with one another may come under the heading of external affairs, but it is probably misleading to regard them as foreign affairs in the classical meaning which diplomacy gives the term.

Their relations with each other have been developing and evolving very rapidly. Similarly, national sentiments and aspirations are rapidly taking political and constitutional shape in what not so long ago were the non-selfgoverning parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire. In a sense, the emergence of new national governments and groupings in the Arab area represents a challenge to the imaginations and sympathy of older and longer established members of the international community in somewhat the same way as the emergence of new Asian and African Commonwealth countries has represented a challenge to the sympathy and understanding and support of older members of our Commonwealth.

"It is for reasons like these that I should be doubtful of the wisdom of any one attempting from the outside to prescribe and codify any very precise pattern for the relationships of the Arab countries inter se, or even for their individual or collective relationship to the . . . rest of the world . . . What is important, particularly in this transitional stage, is that we should recognize that the pattern of economic and political relationships has not reached a settled equilibrium in the Middle East any more than it has in the British Commonwealth, or for that matter, in Western Europe, where economic, social and political forces are creating new systems of international and, in some cases, supranational co-operation in forms whose ultimate shape none of us can foresee.

"While these processes, all natural enough, perhaps even inevitable, are working themselves out, our chief responsibility in the UN is to see that our thinking and that our institutions should be sufficiently flexible and realistic to accommodate themselves to the facts of change. Changes will have to come, but they must come peacefully. This much the world has a right to expect, and all our efforts . . . should be directed to this task."

The Minister then commented favourably on the provisions of the resolution regarding a United Nations standby peace force and an Arab development institution under United Nations auspices, as concepts which Canada had already endorsed in principle. He added that Canada had a third long-term objective, not to be found in the resolution, this being the hope

"that there could be laid a network of interlocking nonaggression agreements in the Middle East region which could guarantee the independence and integrity of each and all of the states of the area..."

#### **Arab Resolution**

As the debate on the seven-power draft resolution proceeded, there occurred among the Arab Delegations a sudden reconciliation and rallying of opinion which led on August 21 to the submission of a new draft resolution, co-sponsored by all ten Arab States (Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic and Yemen). Its text was as follows:

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item "Question considered by the Security Council at its 838th meeting on 7 August 1958",

Noting the Charter aim that States should "practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours",

Noting that the Arab States have agreed in the Pact of the League of Arab States to "strengthen the close relations and numerous ties which link the Arab States, and to

support and stabilize these ties upon a basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of these states, and to direct their efforts toward the common good of all the Arab countries, the improvement of their status, the security of their future and the realization of their aspirations and hopes",

Desiring to relieve international tension,

Α.

- 1. Welcomes the renewed assurances given by the Arab States to observe the provision of Article 8 of the Pact of the League of Arab States that "Each Member State shall respect the systems of government established in the other Member States and regard them as exclusive concerns of these States", and that "Each shall pledge to abstain from any action calculated to change established systems of government";
- 2. Calls upon all Member States to act strictly in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and of equal and mutual benefit, and to ensure that their conduct by word and deed conforms to these principles;

В.

Requests the Secretary-General to make forthwith, in consultation with the Governments concerned and in accordance with the Charter, and having in mind Section A of this resolution, such practical arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter in relation to Lebanon and Jordan in the present circumstances, and thereby facilitate the early withdrawal of the foreign troops from the two countries;

C

Invites the Secretary-General to continue his studies now under way and in this context to consult as appropriate with the Arab countries of the Near East with a view to possible assistance regarding an Arab development institution designed to further economic growth in these countries;

D.

- 1. Requests Member States to co-operate fully in carrying out this resolution;
- 2. Invites the Secretary-General to report hereunder, as appropriate, the first such report to be made not later than 30 September 1958.

After the Soviet Union and co-sponsors of the seven-power draft had declared their intention not to press their respective draft resolutions to a vote, and after the representatives of all the Great Powers and many others had spoken briefly in favour, the Arab Resolution was approved by a unanimous vote of 80-0 (the delegate of one Latin American country being absent).

#### The Canadian View

The Secretary of State for External Affairs subsequently described the unanimous adoption of the Arab Resolution as "eminently satisfactory" and expressed the hope that this unanimity would be reflected in a co-operative attitude on the part of the states concerned. In the Canadian view, the Arab Resolution was an evolution from and fulfillment of the earlier seven-power resolution; it also seemed to hold out better prospects for peace in the Middle East by virtue of its having been proposed by the Arab States themselves, and having received the assent of all the great powers, including the Soviet Union. The preamble and Section A of the Arab Resolution correspond very closely in meaning to the last preambular paragraph and Section 'A' of the seven-power draft, but use "terms which are more precise and which have a more particular relevance to the Afro-Asian world" through the references to passages in the Arab League Pact and the 1955 "Bandung principles" (paraphrased in Para. A-2 of the resolution). The additional words ("and thereby facilitate the early withdrawal of foreign troops in the two countries") in Section 'B' of the Arab Resolution as compared to the same section of the seven-power draft was "a more direct formula for dealing with the crucial question of troop withdrawals", but "this formula was accepted willingly by

the United States and United Kingdom' whose representatives both made statements endorsing the resolution. The remaining portions of the two resolutions—dealing with economic plans for the area and inviting the Secretary-General to report back to the Assembly before the end of September—were identical.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, in his address to the House of Commons on August 23, pointed out that the only feature of the seven-power resolution which failed to reappear in the Arab Resolution was the reference to the United Nations peace force. "The omission need not be regarded as significant," he said, since this item would appear on the agenda of the forthcoming regular Assembly session. The Minister continued that the matter deserved extremely careful study, but added:

"I should warn hon. members of the Committee that I was conscious of a deep division of opinion with the Assembly on this whole question of a stand-by force, a division that grew deeper and deeper during the succeeding days of the debate. There are many practical problems to be faced, not the least of which will be a decision as to who should be the final arbiter of when political or military circumstances would justify the use of a United Nations armed force. This was impressed upon me as the debate proceeded . . . It is the armed aspect, the police aspect, of any proposal that would carry with it the suggestion that it should operate under the flag of the United Nations that worries many of the nations, small and great."

#### The Key Role

The Minister concluded his report on the Emergency Special Session and discussion of the Arab Resolution by referring to the key role the UN Secretary-General was being called upon to play in translating into practical action the mandate he had received from the Assembly.

"In accepting that mandate the Secretary-General is adding to the already heavy burden of responsibility which he has been called upon to assume in recent weeks, and none of us should underestimate the difficulties or delicacy of the new tasks we are asking him to assume. This is related to the solution of these problems.

"The fact that his mandate is a broad one, leaving him wide discretion to consult and act on his own initiative as circumstances may require, is a tribute indeed to the confidence which the Assembly, speaking with a unanimous voice, reposes in his skill and integrity."

The Minister called upon all the states concerned to make possible by their actions the practical realization of the Secretary-General's mission and the aims of the Assembly resolution of August 21.

# Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference

The Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference was held in Montreal from September 15 to September 26. This was the first Commonwealth gathering of this kind to be held in Canada since the Ottawa Conference of 1932. It had been clear that the Conference could not follow the lines of the 1932 Conference. The world economic climate has changed greatly in the intervening years and so has the structure of the Commonwealth. As the Minister of Finance put it in his Budget speech on June 17, 1958:

"The world in which we live is very different from the world of 1932. The Commonwealth itself has been greatly changed since that time. In these twenty-six momentous years the Commonwealth has expanded in membership, has matured in its political relationships, and has become much broader in embracing more diverse interests. The Commonwealth trade agreements which were entered into in 1932 made an invaluable contribution to solving many of the difficulties confronting all of us at that time. The issues facing us today, however, are very different from those of 1932. They require equally energetic and imaginative solutions, but along rather different lines."

#### Canadian Initiative

The suggestion that the time might be opportune for a review by Commonwealth countries of their trade with one another and of their relations in the economic field generally was first advanced by the Prime Minister in London in the summer of 1957 at the time of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. As explained to the House of Commons on October 28, 1957, it was the Prime Minister's view that

"within the Commonwealth framework a great deal more can be done than has in fact been accomplished to increase and diversify international trade and expand the means whereby Commonwealth members can assist each other's economic development."

To this end the Prime Minister invited Commonwealth Finance Ministers to hold in Canada the meeting which it is their normal practice to have annually in conjunction with the meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

## **Preliminary Meetings**

In response to this invitation all the Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth (with the exception of New Zealand which was represented by its Minister for External Affairs) gathered at Mont Tremblant from September 28 to October 1, 1957. As a result of their deliberations they concluded that "the changing pattern in trade, production and development throughout the world presents all Commonwealth countries with new problems and new opportunities" and that there was advantage in assessing these problems and opportunities on a joint basis. Accordingly they approved and agreed to recommend to their Governments the proposal of the Canadian Government

"that a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference should be held at a convenient place and time in 1958".

While no precise agenda for the Conference was formulated at Mont Tremblant, it was generally agreed that the discussions might be conducted within the following framework of subjects:

- (a) the significance for Commonwealth countries of changes taking place in world trade;
- (b) measures to expand trade between Commonwealth countries;
- (c) progress towards the common objective of freer trade and payments;
- (d) the progress and direction of economic expansion in the less developed countries of the Commonwealth and the sources of capital and technical assistance that may aid in their further development;
- (e) economic and trade problems in regard to agriculture and other primary productions;
- (f) the prospects and implications, especially for Commonwealth countries, of the European Economic Community and the proposed Free Trade Area;
- (g) arrangements for continuing Commonwealth consultations on economic matters.

It was within this framework that officials were asked to undertake the detailed preparatory work for the Conference. Officials met for this purpose in London from February 11 to 13 and again from June 2 to 21, 1958. They met again from September 11 to 13 immediately before the opening of the Conference to undertake a final review of the material to be put before Ministers.

The Conference was held at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, and was attended by Ministers from all Commonwealth countries. A number of United Kingdom colonial territories, including the West Indies, were also represented. The total number of Commonwealth representatives in attendance at the Conference, including the Conference Staff and Secretariat, was approximately 300. Mr. S. D. Pierce, Canada's Deputy High Commissioner in London, was the Secretary-General of the Conference.

The Conference considered not only trade matters but the whole compass of economic relations between Commonwealth countries and the position of the Commonwealth as a whole in the world economy. In this wider context the Conference gave close study to the problems of economic development which are of concern to a number of Commonwealth countries, particularly those which have emerged to independence within the Commonwealth in recent years.

## Canada's Objectives

The objectives which the Canadian Government sought to attain at the Conference were set out by the Minister of Finance in his Budget speech on June 17, 1958, in the following terms:

"In the first place we aim to expand the opportunities for mutually profitable trade between Canada and the other countries of the Commonwealth. We hope that progress can be made in removing restrictions and discriminations which are imposed against us.

"Second, we would like to explore with our Commonwealth partners ways and means of making more rapid progress towards currency convertibility and a freer system of world trade and payments. We appreciate that this poses a complex of difficult problems. We would like to see steps taken to increase world liquidity in the means of international payments. We shall support constructive steps to promote appropriate trade and financial policies on the part of the principal creditor nations, and the development of sound relationships with the new trade groupings now being set up in Europe. All of this cannot be accomplished by the Commonwealth acting alone. But we should concert our Commonwealth efforts and in this way encourage other countries to move along parallel lines.

"Third, it is desirable to promote measures which will assist in the economic development of Commonwealth countries, particularly the newer members which are less industrially advanced, and to improve their standards of living.

"Finally, we wish to extend and deepen our Commonwealth institutions so that they can contribute more effectively to our joint economic and political strength and in all these ways, by our example and by our achievements, defeat the threatening inroads of communism."

An article on the results of the Conference will appear in a subsequent issue of "External Affairs".

# Canada and the International Commission in Laos

On July 19, 1958 the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos decided, by a majority vote, to adjourn *sine die*. Within a few days, members of the Indian, Canadian and Polish Delegations had left Laos; for the first time since August 1954 the Commission was no longer present on Laotian soil.

#### Thanks of Royal Government

The Commission received, before it left, a letter from Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos. He acknowledged the decision of the Commission to adjourn sine die and to make arrangements for the departure of members of the Commission, and described the decision as marking "the happy success of the mission fulfilled in Laos by the International Commission for the full implementation of the Geneva Agreement of July 21, 1954." The Prime Minister's letter went on to state "the Royal Government wishes to renew to the International Commission its sincere thanks for the efforts it put forth in order to achieve this result, in conditions which were often difficult." The letter concluded by paying tribute to the officials who had been provided by India as Chairmen of the Commission. "Their co-operation", the letter stated, "has often been valuable to the Royal Government in enabling it to fulfil the pledges which it had made at the Geneva Conference, with a view to achieving the unity of the entire Laotian population, to establishing legal orders in the Kingdom, and finally to bringing the State of Laos to a position where it could assume its role in the peaceful comity of nations in complete independence and sovereignty."

As it left Laos, therefore, the International Commission could take some satisfaction in the task which it had accomplished in Laos. It has encountered difficulties stemming from the environment in which it worked, and it inevitably had met certain disagreements among the three national delegations which composed it. However, despite these, it had completed the task assigned to it by the Geneva Powers in 1954.

#### Situation in Laos

At the Geneva Conference of 1954 three Cease-Fire Agreements were drawn up to bring peace to the three countries of Indochina. The main opposing forces in the Indochina war were the Communist Vietminh and the troops of the French Union. The centre of the struggle was in Vietnam, but hostilities also occurred in Laos and Cambodia. In 1949 Laos had become an independent sovereign state within the French Union. At that time most of the members of the "Lao-Issarak Movement", which had pressed for independence for a number of years returned to Laos and became members of the national community. However, the more extreme elements of the "Lao-Issarak Movement" refused to return to Laos until April 1953 when, now known as the "Pathet-Lao", they accompanied the Vietminh in the invasion of the country. Notable among their leaders was Prince Souphannouvong, related to the Royal House, who had been expelled from the "Lao-Issarak Movement" in 1949 because of his alleged Communist sympathies. The Vietminh and Pathet-Lao forces

captured about half of the Province of Sam Neua and came within a short distance of the royal capital at Luang Prabang. However, the Laotian forces rallied around their King and the invaders were turned back.

An agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Laos was reached in Geneva on July 21, 1954. It was signed on the one hand (with the agreement of the Royal Laotian Government) on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief of the French Union forces in Indochina, and on the other on behalf of the Commanders of the Fighting Units of the Pathet-Lao and the People's Army of Vietnam. The agreement provided for the withdrawal of Vietninh troops from Laos, for the re-grouping of the Fighting Units of the Pathet-Lao in the two northern provinces of Sam Neua and Phong Saly pending a political settlement; and for supervision of the Cease-Fire arrangements by the International Commission composed of representatives of India, Poland and Canada. This International Commission acted as an intermediary in negotiations between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet-Lao and acted to ensure the maintenance of Cease-Fire.

#### Agreement with Pathet-Lao

After long and strenuous negotiations the Royal Government of Laos headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma signed in November 1957 an Agreement with the Pathet-Lao, which provided for an integration of the dissidents into the national community. The Pathet-Lao organization was to become a national political party, known as the Neo Lao Haksat, with the same rights and duties as any other political party, and members of the Pathet-Lao were to recognize the authority of the King. The Agreement between the two parties also provided for the formation of a coalition government which would include two Pathet-Lao ministers. It was understood that this arrangement would provide the Pathet-Lao with representation in the government until supplementary elections could be held early in 1958, which would provide for an expanded National Assembly to take into account the requirements for increased representation as a result of the political settlement re-unifying the country.

#### Canadian Resolution

The Royal Laotian Government considered that the supplementary elections of May 4 constituted the political settlement which was provided for in the Cease-Fire Agreement for Laos, and accordingly informed the Commission of its view that the tasks of the Commission would be completed following these elections and that the Commission should therefore leave Laos. The Canadian Government agreed with this view and on May 8, 1958 the Canadian Delegation to the International Commission introduced a resolution calling for the dissolution of the Commission. This resolution drew attention to the various Agreements which had been reached between the Royal Government of Laos and the Pathet-Lao in November 1957 and expressed the opinion that, with the implementation of these Agreements, the political settlement envisaged by the Cease-Fire Agreement had been achieved. In view of the request which had been received from the Royal Government of Laos that the Commission should withdraw and in order that the Commission should not impose itself on a sovereign and independent Laos, the Commission should dissolve itself immediately and inform the members of the Geneva Conference accordingly.

In introducing this resolution the Canadian Commissioner pointed out that the Commission had the power to dissolve itself and was competent to assess when its tasks were completed. He went on to state that in the view of the Canadian Government it was both appropriate and desirable that the Laos Commission be dissolved.

#### Lengthy Negotiations

This resolution was defeated, as neither the Indian nor the Polish Delegations could agree that one of the Commissions should entirely dissolve until a settlement had also been reached in Vietnam. There followed a long period of negotiations aiming at some arrangement which would meet the positions taken by the interested parties. Throughout this period the Canadian Government remained very conscious of the rights of the Royal Government of Laos. which had fulfilled its obligations under the Cease-Fire Agreement and which was a completely independent and sovereign government. It was also recognized by the Canadian Delegation that the continuation of international agencies of this kind after their appointed tasks had been completed could only bring the whole concept of international supervision into disrepute. The Commission finally decided on July 19 by a majority vote, with the Polish Delegation dissenting, to adjourn sine die. In voting for adjournment the Canadian Commissioner had in mind that consultations would be necessary before any reconvening of the Commission and that, if this question arose, the Canadian Government would have regard for Laotian sovereignty.

The work of the International Commission in Laos was marked by a commendable degree of co-operation between the Canadian, Indian and Polish Delegations. The settlement between the Laotian Government and the Pathet-Lao, which in effect brought to an end the Commission activities and which re-integrated into the Kingdom the Communist-advised dissidents of the Pathet-Lao and the territory they controlled, was a notable experiment. If, as is to be hoped, it succeeds and the country is strengthened as a result, the little Kingdom of Laos will have set an example of peaceful settlement of an internal but divisive politico-military dispute in a manner worthy of emulation.

## **ECOSOC: 26th Session**

 $T_{\rm HE}$  Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) held its 26th session in Geneva between July 1 and August 2, 1958.

The Economic and Social Council is responsible under the authority of the General Assembly for the economic and social activities of the United Nations. It makes or initiates studies and reports and makes recommendations on international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters. It promotes respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. It may call international conferences and prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly on matters within its competence. Finally it co-ordinates the activities of the Specialized Agencies by means of consultation with them, and consults with non-governmental organizations concerned with matters with which it deals.

Canada is at present in the final year of its third term as a member of the Council, and will retire from membership on December 31 next. Previous terms served by Canada were from 1946 to 1948 and from 1950 to 1952. The other members are: Brazil, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Finland, France, Greece, Indonesia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Poland, Sudan, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and Yugoslavia.

Canada was honoured this year by the election of Dr. G. F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare, as President of the Council for 1958. Dr. Davidson has been associated with many aspects of the Council's work since its creation in 1945, and has been a member of several Canadian Delegations to sessions of the Council. By electing him as President this year, the Council paid tribute to the notable contribution he has made to its work, both personally and as a representative of Canada.

The Canadian Delegation to the 26th session was under the chairmanship of Mr. Wallace B. Nesbitt, Q.C., M.P., and included as alternate representatives Mr. M. H. Wershof, Permanent Representative of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Mr. Sidney Pollock, of the Department of Finance, and Mr. L. A. D. Stephens, of the Canadian Embasssy in Bonn.

The session was in the main concerned with economic matters. It gave particular attention to the recession recently experienced in some countries and to the problem of stabilization of the prices paid for international primary commodities. It also discussed United Nations activities in the field of economic assistance to the under-developed countries; in this connection the Council's approval of the report of the Preparatory Committee on the Special Projects Fund is of particular significance. This Preparatory Committee had been established by the Twelfth Session of the General Assembly to define the fields of assistance and types of projects to be covered by the Special Projects Fund, to set out the administrative and operational machinery which the new Fund would need, and to ascertain the extent to which governments would be willing to contribute to the Fund. In its report, the Preparatory Committee recommended that the operations of the Special Projects Fund be directed towards enlarging the scope of the existing United Nations programmes of

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## **Suspension of Nuclear Tests**

Prime Minister Diefenbaker made the following statement in the House of Commons August 22 on the question of nuclear tests:

Today the President of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom have issued important announcements with regard to their policy in this field.

On behalf of the Canadian Government I, and I think all hon. members, welcome unreservedly the decisions which have been reached by the United States and the United Kingdom Governments. Indeed, I hope I can speak for all shades of opinion in the House and in the country in welcoming this major development announced this day, and especially to express the satisfaction of members of this House with the statesmanlike and specific nature of the proposals made by those two countries.

The House will recall that on several occasions since I became Prime Minister I have advocated the suspension of nuclear tests, but always providing there was adequate international control to ensure the observance of the undertakings made in that connection. The principal powers now have before them the result of the technical discussions at Geneva to which Canadian scientists have made an important contribution. These powers are therefore in a favourable position to proceed on a political plane to negotiate the specific terms of an agreement which I hope will be international in effect.

The readiness of the United States and the United Kingdom Governments to suspend nuclear tests for a year is a contribution of the first magnitude toward the creation of a favourable atmosphere for negotiation. The conditions that the suspension agreement be extended year by year only if the inspection system is functioning effectively and progress continues to be made in the reaching of agreements on major substantive disarmament measures, are prudent foundations on which to build. Such understandings will provide a further incentive to creative efforts for the enlargement of mutual confidence and the assurance of the maintenance of peace, and they would emphasize the political significance of an agreement on the suspension of tests as a first step toward disarmament.

It is my profound hope that the Soviet Union will shortly indicate its readiness to enter into negotiations for the general purposes set forth in the United States and United Kingdom statements. For our part I can give unqualified assurances that to the extent that the control arrangements which may be agreed upon might be applicable to Canadian territory, we are prepared to co-operate in setting up control stations and inspection of the kind outlined in the report of the experts. Indeed, on more than one occasion Canada has agreed unreservedly to her northern areas and Arctic regions being made available for inspection in order to ensure that surprise attacks will not take place.

At the proper stage of negotiations, which we hope will soon be begun by the powers engaged in active testing programmes, the opportunity will come to put forward our detailed views on this matter and to offer constructive suggestions with respect to the location of stations and the administration of inspection teams within Canada.

Sir, after many years of fruitless discussions on the question of disarmament, and indeed the complete breakdown of the machinery of negotiation last year, the world at last has a prospect of agreement in one specific and important field. An agreement for the suspension of nuclear tests would be significant in itself, and might conceivably represent a concrete start on the arduous process of negotiating a disarmament programme and agreements which would increase the security of all nations, diminish the danger and fear of war and lighten the burden of armaments.

I trust that in the near future a further round of talks at the expert level will be held on the problem of safeguards and the provision of the necessary means to ensure the maintenance of confidence in this connection.

What has been announced today will give new hope to all mankind. If the U.S.S.R. will now agree to enter into negotiations as suggested in the statements of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, we may this day be entering a new era for the achievement of world peace.

#### ECOSOC: 26th Session

(Continued from page 222)

assistance, so as to include special projects in certain basic fields, for example extensive surveys of water, mineral and potential power resources, the establishment of training institutes in public administration, statistics and technology, and of agricultural and industrial research and productivity centers. It is expected that the report of the Council on the subject of the Special Projects Fund will be approved by the General Assembly during its forthcoming session, and that the Fund will come into being early in 1959.

As mentioned above, the Economic and Social Council co-ordinates the activities of the Specialized Agencies. At session, discussions in this field led to a resolution seeking greater integration of the various programmes in existence for the peaceful utilization of atomic energy, and also to a plan that "five-year appraisals" should be drawn up by the United Nations and the major Specialized Agencies so as to bring into relief the inter-relationship of the work of the different organizations and thereby facilitate closer co-operation and, wherever feasible, concerted action.

Social questions received less attention than on previous occasions. The Council, however, considered reports from its Commissions on Human Rights, on the Status of Women and on Narcotic Drugs; the Commission on Narcotic Drugs completed its task of preparing a Single Convention for the international control of narcotic drugs. The Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was also considered and a resolution seeking higher contributions to the Refugee Fund from states members of the United Nations or of the Specialized Agencies was adopted.

A more detailed account of some of the more significant decisions will be published in the October issue of the External Affairs Bulletin.

# The Foreign Service Officer Competition

It is now 30 years since the first Canadian diplomatic office abroad was established with the opening of the Canadian Legation in Washington in 1927. This marked the beginning of the foreign service administered by the Department of External Affairs, for while the Department was brought into being by act of Parliament in 1909 it was not until 1927 that a Canadian diplomatic representative was accredited to a foreign government and the need arose for a small group of officers to serve as his staff.

From this modest beginning the number of the Department's diplomatic, consular and other offices abroad has increased until they now number more than 60. The Department currently administers 33 Embassies, 4 Legations, 8 Offices of High Commissioners in Commonwealth countries, 3 Permanent Delegations to international organizations (one each at the Headquarters in New York and the European Office in Geneva of the United Nations and one at NATO Headquarters in Paris), 12 consular offices and 1 mission in Berlin. In addition it has personnel serving at 3 consular offices administered by the Department of Trade and Commerce. The Department continues to provide personnel for the Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China.



Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, India.

During this 30-year period the number of Foreign Service Officers required to staff these missions abroad and headquarters in Ottawa has accordingly increased from 3 to the present total of more than 300.

#### An Annual Need

What all this means in terms of recruitment is an annual need for university graduates with a high standard of intellectual attainment and with personal qualities of flexibility and adaptability.

The factors of chief importance in the expansion of the Department and its foreign service are the following: (1) The growth in Canadian population and resources has been matched by a growth in the country's international responsibilities; (2) in an increasingly complex and inter-dependent world, where developments in one region inevitably influence developments in others, there is an increasing need for the Government to have its own sources of political and economic information abroad, and channels of communication to other governments and international organizations; (3) expanding Canadian foreign trade and investment and increased travel by Canadians in foreign countries creates additional needs for assistance to and protection of Canadian interests abroad.

It is normal practice to recruit officers at the junior level and to fill the intermediate and senior grades by promotion within the service. A substantial number of those now serving as heads of Canadian diplomatic and consular posts (Ambassadors, High Commissioners, Ministers and Consuls-General) started at the bottom and earned a series of promotions by their competence and initiative. A number of departures from this normal practice was necessitated during the period of particularly rapid expansion during and after the Second World War, when appointments to higher grades were made from the Armed Forces, other government departments and from business and professional life. For some years, however, with few exceptions, the Department has been able to fill its intermediate and senior positions by promoting experienced officers, and has followed the practice of annual recruitment at the most junior rank in the Foreign Service Officer structure, Foreign Service Officer Grade 1.

The Department is not infrequently asked how many Foreign Service Officers Grade 1 it expects to recruit in the years ahead, and to this question no precise answer can be given. The total of Foreign Service Officers to be taken in each year is largely determined by the number of vacancies in the Department's establishment, which is fixed each year by Treasury Board minute and cannot be exceeded. Only when the number of retirements, transfers to other departments, resignations and deaths is known, together with any increases in the Department's establishment which may be approved, can the number of vacancies be ascertained. It should also be noted that the Department will not necessarily fill all vacancies; it would clearly not be in the interests of the public service to do so should a competition fail to produce enough candidates with sufficiently high qualifications. Fortunately, the calibre of candidates in recent years has been such as to make this a theoretical rather than a practical problem.

What can be stated with more precision is the number of Foreign Service Officers Grade 1 entering the Department in the last few years. Since 1952 the Department has taken on between 18 and 25 successful candidates from

each annual competition. Whether or not the annual intake in future years will be as high will depend on the number of vacant positions in the establishment arising in the course of each year and on the increase of the establishment itself.

#### Competitive Examination

The competitive examination, which is the only avenue to appointment as Foreign Service Officer Grade 1, is conducted annually by the Civil Service Commission. In order to compete for appointment a man or woman must be under 31 years of age, a university graduate or an under-graduate in his final year of study, and be a British subject with ten years' Canadian residence. Those who take the examination while not resident in the country must have retained their contact with Canada.

The Civil Service Commission is responsible for conducting the examinations and prepares and distributes the notices giving particulars of the competitions, which are usually held in November of each year. These are displayed in post offices and Civil Service and National Employment Service offices across Canada and in Canadian Government offices abroad. In order to ensure that all interested and potential candidates are aware of the competition, the Civil Service Commission also notifies all Canadian universities, and the Department endeavours to send officers to universities to consult with students and faculty members who may be interested and to provide information about opportunities in the foreign service. Steps are also taken to bring these competitions to the attention of major universities abroad where Canadians may be studying.

The competition is divided into three phases: the written examination, the oral examination, and the assignment of a rating based on education and experience. Of the two written papers, one is prepared by officers of the Department of External Affairs in co-operation with representatives of the Civil Service Commission; the other, a multiple-choice objective examination, is drawn up by the Commission to test all university graduates who are seeking employment in any part of the public service. Candidates may write in English or French, and each is given a number, in order to preserve anonymity until the marking of the paper is completed.\*

The written examination, in addition to testing the candidate's general knowledge of Canadian and international affairs, is intended to test mental and intellectual qualities, including reading comprehension. For this reason the Department regards the essay paper as an important part of each written examination. Candidates are offered a broad choice of topics and asked to write essays on two of these. (A copy of the 1957 External Affairs essay paper is appended to this article.) On occasion a précis is included. This paper provides an opportunity for candidates to demonstrate clarity of mind, logic, coherence and, of course, ability to write concisely.

No specific course of study is required. However, since one of the purposes of the written examination is to test the candidate's general knowledge of Canadian and international affairs, and the extent of his interest in these fields, it follows that candidates whose university work has dealt with some

<sup>\*</sup>A booklet containing specimen questions from the objective type examination may be obtained from the Civil Service Commission, Ottawa at a cost of 25 cents.

aspect of this general area are more likely to succeed than those from other disciplines. Nevertheless the examination is so constituted that promising students from less directly related fields of study may also expect to do well in it.

A post-graduate degree is not required, though the majority of successful candidates in the past have taken at least one year of graduate studies. Those with post-graduate training and experience and a knowledge of foreign languages are given additional credits in the competition.

In the second phase of the competition those who are successful in the written examination are called before an oral board. The centres at which the oral boards sit may change from year to year, but normally the boards are convened in the main cities of Canada, and, if the number of candidates should warrant, in some of the larger cities in the United States, the United Kingdom and Western Europe. Occasionally it is more convenient, where there are only one or two candidates, to request them to appear for interview at the nearest city in which the board is sitting. The boards are normally composed of five members, including the Civil Service Commission representative who acts as chairman, two representatives from the Department (one English-speaking and the other French-speaking), and two outside members representing the universities and business respectively. In the interests of continuity and to ensure that similar selection standards are applied, an effort is made to have one or more persons common to all boards.

The function of the board is to assess the personal suitability of the candidate on the basis of his intellectual capacity, integrity, initiative, personality and appearance. To aid the board members in forming a judgment, they have before them the comments of the persons whom candidates have given as references. On the basis of the board's assessment, a mark is assigned for the second phase of the competition.

In the third phase a rating, based on any military, business and professional experience, academic training and knowledge of foreign languages, is assigned to each candidate who has been successful in the written and oral examinations.

## Appointments to Department

All who obtain a sufficiently high final mark on all three phases of the competition are graded according to rank to form an eligible list which is published in the "Canada Gazette". Successful candidates who are entitled to statutory veterans' preference are automatically ranked at the top of this list, from which appointments are made to meet the requirements of the Department for new officers. Appointments are, of course, limited by the number of vacant positions on the approved Departmental establishment.

The successful candidates who accept appointments enter the Department in the late spring and summer following the completion of the competition. They enter on the understanding that they are available for service wherever the Department may require. Appointments are probationary but, after nine to twelve months of satisfactory service, promotion to temporary status is usual. If, however, an officer's work proves unsatisfactory during the probationary period his employment in the Department ceases. The normal training period in Ottawa is approximately twelve to eighteen months, after which a new officer becomes available for service abroad. During this period

the Department attempts to ensure that each officer will be employed in at least one "area" division, such as the Far Eastern or American Division, and a functional division, such as the Economic or Information Division. His tour of duty in each covers a period of three to four months. In addition to acquiring practical experience and training in the various duties performed by officers, he attends a series of lectures presented by senior officers of the Department and of other government departments, and by speakers from outside the government service. He is sent on short trips to such points of interest as the St. Lawrence Seaway, the Atomic Energy of Canada plant at Chalk River, and the National Film Board and CBC-International Service Headquarters in Montreal. The object of this training is to acquaint him with the work of the divisions and of closely related government departments, as well as to broaden his knowledge of Canada and Canadian affairs.

The chief emphasis of the system of competitive examinations is on selecting officers whose personality, academic attainments and previous experience show them to possess the qualifications to perform diverse diplomatic and consular functions. They must possess the intelligence and flexibility of mind for a job in which a wide variety of subject matter is handled; they must be able to work harmoniously with others and be readily adaptable to contrasting circumstances and conditions of work; and they must be able to exercise independent judgment and to assume increasing responsibilities.

#### FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER I Department of External Affairs

1957. Time: 2½ hours Answer any TWO questions

- 1. "It is not the terms of the Charter that block the development of the United Nations into a peace-enforcing authority, but the facts of international life in our age." Discuss.
- 2. A Canadian statesman recently declared that a *Canadian* foreign policy is not necessarily "the same as an *independent* policy". Discuss this statement in relation to Canada's membership in the Commonwealth, the United Nations and NATO.
- 3. "The problem of disarmament is the problem of security." Is this dictum of the 1930's still valid?
- 4. What would be some of the results of the application to the contemporary world of the principles of Adam Smith?
- 5. The guiding principle of Soviet foreign policy has sometimes been described as "all mischief short of war". How characteristic in your opinion is this of the policy of the U.S.S.R. today?
- 6. What features of Canadian life should a government-sponsored information and cultural programme try to project abroad?
- 7. Discuss "colonialism" as a factor influencing the policies of countries of East and Southeast Asia.
- 8. Do you believe that the policies pursued by Western democracies since the Second World War bear out the statement made by Walter Lippmann that "faced with these (interdependent) choices between the hard and the soft, the normal propensity of democratic governments is to please the largest number of voters. The pressure of the electorate is normally for the soft side of the equations"?
- 9. What would be the views on the idea of the integration of Western Europe of any three of the following: Machiavelli, the Duc de Sully, Napoleon, Karl Marx, Bismarck, Woodrow Wilson?
- 10. Is Canada a "welfare state"? Should it be?
- 11. Suggest means by which international law could effectively make for a more orderly world.
- **12.** Discuss some of the implications of industrialization of *either* the Province of Quebec *or* the four western provinces.

#### APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. H. B. M. Best joined the Office of the Secretary of State for External Affairs as Executive Assistant to the Minister, effective July 1, 1958.
- Mr. J. K. Starnes posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to Ottawa, effective August 1, 1958.
- Mr. L. H. B. Peebles resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective August 1,
- Mr. F. C. Finnie resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective August 6, 1958.
- Mr. W. H. Cullen posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco, effective August 6, 1958.
- Mr. V. C. Moore posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow. to temporary duty at the Canadian Embassy, Stockholm, effective August 8, 1958.
- Mr. A. J. Pick appointed Canadian Ambassador to Peru. Proceeded to Lima August 9, 1958.
- Miss D. Burwash posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to Ottawa, effective August 9, 1958.
- Mr. J. P. Erichsen-Brown posted from the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, to Ottawa, effective August 10, 1958.
- Mr. T. F. M. Newton appointed Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia. Proceeded to Diakarta August 10, 1958.
- Mr. N. E. Currie, DFC, posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective August 13, 1958.
- Mr. G. G. J. Grondin posted from the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, to Ottawa, effective August 14, 1958.
- Mr. J. M. Teakles posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective August 14, 1958.
- Mr. K. D. McIlwraith posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective August 18, 1958.
- Mr. E. H. Gilmour posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective August 18, 1958.
- Mr. P. Dupuy, CMG, Canadian Ambassador to Italy, appointed Canadian Ambassador to France. Proceeded to Paris August 18, 1958.
- Mr. F. G. Ballachey posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Stockholm, effective August 19, 1958.
- Mr. A. J. Matheson posted from the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco, to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective August 22, 1958.
- Mr. T. P. Malone posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective August 25, 1958.
- Mr. J. S. Nutt posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective August 29, 1958.
- Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Canadian Ambassador to Cairo, posted to Ottawa effective August 30, 1958.

## CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

#### A Selected List

- a) Printed Documents:
- Report of the Trusteeship Council covering the work of its twenty-first and twenty-second sessions. Volume II. A/3822. N.Y., 1958. 123 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 4.
- Annual Report of the Technical Assistance Board for 1957. E/3080, E/TAC/REP/120. N.Y., 1958. 120 p. Ecosoc Official Records: Twenty-sixth session, Supplement No. 5.
- World Economic Survey 1957. E/3110, ST/ECA/53. 227 p. \$2.50. Sales No.: 58.II.C.1.
- Economic Developments in the Middle East 1956-1957. Supplement to World Economic Survey 1957. E/3116, ST/ECA/55. 163 p. \$1.75. Sales No.: 58.II.C.2.
- Resolutions of the Twenty-fifth Session (15 April 2 May 1958) of the Economic and Social Council. E/3123. N.Y., 1958. 9 p. Ecosoc Official Records: Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 1,
- International Tax Agreements. Volume VII. ST/ECA/SER.C/7. N.Y., 1958. 384 p. \$2.50. Sales No.: 58.XVI.1.
- Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics 1957. N.Y., 1958. 236 p. (bil.) \$2.50. Sales No.: 58.XVII.3.
- Budget Estimates for financial year 1959 and Information Annexes. A/3825, N.Y., 1958, 83 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 5.
- Financial Reports and Accounts for the period ended 31 December 1957 of the United Nations and its Trust Funds and Special Accounts. United Nations Participation in the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the Economic Development of Under-developed countries, and the Technical Assistance Board Secretariat. United Nations Suez Canal Clearance Operation. Special Account of the United Nations Emergency Force and Reports of the Board of Auditors thereon. A/3826. N.Y., 1958. 54 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 6.
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1957 and Report of the Board of Auditors. A/3833. N.Y., 1958. 48 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 6A.
- United Nations Refugee Fund. Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1957 and Report of the Board of Auditors. A/3834. N.Y., 1958. 19 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 6C.
- Report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. A/3837. N.Y., 1958. 36 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 15.
- Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, 16 June 1957 15 June 1958. A/3844. N.Y., 1958. 95 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.
- Statistical Commission. Report of the Tenth Session (28 April 15 May 1958). E/3126, E/CN. 3/255. 24 p. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 10.
- The Future Growth of World Population. ST/SOA/Series A/28 (Population Studies, No. 28). N.Y., 1958. 75 p. Sales No.: 58.XIII.2.
- Geological Survey and Mining Development in Europe and in the U.S.S.R. Report of the Study Group of Geologists and Mining Engineers from Asia and the Far East, 4 August - 5 November 1955, ST/TAA/Ser.C/27, N.Y., 1958, 215 p.
- United Nations Technical Assistance Programme. Manual on stabilized soil construction for housing. (Prepared by Robert Fitzmaurice). ST/TAA/K.2. N.Y., 1958. 125 p. \$1.25. Sales No.: 58.II.H.4.
- Special Study on Economic Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Analyses of information transmitted to the Secretary-General (1956-1957). ST/TRI/SER.A/13. N.Y., 1958. 201 p. \$2.00.

ICJ

Pleadings, Case of Certain Norwegian Loans. France v. Norway. Vol. I. 688 p. (bil.). Sales No.: 189.

TTO

The Cost of Social Security, 1949-1954. Geneva, 1958. 201 p. \$3.00 (Eng.-Fr.-Sp.).

UNESCO

Climatology and Microclimatology. Proceedings of the Canberra Symposium. (Arid Zone Research - XI). Paris, 1958. 355 p. (bil.) \$9.50.

Teaching Abroad, No. 10, May 1958. Paris, 1958. 146 p. (bil.) \$1.00.

Buddhism and the Race Question, by G. P. Malalasekera and K. N. Jayatilleke. (The Race Question and Modern Thought). Paris, 1958. 72 p.

Proposed Programme and Budget for 1959-1960. Presented to the General Conference at its Tenth Session, Paris, November-December 1958. 10C/5 Rev. Paris, 1958. 296 p.

The Training of Journalists. A world-wide survey on the training of personnel for the mass media. (Press, Film and Radio in the World Today Series). Paris, 1958. 222 p. \$2.00.

## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



VISITOR FROM JAPAN

Mr. Alichiro Fujiyama, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, paid a visit to Ottawa early in September. Mr. Fujiyama, left, chats with Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

# Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference

The Conference was held in Montreal from September 15 to 26. It was attended by delegations from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, the Federation of Malaya, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. A number of colonial territories were likewise represented. These included Nigeria, The West Indies, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Sierra Leone and Hong Kong. The Canadian Minister of Finance, the Hon. Donald M. Fleming, was elected Chairman of the Conference.

The central theme evolved by the Conference was that of "an expanding Commonwealth in an expanding world". This is based on the recognition that economic progress in the Commonwealth is contingent upon economic prosperity throughout the world. It also implies that, while Commonwealth countries can take useful initiatives to increase their trade with one another and to help the less developed members of the Commonwealth family, many of the major objectives of the Conference are capable of achievement only in a context wider than that of the Commonwealth. In this connection the Conference recognized in particular the need for United States co-operation.

The following is a summary of the decisions and understandings reached at Montreal and of the position taken by Canada on some of the major issues that were discussed in the course of the Conference.

#### Trade

The Conference re-affirmed the common objective of freer trade and payments. It agreed on the value of the preference system and the importance of maintaining it. It looked forward to the ending of dollar discrimination as soon as possible and also agreed that discrimination between Commonwealth sources of supply by means of quantitative restrictions should be avoided. The Conference recognized that it was important for the under-developed countries of the Commonwealth to have unobstructed access to Commonwealth markets for their exports of manufactured goods. Agreement was also reached that Commonwealth countries would examine cases where it was alleged that dumped or subsidized goods were damaging the interests of other Commonwealth suppliers.

The main point of interest to Canada in the realm of trade was the endorsement the Conference gave to the early removal of dollar discrimination. This has limited Canada's access to certain Commonwealth markets and thus the fuller development of trading relations between Canada and its Commonwealth partners. Canada acknowledged the progress that had been made in this field in recent years. It was the Canadian view that the time had come for the abandonment of such discrimination as still remained. The post-war conditions which had given rise to discrimination had been superseded, and the continuance of discrimination did not appear to be in the interests of the sterling area countries themselves in that it prevented them from buying in the cheapest market.

For these reasons Canada welcomed the United Kingdom announcement that they were removing import restrictions on canned salmon, newsprint and most machinery, that they would hope to make a start next year with the removal of all remaining restrictions, and that colonial governments would also be invited to relax their restrictions on dollar imports. For its part, Canada undertook to bind against increase the British preferential rates on an important range of goods of interest to the United Kingdom. These include automobiles, trucks, buses, aircraft and diesel engines, printing presses, textile machinery, tractors and china tableware, as well as primary iron and steel products, pipes, tubes and fittings. Canada also undertook to bind against increase the special low rate of duty on mutton and lamb accorded to New Zealand and Australia.

The Conference gave rise to a valuable exchange of views on the new situation created by the more active participation of communist countries in world trade. The Canadian position, as expressed at the Conference, is that there is a case for expanding normal commercial trade with these countries and involving them in sound and stable trading relationships. Where, however, the countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc embarked on disruptive trading practices, Commonwealth countries appeared to have a clear interest in safeguarding their markets by co-operative action.

The Conference re-affirmed the need for outward-looking arrangements in Europe in the interests of expanding world trade. In subscribing to this objective, Canada made it clear that it supported the broad aims and objectives of the European countries and hoped that these would result in greater trading opportunities for all countries. Canada also underlined the great importance which it continued to attach to the undertakings given by the United Kingdom that the agricultural interests of Commonwealth countries in the United Kingdom market would be fully safeguarded.

### Commodity Problems and Agriculture

On the subject of commodity price stabilization, the Conference recognized the serious problem caused by wide fluctuations in commodity prices and the need for remedial action. Accordingly Commonwealth countries agreed to participate in a commodity by commodity examination of the problem. Specifically the Conference agreed on an early examination of the problems relating to lead and zinc and on the need to strengthen the International Tin Agreement.

Canada undertook to play its full part in achieving these objectives. It agreed that the Commonwealth might be able to take useful initiatives in this field although effective solutions to the problem would clearly require the co-operation of major producing and consuming countries both inside and outside the Commonwealth. In common with Australia, Canada welcomed the intention of the United Kingdom to participate in the preparatory discussions looking toward the renewal of the International Wheat Agreement.

With respect to agriculture, the Conference recognized the obligations each country had as a producer. Subject to these, it agreed on the need to limit and progressively to reduce the level of effective protection. It also agreed that care must be taken in the disposal of surpluses not to cause harm to the legitimate interests of traditional suppliers.



COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE DELEGATES

Leaders of delegations who attended the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference at Montreal in September are from left to right, seated: Mr. Morarji Desai, India; Mr. A. H. Nordmeyer, New Zealand; Mr. D. Heathcoat Amory, British Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Donald Fleming, Minister of Finance for Canada; Mr. John McEwan, Australia; Mr. A. J. R. van Rhijan, South Africa; Standing: Sir Henry Lee, Federation of Malaya; Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, Ceylon; Syed Amjad Ali, Pakistan; Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Ghana; and Mr. Donald McIntyre, Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Canada pointed out that its own sales of agricultural products had been adversely affected by restrictions in other markets and by surplus disposals. At the same time, it was coming to be recognized that the problems inherent in agricultural trade were special and world-wide and there appeared to be a need for a collective and comprehensive review of those problems to see if national policies could not be harmonized and acceptable international rules formulated. Canada undertook to join other countries in such a review under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

#### Finance

The Conference underlined the importance Commonwealth countries attach to the strength of sterling and re-affirmed the agreed objective that it should be made convertible as soon as the necessary conditions had been achieved. The Conference also endorsed the proposals that had been put forward for expanding the resources of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund and welcomed the support that had been given to these proposals by President Eisenhower.

Canada pointed to a number of trends which appeared to support the conclusions of the Conference with respect to sterling. There was clear evidence

of recovery from the recession in the United States; the world dollar position had continued to improve; there was also a prospect of substantial additional resources becoming available to support sterling convertibility. For its part, Canada announced that it would be prepared to double its subscription to the International Bank and to increase by 50 per cent its quota in the International Monetary Fund.

#### Development

The Conference stressed the great importance of more rapid economic progress in the less developed countries and the need for all Commonwealth countries to co-operate in this urgent task. This would require more capital, both public and private, more technical assistance, better opportunities for education, and increased opportunities for trade. The Conference recognized the part which had been played in this field by the Colombo Plan. It also agreed that all possible steps should be taken to encourage the participation of private capital in economic development in the under-developed countries. With respect to the creation of a new Commonwealth financial institution, the Conference agreed that further joint studies should be undertaken to explore methods of mobilizing additional resources for development.

Canada announced at the Conference its intention over the next three years to increase its annual contribution to the Colombo Plan from \$35 million to \$50 million. It also announced a \$10 million programme over the next five years under which Canadian aid will be made available to The West Indies. This programme is already in the process of implementation and will include the provision of two ships for inter-island service and arrangements for technical assistance to The West Indies. Canada also made known its intention to embark upon a programme of technical assistance for Commonwealth areas in Africa. This is expected to absorb an initial sum of \$500,000 a year and will incorporate the arrangements already under way to extend technical assistance to Ghana. In addition to its normal aid programmes, Canada also undertook to continue to provide food to needy countries. With respect to the setting up of a Commonwealth financial institution, Canada agreed that the idea of a Commonwealth initiative along these lines was attractive and should be further studied, particularly in the light of other decisions that might be taken to expand the resources available for economic development in the under-developed countries.

#### Education

The Conference agreed in principle on the initiation of a new scheme of Commonwealth scholarships and fellowships under which 1,000 Commonwealth candidates would be studying in other Commonwealth countries at any one time. For its part, Canada agreed to contribute 100 places a year to the scheme at a cost of about \$1 million a year. The details of the scheme remain to be worked out at a special conference to be held in London next year. This conference will also look into other ways in which Commonwealth countries might expand and improve their help to one another in this field and particularly with regard to the provision of teachers.

#### **Telecommunications**

Commonwealth countries agreed in principle on the construction of a Commonwealth system of co-axial cables to provide the first round-the-world

telephone service. This proposal arose out of a report recently submitted by the Commonwealth Telecommunications Board. The Conference was confident that such a proposal would help not only to improve physical communications between Commonwealth countries but also to strengthen the ties of the Commonwealth association generally.

#### Consultation

The Conference endorsed the importance of the existing arrangements for Commonwealth consultation on economic matters. It agreed to co-ordinate these arrangements under the name of "Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council". It also welcomed the United Kingdom offer to make available a "Commonwealth House" in London to serve as a headquarters for the Council and its constituent bodies.

The decisions and undertakings reached at Montreal cover almost every aspect of economic relations within the Commonwealth and between the Commonwealth and the world at large. They give evidence of the spirit of close partnership by which the countries of the Commonwealth are actuated and of the "unique responsibility" which they have acknowledged "to help in fostering the progress of human society and in solving its problems".

#### Joint Defence Committee

Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, made the following statement in the House of Commons September 5.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to table an exchange of notes between the Canadian and United States Governments concerning the establishment of a Canada-United States Committee on Joint Defence. Hon. members will recall that the Prime Minister informed the House on July 11 of the agreement reached in the course of the visit of the President of the United States to Canada to establish a Joint Ministerial Committee with authority to consider all matters bearing on the common defence of the North American Continent. The exchange of notes which I am tabling today simply records the formal agreement of the two Governments in this matter.

The decision of the two Governments to establish such a Joint Ministerial Committee stemmed from the recognition by both Governments of the need to supplement existing channels of consultation in the defence field. It is intended that the Committee will give periodic consideration not only to the military aspects of our common defence but also to the political and economic factors bearing on defence problems.

## Tasks Facing UN: Canadian View

Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, made the following address September 25 to the United Nations General Assembly:

The prime purpose of the United Nations in its present phase of development is the pursuit of peaceful settlement and peaceful change not by force but by reconciliation. In this process the general debate with which we open our proceedings each year has an important function. It provides an invaluable opportunity for broad exchange of views on the international situation and upon the specific tasks which our organization faces. In the world of today it is not surprising that these declarations of policy by nations great and small demonstrate a wide divergence of views as to the methods by which our problems might be resolved in achieving the noble aims of the Charter. This clash of policies—this urging of certain courses of action as good and the denunciation, sometimes in heated terms, of other courses of action as bad—which takes place in this forum does, I believe, serve a purpose which is far greater than the mere publication to the world of national policies of member states. This debate this exchange of views—is a part of the process of negotiation and conciliation, a part of our efforts to ensure international peace and security.

I desire in this spirit to express to you a Canadian view on some of those matters which we have on our agenda.

#### The Middle East

It is only a few weeks since we met together here in special session on the Middle East. We look forward to receiving from the Secretary-General a report on the implementation of the Assembly's resolution of August 21, passed at the conclusion of that session. I do not wish to say anything which would anticipate the Secretary-General's report, but I do think that we should consider briefly what lessons, what guidance, may be derived from our recent experience in the special session in order to help us in dealing with the many topics, covering all quarters of the world, which are before us at this session.

We recall first that the Assembly which met in special session last month was a deeply divided and anxious body, many of whose members felt that their interests were vitally at stake in the proceedings. The discussion was, in general, reasoned and moderate in tone; and as we all know, the result was a resolution passed unanimously, to the credit of all member nations. There are grave subjects on our agenda now on which opinion is also deeply divided, but surely we can hope and expect that the debate on these subjects can be conducted with a similar lack of polemics and with a similarly reasoned approach. The recent special session has shown us that this is possible, and it has provided an example—I think an outstanding example—of the ability of the United Nations, in the words of the Secretary-General last year, to "serve a diplomacy of reconciliation" and, so to speak, "to blunt the edges of conflict among the nations".

The Secretary-General has defined the United Nations as being "an instrument for negotiation among, and to some extent for, governments". The passage of the Arab Resolution of August 21 was a recognition that this "instrument for negotiation" is beginning—perhaps more than beginning—to constitute a separate entity which is somewhat more than the sum of its 82 parts, something to which the nations can turn when other more traditional means of negotiation and mediation are exhausted.

The "practical arrangements" which the Secretary-General was requested to make under the terms of the resolution of August 21 to uphold the principles and purposes of the Charter may necessitate some innovation and improvisation in the development of United Nations representation appropriate to the circumstances. It is perhaps symbolic of the shift in world opinion in the face of the awful means of destruction that this latest United Nations initiative appears to foreshadow a civilian—a diplomatic and political—approach rather than a military approach on the model of some of the other bodies of the United Nations already functioning in the Middle East.

We must not, of course, be too optimistic in our assessment of the achievements of the special session. No one will draw the conclusion from the events of that session that the mere entrusting of responsibility for negotiation to a United Nations organism or official is in itself any assurance of abiding success, and we do not yet know the outcome of the protracted and very difficult negotiations which the Secretary-General has been conducting in the Middle East.

Nevertheless, the special session did produce a detente, a marked relaxation of tension. It also laid down or reaffirmed certain principles to guide the countries of the area in maintaining this detente. We must hope that the countries concerned will continue scrupulously to abide by these principles; other members of the United Nations can also encourage them to do so, by persuasion, by reassurance, by exercising restraint and by adherence themselves to the general principles outlined in the resolution, both in this and other areas of the world.

Let me emphasize this point again. It seems to my Delegation that the noteworthy fact of this United Nations endeavour to serve the cause of peace in the Middle East is this: we have seen the parties to a dispute willingly and spontaneously joining together, with the unanimous assent of the International Community, to entrust to a third party, the representative of the United Nations, a task which they had been unable, in their normal relations with one another, to accomplish. We may indeed find this a valuable precedent for future action.

#### The Far East

Distinguished representatives have referred to the situation in the Far East, and in our view it is both appropriate and necessary that the United Nations should pay attention to the danger that the conflict in the Taiwan Straits might spread to engulf more than the Chinese offshore islands. We should then be faced with a very serious threat indeed to the peace of the world. I record that the Canadian Prime Minister, speaking in Parliament on September 6, 1958, said that he thought that

people wanted to be assured that nothing would be left undone to prevent any action that might result in the world sliding into disaster. And he suggested that it might devolve upon the United Nations to exercise responsibility in this direction.

Well, Mr. President, I think we were all encouraged by the fact that the representatives of the United States and of the Peking Government resumed direct negotiations with one another through conversations between their ambassadors in Warsaw. We still hope very earnestly that this quarrel can be settled peacefully, rather than through a resort to force, with all its parlous consequences.

There is, of course, another side to the matter. Peace cannot be won by giving way to force—that is a lesson which has been learned at heavy cost in our times and we cannot afford to forget it. Negotiations, if they are to mean anything, must not be conducted under the duress of concurrent aggressive military actions. If, therefore, the leaders of the Peking Government wish to take advantage of the possibility of arrangements for a peaceful solution of the present dispute over disposition of the islands being made as a result of negotiations, they must be prepared to enter into an agreement to desist from the use of force. I am bound to say that such a solution would be very greatly helped by a disposition to abandon the threat of force and the techniques of force by the Nationalist Government as well. If one is to condemn the use of force, one must also condemn provocations to the use of force.

We have looked with hope, therefore, to the Warsaw negotiations to arrest the dangerous drift towards war in the Far East. If, unhappily, we should be disappointed in this, then, Mr. President, I think that we would come to the point when the United Nations must recognize the existence of a serious threat to the peace and examine in what way it could use its good offices to avert a conflagration in the Far East. Such a threat to peace cannot be ignored by the Security Council if bilateral negotiations fail. The Security Council might itself hear the views of the contending parties or it might be more appropriate in this delicate situation to make use of one or other of the various methods of seeking agreement by private discussion which the United Nations has found efficacious in the past. I doubt, however, if a contentious debate in this Chamber would be of present help in the circumstances.

The first necessity is, of course, to put a stop to the firing of guns and other warlike activities. For, so long as the islands are subjected to active blockade and its defenders convoy in their supplies against the blockade, it is obvious that even an accidental armed clash might precipitate a general conflict, even though no one desired it. Surely it is not beyond our power or our will to find the basis of a cease-fire under equitable conditions which would give some assurance that peaceful negotiation of the disposition of the islands would in fact take place.

Such steps, then, are immediately imperative. We believe also that thought must now be given by all concerned to the unravelling of the twisted situation which has produced the present crises off the China coast. A peaceful solution of the dispute over the Chinese off-shore islands could be a first encouraging step in this direction. The primary respon-

sibility for the distrust and conflict which are at the root of the trouble in Eastern Asia lies in the communist record of aggressive and arrogant behaviour towards those who are not of their persuasion—a record which can only, in small part, be excused by reference to the past sins of other imperialisms. We dare not forget the past and present activities of Chinese Communism in Korea and throughout Southern Asia. Nevertheless, the adjustments necessary for peaceful solutions require us all to examine the contributions which we on our part can make toward reconciliation.

#### Disarmament

The small brush fire can easily become a widespread conflagration. The point has been laboured so often that we are in danger of accepting it as a fact of life and not as something which we must avert at all cost. The sacrifice not just of sovereignty but of historic conceptions of national policy is essential if we are to move now towards disarmament. It is foolish to tarry with the argument as to whether disarmament must precede or follow the reduction of political conflicts and tensions. The fact is that we must move simultaneously along both lines.

Despite an unpromising situation at the conclusion of the twelfth session, the course of events in 1958 has been such as to encourage those governments which, like mine, hope to find greater security through an agreed programme of disarmament. The regular processes of negotiation within the United Nations were unfortunately disrupted by the refusal of the Soviet Union to participate in the work of the Disarmament Commission. We deplored that Soviet decision last year and we did so with a deeper conviction by reason of the efforts which we had made, in co-operation with other delegations, to reconstitute the Commission in a way which would warrant the approval of the vast majority of the members of the United Nations. We continue to regret that decision, not only because it has meant that no negotiations within the United Nations have taken place, but also because it was an additional illustration of the slight regard in which the Soviet Union holds the resolutions of the General Assembly. It is the hope of the Canadian Delegation that when our discussions at this session have come to an end the Soviet Union will have adopted a less intransigent position.

Notwithstanding these procedural difficulties, there have been concrete negotiations through other channels. We all take satisfaction from the fact that agreed conclusions were reached at the conference of experts who met in Geneva during July and August of this year to study the possibility of detecting violations of a possible agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests. We in Canada were pleased to be able to make some contribution to those discussions. And we have welcomed the statements of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union that negotiations would begin on October 31 by their representatives on the suspension of nuclear weapons tests and the actual establishment of a control system on the basis of the unanimous report of the experts.

We look forward to an agreement among the three powers which have conducted nuclear tests. An agreement which would call for the implementation of a system along the lines which the experts have concluded to be feasible would directly affect many countries. Control posts would be located on the territories of a substantial number of states in addition to the three negotiating powers. Moreover, there are questions relating to the staffing of such posts and to the availability of the information recorded by the instruments at those posts. While agreement on the terms of a suspension of tests would be of direct interest only to those states which manufacture nuclear weapons, the interests no less direct of many states are involved in aspects of the control system. We would expect that, if a basis for agreement is evolved by the three powers, suitable arrangements would be made for other governments to put forward their views with respect to the distribution and operation of the control system. It will be necessary for us, in so doing, to face the logic of the inescapable fact that these arrangements must apply to countries in Europe and Asia which do not normally participate in United Nations bodies.

The Canadian Government regards the developments which have taken place with respect to nuclear tests as an encouraging start towards a realistic programme of disarmament. We look forward to early arrangements for additional discussions on the technical plane to provide safeguards against the dangers of surprise attack. In our view the value of a technical approach to specific disarmament problems in a step-by-step programme has demonstrated its worth, and we hope that the procedure may be extended to additional subjects. Such a course would be in keeping with Resolution 1148 which the Assembly adopted last year and which specifically recommended the establishment of groups of technical experts. An obvious example of a question involving technical considerations to an important extent is the problem of ensuring that outer space is used exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes. This is, indeed, an urgent problem, and we have before us, as a warning and a guide, our experience with the problem of nuclear weapons, the solution of which has become increasingly difficult with the passage of time.

We are encouraged that progress is being made and we are not disposed to question the procedures which have made such progress possible. It is nevertheless our view, which I am confident is shared by all delegations, that the specialized discussions which are in prospect should in some way be brought more closely within the United Nations framework—without interfering, of course, with their prospects of success.

The conference of experts in Geneva had the advantage of the services of the United Nations Secretariat and I understand that this will also be the case when the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union begin their talks on October 31 of this year. Moreover, we have before us in the form of a United Nations document the report of the experts. However, the experts attending that conference submitted their report to their respective governments and not to the United Nations. At the very least I think we should provide for the consideration by the United Nations of the results of the future talks relating to disarmament. I trust that means suited to this purpose will be agreed upon during the course of this session so that the continuing interests of the United Nations in disarmament may be formally safeguarded. Agreement among the great powers is, of course, of fundamental importance in achieving disarmament, but there is a general world interest beyond that of the major countries involved which can find expression and satisfaction only through the United Nations.

### **Outer Space**

I have mentioned the hope of the Canadian Government that a start may be made, perhaps by means of a discussion of the technical details involved, on an effort to develop an agreement which will ensure that outer space will be used exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes. The Canadian Government accordingly welcomes the proposal of the United States that the General Assembly should establish a committee to study the potentialities for international collaboration in the peaceful uses of outer space and to make recommendations for action by the United Nations. Last February, the Prime Minister of Canada spoke of the desirability of establishing an International Space Agency which would assure that jurisdiction in outer space would be vested in the United Nations and would ensure its use only for peaceful and scientific purposes. We have been devoting attention to the possibilities of international collaboration and we desire to share the results of our studies with any committee which the General Assembly may decide to establish.

### Law of the Sea

Another subject to which I must briefly refer is the Law of the Sea. It will be recalled that, pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 1105 (XI) of February 21, 1957, eighty-six nations gathered in Geneva last February to attend the International Conference on the Law of the Sea. Very significant results indeed were reached at this Conference on a wide variety of questions. The four conventions which were drawn up by the Conference may be said to constitute a code of almost the whole range of maritime law, and stand out as one of the most notable achievements in the recent history of international law. Unfortunately, no agreement could be reached by a two-thirds majority vote of the Conference on the difficult and exceedingly important questions of the breadth of the territorial sea and of a coastal state's right to a contiguous fishing zone.

The distinguished representatives are undoubtedly aware that recent events in the North Atlantic area have dramatically if not dangerously demonstrated the great necessity of reaching agreement on a rule of law for these questions. I think that it is beyond dispute that there is, as illustrated in this area, an urgent need for the adoption by the international community of nations of a rule of law which can serve to reconcile the conflicting interests of various states and which can command the respect of all nations. The present situation regarding the Law of the Sea cannot be allowed to deteriorate further.

At Geneva, the Canadian Delegation put forward a proposal which in its final form would have given states the right to fix their territorial sea up to six miles and a fishing zone contiguous to its territorial sea extending twelve miles from the baselines from which the territorial sea is measured, in which zone the coastal state would have the same rights in respect of fishing as it has in the territorial sea. Believing as we do that extension of the territorial sea should be curtailed as much as possible in the interest of the freedom of sea and air navigation, we considered that this proposal would meet the growing concern among coastal states for their off-shore fisheries and at the same time obviate the need to extend the territorial sea. It is the goal of the Canadian Government to see such a clear and easily applied formula established as a rule of law.

One of the items on the agenda at this session of the Assembly will be the question of the advisability of convening a second international conference of plenipotentiaries to deal with these matters left unsettled at Geneva. My Delegation is convinced that the international community of nations can reach a satisfactory solution on the questions of the breadth of the territorial sea and of fishing rights in the contiguous zone. We believe that the best way to do this is by convening a new international conference at which all members of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies may attend. The convening of such a conference cannot be delayed if we are to stop the situation from steadily worsening. As representative of a country whose motto reads "a mari usque ad mare" and which is confined by three vast oceans—on the east, west and north -I can say that Canada is deeply concerned with the present situation and attaches extreme importance to the early solution of these questions. The Canadian Delegation therefore intends to give its full support to the convening of a new international conference at the very earliest practicable date.

### **UN Peace Machinery**

In the course of our deliberations here we will consider an item proposed by the Secretary-General on the experience of the United Nations Emergency Force and the lessons which might be derived therefrom for future United Nations policy. We shall consider with great interest the views of our Secretary-General, whose remarkable accomplishments in this field inspire in us such great respect. He has been a great pioneer himself, and I hope that action by us on the basis of his comments or recommendations may enable us to give him more adequate support when we call on him again, as I am sure we shall.

Members of this organization are aware that Canada has consistently supported UNEF. We have supported and advocated the maintenance of UNEF because it has been effective and we are confident that as constituted it will continue to be effective. A glance at the figures regarding incidents which are contained in the Secretary-General's report on UNEF of August 26, 1958, illustrate my point. Not only has the Force been able to prevent a resurgence of violence and bloodshed along the armistice demarcation line, but by so doing it has, we are convinced, contributed toward what we hope will be a steady improvement of the political atmosphere to the point at which fruitful efforts can be made to reach a durable settlement of problems in the area.

Canada would welcome a renewed effort in the direction of more permanent and effective arrangements to meet the requirements of the United Nations. I do not suggest that our summary study in connection with the Secretary-General's report should necessarily constitute the basis for the creation of a permanent United Nations Force of the UNEF type. Clearly the employment of a UNEF would not be appropriate in every conceivable emergency situation. However, we think the experience derived from UNEF should serve as a starting point and a useful guide to the drawing up of a blueprint for effective United Nations action to meet various future contingencies. We realize that these contingencies are many and varied and that it is not simple or even perhaps desirable to try and specify them.

It is just as important in our view to study the precedents set for us by those United Nations emergency agencies, none of which could be described as a force. While in certain circumstances something of the proportions of UNEF may be required, it is often better to make use of the truce-supervision type of body or something along the line of United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon. We Canadians have also had a good deal of experience in these agencies both under United Nations auspices and in the International Supervisory Commissions in Indochina and we believe firmly in their effectiveness under proper conditions. It is worthy of note that the officers of the Commissions in Indochina have now completed four years of collaboration with the authorities of the countries in that area in maintaining an international armistice agreement, and they have done so without carrying arms of any kind. The moral authority of an international commission, carrying with it the sanction of the international community, should not be underestimated.

The need for flexibility in our approach to breaches of the peace is made all the more necessary by the complexity and delicacy of the issues which so often confront us. The despatch of armed forces under a United Nations banner is by no means always the best method of dealing with situations in which internal and external forces are engaged simultaneously.

There can be no question as to the interest of the United Nations in preventing any outbreak of violence which may affect international peace and security. There are very grave questions as to how far it may be appropriate or expedient in particular cases for the United Nations to intervene, even in order to prevent a disturbance of the international peace, by measures of force which are not directed against an aggressor, but against one or other of the parties to an armed conflict which is in the nature of a civil war.

The United Nations has no responsibility to maintain by force the established authority of any regime against its people or to prevent an established regime from putting down rebellion. We cannot go so far as to say that all force in cases of civil conflict is illegal and expect the United Nations to maintain the status quo in every individual country through the world. Clearly, it is equally wrong to suggest that if the regime in power in any country is changed by force from within, that the United Nations should intervene to protect the newly established authority against the old. Nobody contemplates the assumption by the United Nations of any such responsibility and it would be generally expected that no United Nations force or measures of force should be utilized either to aid or to quell internal rebellion. But when a civil conflict develops in such a way that other nations become directly involved, or threaten to intervene and the international peace is in danger, this great organization cannot be unconcerned. There is room then in such cases for the exercise of good offices, for efforts of mediation and conciliation and perhaps indeed, with the consent of the countries concerned, for the establishment on their territories of some United Nations force or body as a safeguard for the international peace, and to preserve the integrity of a nation from outside aggression. I emphasize that this must be with

the consent of the countries concerned because the Soviet representative has attempted to distort our intentions. My country would not be a party to an effort to impose any kind of international police force on the countries of the Middle East or elsewhere. We think the widespread use of the term "international police force" in this connection is perhaps unfortunate. The role of the United Nations is to assist member states to find peace. It could not even if it would impose its will upon them in this form.

We have failed to put into effect the provisions of Article 43 of the Charter, under which it was envisaged that the United Nations would have adequate force to intervene in any case of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, and take effective measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. There is no immediate prospect of our reaching agreement on the provision for the United Nations of forces available to act against any country which the United Nations should declare to be an aggressor. We can earnestly hope and pray that the need for them will never arise. In the meantime, we need not fail in more modest efforts to provide less complicated machinery which could take the action necessary to prevent small wars from developing, or to maintain and supervise a peace which has been established. The success which has been achieved by the United Nations Emergency Force and by various observer groups established by the United Nations point to the need of further development of machinery of this kind in order to help the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities.

The increasing importance of the peace-making activities which I have mentioned emphasizes the role of the smaller powers in the United Nations. The assumption of greater responsibility is perhaps good for the souls of the middle powers. It has been all too easy for us to belabour the great powers and find in their sins the causes of all our trouble. It is not infrequently the irresponsibility of a lesser power which has involved the United Nations in a crisis, and we should bear in mind that such irresponsibility inevitably encourages the great powers to assume greater authority. The lesser powers are not wiser or more virtuous just because they are smaller. Nevertheless, our lack of the capacity for global aggression and our limited involvement in world affairs do give us the chance to play a peace-making role which is denied by circumstances to the great powers. This represents to some extent a shift in the nature of the United Nations as envisaged by its founders. The Charter was based upon the principle of collaboration among the great powers to keep the peace. If this basis is not as yet possible, then it is up to the lesser powers to do what they can in the meantime. We should then be in a sounder position to warn the great powers that the United Nations was not established as a forum in which they could play the game of power politics, and that the lesser powers have roles other than that of pawns in a cold war.

I take this opportunity to pledge the intention of Canada to contribute as can be reasonably required of us to work for peace through the United Nations.

# **Prime Minister's Tour**

The Prime Minister announced on August 28 that he would be making a world tour, between the end of October and the middle of December, which would take him to a number of Commonwealth countries.

In making the announcement Mr. Diefenbaker spoke of his high regard for Canada's association with "the far-flung family of vigorous, forward-looking and freedom-loving countries which comprise the Commonwealth". It was his wish, he said, to visit as many of the Commonwealth countries as possible, "so as thereby to become better acquainted with their leaders and peoples and perhaps to make some contribution to peace in the strengthening of those spiritual bonds, invisible but most significant, that bind us together".

Mr. Diefenbaker said he regretted that time would not permit him on this journey to visit all the Commonwealth countries. He mentioned in particular that he would have to omit any visits on the continent of Africa.

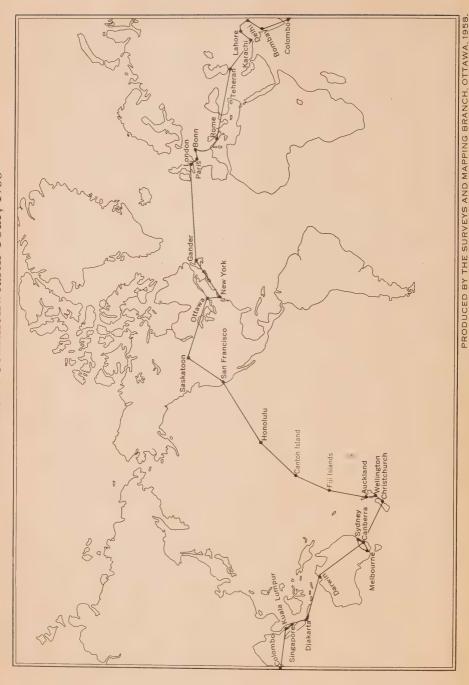
Since the original announcement, plans have been drawn up and the Prime Minister's detailed itinerary is beginning to take shape. He will be accompanied by Mrs. Diefenbaker, and they will travel by RCAF C-5, together with a small party of officials.

### European Visit

The first stop will be London, from October 30 to November 4. Mr. and Mrs. Diefenbaker will be received at lunch by her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness Prince Philip, and they will have dinner at No. 10 Downing Street. Mr. Diefenbaker will have talks with Prime Minister Macmillan and other members of the United Kingdom cabinet. It is expected that Mr. Diefenbaker will make one major speech in the United Kingdom, at a meeting of the Commonwealth and Empire Industries Association in the Royal Albert Hall, which will also be attended by Prime Minister Macmillan and Opposition Leader Gaitskell. Mr. and Mrs. Diefenbaker will spend the weekend of November 1 and 2 privately in Scotland. On November 3, the Prime Minister will be honoured at a luncheon given by the City of London in the Mansion House.

From London, the Prime Minister's party will fly to the continent to spend a few days. This will enable the Prime Minister to pay an official visit to the Federal German Republic, and to visit Canadian forces in Europe. He will also take advantage of his presence on the continent to have brief meetings with Premier de Gaulle in France and Prime Minister Fanfani in Italy.

The itinerary calls for the Prime Minister to spend November 5 in Paris, and November 6 at the Royal Canadian Air Force Station at Grostenquin. The official visit to the Federal German Republic will take Mr. Diefenbaker to Bonn for November 7 and 8 for meetings with Chancellor Adenauer and other German ministers. Mr. and Mrs. Diefenbaker will spend Sunday November 9 privately in Germany, and will visit the Canadian Army Brigade Group at Soest November 10. It is expected that the Prime Minister will break his journey to Rome on November 11 to observe Remembrance Day at the RCAF Station in Marville, France. He will remain in Rome until the evening of November 12.



### Itinerary in Asia

The Prime Minister's party is scheduled to arrive in Karachi on the evening of November 13, and the next two days will be occupied by a round of official functions in the capital of Pakistan, and talks with Government leaders. Mr. Diefenbaker plans also to visit Lahore and Peshawar and will journey to the Khyber Pass and to the large Warsak Project near Peshawar, where many Canadians are employed.

The next stop will be in India, where Mr. Diefenbaker and his party will remain from November 18 until November 23. Once again the first two days of the visit will be occupied with official calls, which will include talks with Prime Minister Nehru. The balance of the programme in India has not yet been made final, but it is expected that the party will visit Agra and possibly other centres.

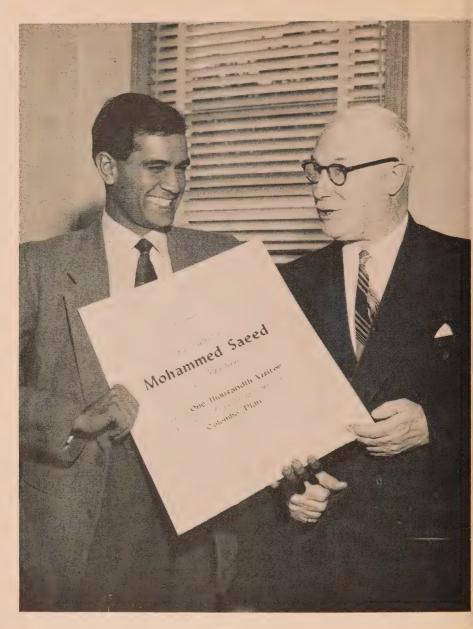
Similar visits, of a slightly shorter duration, will be made in Ceylon from November 24 to 26, and in the Federation of Malaya between November 27 and November 30. Mr. Diefenbaker will have talks with the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Bandaranaike, and with the Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Mr. and Mrs. Diefenbaker will spend Monday, December 1, in Singapore as guests of the Governor of the Colony before flying to Australia. Enroute the aircraft will make a two-hour re-fuelling stop at Djakarta in Indonesia on December 2, and Mr. Diefenbaker hopes to see President Sukarno and other Indonesian leaders at the airport.

### Other Visits

The Australian visit from December 3 to December 7 will commence in Canberra, where the Prime Minister will meet and have talks with Prime Minister Menzies. He will spend December 5 in Melbourne and December 6 in Sydney.

The Prime Minister's party will remain in New Zealand from December 8 to December 14. Mr. Diefenbaker will visit Christchurch and Dunedin, before arriving in Wellington. After meetings with Prime Minister Nash and other leaders in Wellington on December 9 and 10, Mr. Diefenbaker hopes to spend a three-day holiday at the famous fishing centre of Lake Taupo in the North Island. The party will leave Auckland on December 15 and fly, by way of Fiji, Canton Island, Honolulu and San Francisco, to Saskatoon. There will be a one-day rest stop at Honolulu. The party will be back in Canada on the evening of December 17.



1000th COLOMBO PLAN TRAINEE

Mr. Mohammed Saeed, of Pakistan, the 1000th trainee to come to Canada under the Colombo Plan Technical Assistance Programme, received a commemorative scroll September 29 from the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. G. R. Pearkes, VC. Canada welcomed its first Colombo Plan trainee in 1951.

# Co-ordination in the Economic and Social Council

The Charter of the United Nations provides that the Economic and Social Council shall have responsibility for bringing the various inter-governmental organizations engaged in the economic, social, educational, health and allied fields into relationship with the United Nations as "Specialized Agencies". It also provides that the Council shall be responsible for co-ordinating the activities of these agencies through consultations with and recommendations to them, and through recommendations to the General Assembly and the members of the United Nations.

To assist in meeting its obligations, the Economic and Social Council has created a subsidiary organ, the Co-ordination Committee, to deal with those questions which are relevant to its co-ordination duties. Drawing on the various secretariats it has also created a counterpart to this organ, the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, composed of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the executive heads of those Specialized Agencies which are occupied in the economic and social fields: the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Universal Postal Union, the International Telecommunications Union, and the World Meteorological Organization. The Administrative Committee on Co-ordination prepares annually a "Catalogue of Economic and Social Projects" indicating work planned or already undertaken by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. The "Catalogue" as well as the annual reports of the above mentioned Specialized Agencies are reviewed each year in the exercise known as "General Review" by ECOSOC's Co-ordination Committee, which recommends orders of priority in the various programmes. Projects which, in the judgment of the Committee, are not of practical value or demonstrable urgency are suggested for elimination or deferment. Projects which receive the Committee's concurrence are inter-related when such correlation is possible, with the aim of eliminating overlapping or duplication. Whenever it seems to be called for, the collaboration of two or more agencies is sought in a concerted action on a particular undertaking or area of activity. The results obtained in the past through such concentration of resources have been considerable.

### **Toward Integration**

Steps were taken last year, at the 24th session of the Economic and Social Council, which should go far towards achieving a more complete integration of United Nations activities in the economic and social fields. It was decided to introduce the practice of surveying the programmes of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in an attempt to forecast the shape which would have to be given to these programmes in the following five-year period to meet the developing needs of member states. It was thought that such long-term appraisals would assist governments supporting the programmes to take a broader view of what had been done, to note developing trends, to anticipate

requests for funds which were likely to be made in the coming years, and to recognize the needs giving rise to these trends and costs.

There were misgivings among United Nations officials, and also among some delegates to the 24th session, especially delegates from less developed countries, that the initiation of the programme of five-year appraisals reflected a certain preoccupation with saving money on the part of the larger contributors, and would eventually result in a curtailment of United Nations acitivities. The Canadian Delegation endeavoured to dispel these suspicions by stressing that the exercise was not negative in its intent: it was aiming at eliminating wasteful duplication of effort and at making sure that action was directed where needs were most urgent. The Canadian representatives at the 26th session last July were gratified to observe a better understanding of the real objectives pursued in the five-year appraisals. The majority of the Specialized Agencies and delegations seemed to acknowledge the advisability of such undertaking if the United Nations was to make the most effective use of its limited resources.

### Clarifying Resolution

A clarifying resolution was adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its 26th session in July 1958, which did much to dissipate whatever doubts remained. The resolution recognized the right of the Specialized Agencies to continue to determine their programmes and budgets in accordance with their respective constitutional provisions: full flexibility would thus be retained and incentives preserved. It also approved the establishment of a committee of individuals to be charged with the task of collating the separate appraisals and consolidating them into a report showing the extent to which the programmes covered are responsive to basic needs and how far they are interrelated. This report is to be transmitted, through the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, to the Economic and Social Council for examination.

An appraisal of United Nations programmes in the economic and social fields for the period 1959-1964 is now being prepared by the United Nations Secretariat for submission to the 28th session of the Economic and Social Council. Appraisals for the same period are also expected to be supplied before December 1, 1959 by the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization and the World Meteorological Organization.

# APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. Désy QC, Canadian Ambassador to France, retired from the Canadian Diplomatic Service, effective July 8, 1958.
- Mr. H. L. Keenleyside retired from the Canadian Public Service, effective September 1, 1958.
- Miss E. P. MacCallum re-appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 5, effective September 2, 1958.
- Mr. J. S. Nutt posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective September 2, 1958.
- Mr. A. D. Ross posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 2, 1958.
- Mr. G. Sicotte posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 2, 1958.
- Mr. J. G. B. Gignac appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 2, effective September 2, 1958.
- Mr. W. P. McLeod posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate, Hamburg, effective September 3, 1958.
- Mr. M. F. Yalden posted from Language Studies at Cambridge to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow. Arrived Moscow September 4, 1958.
- Miss E. Weiss posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective September 5, 1958.
- Mr. J. H. Taylor posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective September 6, 1958.
- Mr. G. Charpentier posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, effective September 8, 1958.
- Mr. A. C. Lapointe posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective September 9, 1958.
- Mr. W. R. Campbell posted from the Canadian Consulate, Sao Paulo to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective September 9, 1958.
- Mr. V. C. Moore posted from temporary duty at the Canadian Embassy, Stockholm to Ottawa, effective September 10, 1958.
- Mr. J. D. Lane resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective September 12, 1958.
- Mr. W. Courchesne MBE, posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate, Sao Paulo, effective September 15, 1958.
- Mr. G. E. Cox posted from Home Leave to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective September 16, 1958.
- Mr. R. P. Bower, Canadian Ambassador to Venezuela, posted to Ottawa, effective September 22, 1958.
- Mr. G. A. H. Pearson posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective September 23, 1958.
- Miss M. Meagher appointed Canadian Ambassador to Israel. Proceeded from temporary duty in Ottawa to Tel Aviv, effective September 25, 1958.
- Mr. W. H. Holmes posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, effective September 27, 1958.

### TREATY INFORMATION

#### **Current Action**

#### Australia

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

Signed at Mont Tremblant October 1, 1957. Entered into Force May 31, 1958.

#### Switzerland

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Confederation of Switzerland for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Signed at Ottawa March 6, 1958.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Ottawa July 31, 1958. Entered into force July 31, 1958.

#### United Kingdom

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom amending the Agreement of August 19, 1949 for air services between and beyond their respective countries.

Signed at Ottawa August 18, 1958. Entered into force August 18, 1958.

### Publication

Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 23. Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of South Africa for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion in respect of Taxes on Income. Signed at Ottawa September 28, 1956. In force January 1, 1958.

Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 24. Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of South Africa for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with respect to Death Duties. Signed at Ottawa September 28, 1956. In force January 1, 1958.

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# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



November 1958 Vol. 10 No. 11

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



A ROYAL VISITOR

His Royal Highness, the Duke of Edinburgh, paid an unofficial visit to Ottawa from October 28-31. The Duke is the President of the English-Speaking Union of the Commonwealth and came to Canada for the third World Branches Conference of the English-Speaking Union. He is shown above at the left, with His Excellency, the Governor General, Mr. Massey, centre, and Mr. Howard Green, Minister of Public Works and Acting Prime Minister of Canada.

The Prince broke his homeward journey to stop off in Springhill, Nova Scotia, where he visited survivors and families who suffered in the mine disaster.

# **A Common Pilgrimage to Duty**

On the first stage of his world tour, Mr. John G. Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada, stopped briefly in New York. In an address to the Pilgrims Society on October 28, he said:

For over half a century the meeting of the Pilgrims Society of the United States has been an important forum for discussions of mutual relationships and international responsibilities for those who inherit the Pilgrim tradition—for those who came from the Old World to remove forever the mystery of the New.

#### Historical Connection

We Canadians share your Pilgrim tradition in many ways. One part of our cultural background is the story of those who crossed the ocean from Old France to seek opportunity in New France about the same time the forerunners of the Pilgrim Fathers came to North America; your Jamestown was founded in 1607—our Quebec a year later.

Another part of our cultural background, which we call United Empire Loyalist, carried the Pilgrim tradition into the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario. In that epic migration the Thirteen Colonies lost and we gained descendants of the Pilgrims.

It is one of the ironies of our common history that on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, a decision was made that North America was to be British rather than French, but that a few years later within this English-speaking family the debate was reopened and the question was whether or not North America was to be British; the American Colonies settled that question with finality.

In this newly created nation were retained English thought, tradition and political experience. To it was added a New World experiment in self-government with the "rights of man" and "natural law"—ideas borrowed from the political thought of France. France in turn reabsorbed these ideas a few years later to provide some of the ideological fire for its own revolution.

Since 1776 the story of freedom has been to a remarkable degree the story of the English-speaking peoples spreading through many lands. In the 19th century the key role was played by peace-keeping Great Britain, and in the 20th, by a towering and powerful United States. Paradoxically, out of the separation of 1776 has come added strength to the liberty of men everywhere in the world and in ever-increasing measure Anglo-American friendship has become a major foundation for the preservation of free and democratic society in the Western world.

In that friendship Canada shares. Canada and the United States have taken different yet parallel courses towards the kind of political sovereignty which each has found suitable to its people. Independence and self-government were attained in different ways—"in the United States by revolution, and in Canada by evolution". In going separate ways, each has been inspired by a common history, by a common heritage

of institutions, by the eternal values of right, and equal justice under law, and by a common international purpose—the maintenance of peace in freedom.

Both our countries have been able to bring about a unity among different races welding together on equal terms and in freedom, English and French, German and Dutch, and all the races of mankind. Canada, founded by two great races—British and French—has achieved something more—a unity and partnership between them which retains the best traditions of both. The successful mingling of races in Canada and the United States furnishes a hope for all mankind—a hope of achieving peace among men irrespective of differences in race or nationality or creed.

Each of our nations is as sovereign and independent as the other;—while Canada is a monarchy, whose Queen is the Queen of Canada, it has to be reiterated that Canadians contribute to her nothing for taxation or otherwise. Indeed, had the British Government listened to the request of the Olive Branch Petition, signed by forty-six members of the Continental Congress, including John Hancock, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, Richard Lee and Thomas Jefferson, the course of history would have been changed. This Petition, delivered to the British after the battles of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill had been fought, embodied the principles of the Statute of Westminster of 1931, upon which the Commonwealth is now built. The ideas of the founders of this nation expressed in that Petition have in the process of time become the cornerstone of the Commonwealth.

As Nicholas Murray Butler said, some twenty-five years ago:

"It is one of the most astounding things in the history of government that these men off in this distant series of colonies, economically in their infancy, financially helpless and dependent, had the vision of organization which has come now to all the British peoples . . . . So it is in the history of our race. Ideas, how slowly they travel; arguments, how slowly they are apprehended; action, how slowly it follows upon conviction."

Being agreed on the essential unity of our two countries, I wish to refer to the mandatory need of continued care and devotion to the maintenance of good relations. Some fourteen months ago, speaking at Dartmouth College, I expressed the concern of many Canadians with respect to trade and economic relations. I underlined my views in these words: "I emphasize that the Government of Canada has as its duty and responsibility to consider Canadian interests first." I adopted as my own words those ascribed to Mr. Dulles: "The purpose of the State Department is to look after the interests of the United States",—subject to the substitutions necessary to make them applicable to my country. I further stated, and this has been made abundantly clear: "It is not now, and will not be, anti-American."

### **Improved Relations**

Many Canadians have concluded that there had developed an assumption that relations with Canada could be taken for granted, and that the flowering plants in the garden of United States - Canada relations required little or no nourishment or care.



Prime Minister Diefenbaker speaking at the Pilgrims Society in New York. On his right is Mr. Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States.

Tonight, I feel reassured that beneficial changes have taken place in these relations since I spoke at Dartmouth fourteen months ago. The plants in the garden are being more carefully nurtured; they are being trained up and guided, not left to grow jungle-wild. The process is not complete and will never be, for as Robert Louis Stevenson once truly said, "the art of friendship is a capacity for continually repairing fences".

What then are some of the reassuring evidences of the improvement to which I refer? In answering this question I shall be more general than might be the case at other times less politically controversial than at the moment.

(1) I recall the visit of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles to Ottawa in July. On that occasion we examined in frankness and forthrightness and mutual confidence, matters of great importance to our two countries. The measure of that frankness was evident in the President's speech to the Parliament of Canada in which, in Canadian surroundings, the points of view which guide the United States were reviewed.

May I divert here to say that a most encouraging aspect of events of the past year has been the manner in which the editorial writers and columnists of the United States and Canada have placed added emphasis upon examining and understanding the various points at issue, as well as to the many points of contact where we are in complete or substantial agreement. They have written with understanding—and, I believe, written more quantitatively and more frankly than ever before.

(2) Arising out of the discussions with President Eisenhower, a Cabinet Committee, to be known as the Canada - United States Committee on Joint Defence, has been provided for, which will consult regularly on matters bearing upon the common defence of the North American continent which lies within the North Atlantic Treaty area.

This Committee, which will have its first meeting in the next few months, will not seek in any way to take over the technical responsibilities which belong to our respective Chiefs of Staff, or the advisory functions of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, but will provide a close and intimate contact to the political leaders whose responsibility it is in the final analysis to decide on matters of the highest policy with respect to defence preparation. A clear understanding and identity of views in regard to the safeguarding of our peoples on this continent will be thereby assured.

- (3) Another important move has been the action taken towards arranging on an organized basis an exchange of visits and regular exchanges of views between the legislators of our countries. I proposed in the House of Commons the establishment of such a Committee. United States Senators Aiken and Capehart and Representatives Brooks Hays and Coffin have recently visited Ottawa to further the establishment of such a Committee and the first of these meetings will take place in Washington in 1959.
- (4) Then too, I should mention the joint United States Canada Cabinet Committee on Trade and Economic Questions which in a meeting two months ago came to grips with various economic problems affecting our countries and in discussion revealed a mutual desire to assure fairness. It is most important that our trade relations have regard to the rights of each of us. The United States is our largest customer but purchases from the United States far exceed by hundreds of millions of dollars our sales to the United States.

Only a month ago a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference took place in the City of Montreal. The theme of that Conference and its conclusion can be summed up as an expanding Commonwealth trade in an expanding world economy.

As the free world must meet not only the military but the economic offensive of the U.S.S.R. I believe that it is the language of common sense that the nations of the free world must co-operate economically as in defence. To do less means that freedom can afford to allow the weakening economically of any of the free nations.

The recent extension by Congress of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act shows that the United States will continue to look with an open mind to the gradual evolution of an expanding area of multilateral trade. I was heartened by the stand taken by Congress this year in amendments to Public Law 480 which is of particular importance to Canada, dependent as my country is on major exports of wheat.

Rome was not built in a day nor can mankind in this era of space travel easily overleap the moon, and progress must be made by progressive steps towards the assurance that the economic policies of each of us are consistent with the international objective which is the maintenance of peace with freedom. Both must recognize that, with the diversification of our two countries, it is difficult to reconcile the numerous differing and widely-separated geographical regions and economic groups within each of our nations.

If, in each of the problems that arise, the leaders of each of our nations keep constantly before them the realization that the economic strength and well-being of each is essential to the security of the other, co-operation in economic affairs as in defence will be assured.

#### Conclusion

In concluding, I wish to thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak simply and frankly to you to the end that each of us may contribute in larger measure to understanding the problems of the other and having understood, determine to act.

We will always have to meet problems as they arise but in the spiritual unity between Canada and the United States they will never be insoluble. That spiritual unity embraces a common approach to the decencies of civilized living; a common belief in the needlessness of poverty, of disease and illiteracy, a common faith in the eventual ability of men of goodwill to solve national and international problems are the ultimate and common beliefs of our people.

We are united in international aims, purposes and ideals. Someone described the lives of those in this generation of cold war as moving always "between the tower and the abyss", the tower being the region of endless good possibilities in the development of man and society; the abyss is the disaster which will come if the tensions of recent years are not resolved by pacific means, knowing as mankind must now know that the arithmetic of scientific destruction is almost limitless.

In this world watershed of history there can be no divergence in the dedication of free men in unity. In facing the world-wide peril to freedom, we of the free world must in unswerving unity preserve those beliefs and traditions that make life not only worthwhile, but offer sure hope and inspiration to all mankind.

The great triangle of nations, Great Britain, the United States and Canada must join with others of like mind in a common effort to assure new hope for the betterment of peoples who have been disenfranchised from the bounties of Providence. It is a primary duty to be our brother's keeper to those less-developed areas of the world and to give aid, both economic and technical, so that the gulf between their living standards and ours shall become narrower. Since we in North America are blest with more than our share of the good things of life, an over-riding mandate in that we must help those who have less.

In this crusade for freedom we are joined in a common pilgrimage to duty, a pilgrimage imposed upon us by the good fortune of geography, history and tradition.

I repeat what I said at Dartmouth, which still represents the situation now as it then appeared to me although viewed now in the perspective of the intervening fourteen months.

"Our two countries, with Great Britain, have a joint heritage of freedom. We are united in our determination to preserve our heritage of spiritual values that are dearer than life itself. To preserve that steadfast and undiminished unity that saved us in war, our governments, our peoples, must give due regard at all times to the problems of each other with infinite respect, tolerance and consideration."

"In the days ahead many grave decisions will face our peoples. In the last analysis, how Canadians and Americans and Britishers get along is a world test of 'neighbourhood' international relations.

"In concord with the other free nations, the solidarity of Anglo-Canadian-American friendship is vital to the peace and well-being of the world and will provide the key to whether we succeed or fail in our great quest to maintain freedom for this and future generations."



AN EMINENT VISITOR

Mr. Walter Nash, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, is shown during a brief visit to Ottawa in October in discussion with Mr. Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada.

## **Canada-West Indies Relations**

October saw fresh progress in the developing and cementing of Canada's friendly relations with the new West Indies Federation, with visits to Canada by both the Governor General of the Federation, His Excellency Lord Hailes, and the Prime Minister, Sir Grantley Adams.

### Governor General and Lady Hailes

Lord Hailes, accompanied by Lady Hailes, was in Ottawa from October 11-15, the guest of the Governor General, Mr. Massey, at Rideau Hall. The Government of Canada gave a dinner in their honour at the Country Club, with Mr. Sidney Smith, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, acting as host.

Lord Hailes appeared on the CBC television and also addressed the Canadian Club of Ottawa. On that occasion he thanked the Prime Minister, the Government and people of Canada for the generous encouragement which they have given to the Federation of The West Indies ever since its birth on the 3rd of January of this year; and in particular for the recent announcement of a Five Year programme of economic aid of 10 million dollars, including the gift of two ships for the vital inter-island communications. Lord Hailes went on to say:

It is not only your generosity, but also the faith which you are showing in the future of The West Indies in this great turning point of her history, which is so deeply appreciated by all the West Indian people. I am indeed glad that the Prime Minister of The West Indies, Sir Grantley Adams, who is always warmly welcomed in Canada, will himself be here very soon to express, as a West Indian, his own acknowledgements and those of his colleagues.

Friendship between Canada and The West Indies is, however, no new thing. Your affairs and ours, to use an expression of Sir Winston Churchill's in another context, have in the past become 'somewhat mixed up together', and I trust that they will become increasingly so-again to quote his words 'for the mutual and general advantage': not only because of the spiritual ties, if I may call them so, of common allegiance to the Crown, and devotion to democratic ideals; but also because of all the opportunities there are for complementary trade. After all, the twoway trade between Canada and The West Indies, including British Guiana and British Honduras, is the highest per head that Canada shares with any Commonwealth member. You provide today our second largest market after the United Kingdom—a market for alumina, bauxite, petroleum products, sugar, rum and molasses; and on our side we provide you with a market for wheat flour, soft woods, codfish, dairy products and a wide range of manufactures. We are most anxious, as I know you are, that this trade should be sustained, and expanded—both ways.

Nor in the daily life of The West Indies is it easy to forget the close ties which exist between us. There is the large number of men and women who have passed through your Universities and who are now to be found in the forefront of the professional and official life of all the West Indian territories. This year, nearly a thousand young West Indians are enrolled



PRIME MINISTERS MEET

Upon his arrival in Ottawa on October 17, the Prime Minister of the West Indies, Sir Grantley Adams, is welcomed by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. J. G. Diefenbaker.

in your Universities. I ought to mention that recently, annual fellowships were obtained for West Indians from the Canada Council through the good offices of Mrs. Fairclough who with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Smith, recently honoured us with an all too brief visit in Trinidad: and as a modest gesture, my Government was delighted to offer two post graduate scholarships in Science and Arts for Canadians, in our University College of The West Indies in Jamaica.

And then there are the welcome evidences of Canadian enterprise in The West Indies—banks, insurance and shipping: nor are memories so short that the heroic services of the Lady Boats in the war are forgotten, or the life line which they never failed to be. All these things contribute to the very warm feelings towards Canada which exist in The West Indies.

The Governor General, Lady Hailes and their party flew to Montreal from Ottawa by way of the St. Lawrence Seaway. In Montreal His Excellency met West Indian students studying at universities there.

### Prime Minister and Lady Adams

Following upon Lord Hailes' visit, Sir Grantley Adams, Prime Minister of The West Indies, and Lady Adams visited Canada from October 17-25. In Ottawa they were met by the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker; a representative of the Governor General; the Secretary of State for External

Affairs; the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, His Excellency Ahmet Cavat Ustün, the Ambassador of Turkey; Commonwealth High Commissioners, and the Chief of Protocol of the Department of External Affairs. The Prime Minister inspected a Guard of Honour at the station.

Sir Grantley Adams paid official calls on the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs. He held a press conference and had discussions with officials of the Departments of Finance and Trade and Commerce.

On October 18, the Prime Ministers of the two nations met in the East Block of the Parliament Buildings for an Exchange of Letters.

On October 19, Sir Grantley and his party flew to Arvida where they made a tour of the Aluminum Company of Canada. At McGill University in Montreal they met students from The West Indies. In Toronto, their last port of call in Canada, the Prime Minister was the guest speaker at an Empire Club luncheon and was interviewed on the CBC television programme, "Tabloid".

### **Exchange of Letters**

The Exchange of Letters between the two Prime Ministers placed on a firmer basis existing Canadian arrangements for long-term aid to the West Indies Federation. In his letter the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker confirmed that his Government proposed to recommend to Parliament that \$10 million be made available to The West Indies over the next five years as economic assistance from Canada, and that a sister ship be built under this programme as a partner to the first Canadian ship which Canada has already agreed to provide for The West Indies Inter-Island Shipping Service.

The gift of the first ship for The West Indies Shipping Service was announced last March as the first major capital aid project under the Canadian aid programme. The programme had been initiated early in January by the setting-up of interim technical assistance arrangements. The funds for a broader programme of technical assistance and for preliminary work in connection with the first ship were voted by Parliament in the last session.

# Conference on Surprise Attack

On November 10 there opened in Geneva a conference of experts to study the practical aspects of minimizing the possibility of surprise attack. Mr. L. Dana Wilgress, who for the past five years has been the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, is the leader of the Canadian participants. He is assisted by political and technical advisors from the Department of External Affairs and the Department of National Defence. Also participating on the Western side are experts from France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The Conference is the outcome of proposals made by the President of the United States to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union some months ago. Experts from Albania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania are participating on the side of the Soviet Union.

The representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations opened the proceedings. He emphasized the technical nature of the discussions and expressed the hope that a successful conference would assist in dissipating the mutual fear and lack of confidence which have been bedevilling international relations. Mr. Vassily Kuznetsov, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, proceeded to attack Western policy in general as responsible for international tension. He called for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of foreign bases and the eventual reduction of conventional armaments and asserted that the problem of surprise attack is inseparable from the problem of disarmament. Mr. William C. Foster, former Deputy Secretary of Defence of the United States, urged that the Conference address itself to assessing the technical facts relevant to the problem of surprise attack: the instruments by which surprise attack can be launched, the techniques of observing and reporting, the results of applying those techniques to those instruments and accordingly the technical characteristics of measures to reduce the danger of surprise attack.

Since these statements on the first day, the conference has been meeting , in closed session. It is expected to continue for four or five weeks.

## Canada and the Commonwealth

The importance of personal contact and conversation in strengthening the bonds which unite the members of the Commonwealth of Nations was stressed by Mr. John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, in a speech to the Commonwealth and Empire Industries Association at the Royal Albert Hall in London, on November 4.

Introducing his remarks, he said:

Need I tell you how deeply appreciative I am of the very warm welcome given to Mrs. Diefenbaker and myself on this occasion, as during the recent days that we have visited in your midst, as well as having had that opportunity of visiting Scotland—a never-to-be-forgotten memory for both of us. This gives me the first opportunity I have had of saying how much we in Canada appreciate your efforts during the last war, and the outstanding contribution which you made to the effectiveness of the British Commonwealth training programme which we in Canada and other parts of the Commonwealth regard as one of the most successful experiments, magnificent in its scope, in Commonwealth co-operation and achievement. You have a special place in our hearts, and I am happy to be able to express to you the thanks and appreciation of our people. . . .

I can only say that the kindness and thoughtfulness that we have received on every hand, the letters by the score from those who describe themselves in many cases as simple English folk, all this has been moving beyond words to express. It has been a glorious opportunity to see old England once more, after having first seen it in 1916. The welcome accorded to us on this occasion is reminiscent of the attitude of your people during the days of war, and symbolic of that warmth of feeling and friend-liness which is the essence of our relationships within the Commonwealth.

Speaking of his present tour of Commonwealth countries, Mr. Diefenbaker went on to say:

I come to you this evening to speak on the subject of the Commonwealth, to place before you the views of one who, over the years, has believed that the day could come, and would come, when in the nurture of the Commonwealth concept, a concept strengthened by friendship, this Commonwealth would go on to a destiny greater than ever before. No need today, as I see it, to use the words of an editorial in a Canadian newspaper:—

"The newer need is an emphasis on friendship. Such friendship does not limit independence or impair it; but it does infuse into the association the sense of fellowship in an anxious and difficult world".

That is the reason that on this occasion I start forth to understand sympathetically something of the problems of the newer nations in this Commonwealth, to bring about within the natural limitations the strengthening of those intangible bonds, those personal bonds which in my opinion can only be achieved by constant care and cultivation.

All I am going to try to do on this trip is to go about this Commonwealth of nations outside of Africa—which I cannot consider on this occasion—and in a personal way learn something of the problems of the other countries. When I say "in a personal way", I am of the belief that relations between countries within the Commonwealth and outside the Commonwealth are best built and fostered by personal contact of national leaders, by exchanges, by visits in every walk of life; friendliness and knowledge and tolerance towards each other will hold nations and peoples together and break down the barriers of potential misunderstanding.

I have come here to this great city, where over the centuries the genius for government first created an empire which in this century and generation, by the exercise of wisdom and humanity, has ultimately achieved that most improbable yet noble association or partnership of free peoples in unity, but not in political uniformity, the Ark of the Covenant being an indication and a mandate for freedom.

I saw this Commonwealth as never before during the occasion of the Conference in Montreal; there despite differences of race, creed and colour, of history and economic and political development, this partnership of free and independent nations showed itself once more dedicated to common ideals and purposes, united in the recognition that peace and prosperity are indivisible, that our interdependence—to use the expression of the Prime Minister—and co-operation are of the essence not only for its preservation, but, in my opinion, for the survival of mankind.

If causes for this miracle of statesmanship are sought, what better place to look than London? Here stands the Mother of Parliaments, the creator and guardian of a political tradition based on government by consent, by debate, under the rule of law, founded on an abiding and real respect for the dignity of the human person. I see the new and the living Commonwealth. I look, too, at Westminster, in thankfulness for the past and in hope for the future.

I first saw this in 1917, when I was present at the Opening of Parliament here, when the then King was escorted to the opening of that Parliament by squadrons of South African cavalry, all of whom had served against, not for that Empire, but a few years before. I saw something of the beginnings of that Commonwealth, that family of nations, that most unique yet fruitful political and social institution, that something intangible that no one can describe. You cannot define it; it is not a political organization; it has no political master and no political common denominator. It has no legal or economic organization; it has no contractual ties. It is simply an irrevocable and involuntary union of nations joining together in a common dedication to common ideals, widely international in scope. While international in scope it remains intimate in character; its bonds are not of the sword or the seal but are of the spirit. That is it—idealism.

I saw that once more at that Conference in the City of Montreal, growing in purpose, remaining volatile to meet changing conditions and changes taking place in the organization, but at the same time maintaining that mission which above all is its mandate for freedom.

I ask you what is the Commonwealth's role today in the struggle for the minds of men, worldwide as it is. I believe that, at this time in this struggle, there must be to that struggle a global response and a global defence. That is the challenge of the Commonwealth, and let us face it. With the unity of things of the spirit we have the economic potential to preserve the heritage of freedom.

One week ago I spoke in the City of New York to the Pilgrims' Society there. I spoke in grateful appreciation of the contribution of the United States of America, without whose tremendous economic strength our situation might in the last few years have been desperate. I said to them, as I say to you now, that the United States cannot carry the burden alone. You in this city and country carried that burden, 18 years ago, alone. You then defied all the power that seemed about to inundate you. Today the United States has assumed a responsibility she cannot carry alone. She ought not to, and I believe that this Commonwealth, straddling the continents, has a crucial part to play today as never before in our history.

We believe in the State as a servant of the people, and in the rule of law; we have a burning desire for peace; we have a resolve to settle international disputes by negotiation and legal procedure; we renounce aggression. These principles today are abiding. They are nowhere recorded in a written charter. They involve no constitutional commitments. They exist in the hearts of all the peoples. I believe they are principles worth preserving, but to preserve them we must stand together. That is the essence of the message I want to give you tonight.

The Communist world since 1945 has changed its direction but not its destination. First it was aggression, now it has made a detour. That detour is towards trade, and the undermining of the economic strength of the free world. As Khrushchev said, "Through trade we can destroyother powers that are opposed to us". Thus trade has become a major weapon in the Communist world offensive. First it was the U.S.S.R., now it is Communist China which has joined in an Asian trade onslaught, intended to capture markets and, with and through them, the minds of free men. The opinion that I gather as I travel is that the Communist drive is designed to undermine economic strength of the free world by under-trading and under-cutting. They do not care about profits. Their profits will be measured, not in the ledgers of commerce, but by the number of souls who trade their security and survival as free men in the future for a temporary material advantage in the present. I believe that this organization does a remarkably effective work, realizing that only through expanding trade and economic co-operation among the free world nations can the Communist world trade threat be met, and met effectively.

### **Accomplishments of Montreal Conference**

It is because of that that I wish now to make a reference and in particular detail refer to the Congress that took place in Montreal. In July of 1957, following a faint cataclysm in my country, I attended the Prime Ministers' Conference in London. I had the conviction then that what was to be done, what was needed to be done, was to formulate plans which would maintain the independence of each of the member nations and



AT No. 10 DOWNING STREET

The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. J. G. Diefenbaker left, with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Harold Macmillan.

strengthen the Commonwealth concept. It was because of these things that I advocated the convening of a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference, and I want to make this very clear and reiterate it over and over again, as I have elsewhere. The Trade and Economic Conference would never have been attained had it not been for the support and adherence of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. He joined in it. Action was postponed until the meeting of the Finance Ministers whom I

invited to meet him in Canada, following the Monetary Fund meeting in Washington.

When the plan was first advocated, there were those of little faith who said such a conference could not be achieved. They said things had changed since 1932. All of us realized that. When the plans were put under way, they said it would accomplish nothing. Since then the "little faithers" have contended that the Conference should have done more than it did, although if it had been left to them, it would not have taken place at all. That is their attitude.

We met in mid-September, and I saw there a practical illustration of the Commonwealth in action. I saw there that added strength in the concept of economic independence and co-partnership. I saw there some of the achievements. I see today in the light of retrospect something of those intangible things which more and more occupy a larger and larger place in the concept of a living Commonwealth. I believe that this Conference is likely to be remembered not only because of its specific and immediate achievements, but also for the lessons in Commonwealth relations that it taught all of us associated with it. There were there representatives of 660 million people living in lands over 12 million square miles in area, and made up of almost every race living in lands at almost every stage of economic development.

I am asked what was achieved. That Conference acted in a wide range of specific fields: in trade, commodity, finance, development, education and telecommunication problems. One of the first problems to which immediate attention was given was the question of international finance. The vital role of sterling was recognized, both in financing the flow of world trade and in the foundations of Commonwealth economy. It is only fair to say that the strengthening of the pound in the last two years laid the foundation for the constructive steps that were taken at Montreal. Indeed, but for the much strengthened position of sterling during the last 18 months, that Conference could not have been a success. Delegates were looking to the future; they recognized the vital role of sterling. They agreed that it should be made convertible at the earliest possible date.

In the field of capital finance agreement was reached on the desirability of expanding the resources of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. I suggested, and there were others who did so before, including the Prime Minister who fathered the idea, the possibility of establishing a new Commonwealth financial institution whose purpose would be not in any way to interfere with the field of operation of the International Monetary Fund or the International Bank, but with a view of financing new countries as they rise from Colonial status to self-government.

The Conference stressed the importance of more rapid economic growth in the less-developed countries of the Commonwealth. The recognition of the value of the Colombo Plan and that we are indeed our brother's keeper, brought about tremendous increases in the contributions. I speak of Canada as an example. We announced an increase from \$35 million a year to \$50 million a year for 3 years, for that Plan, in order to

show those nations in Asia, those nations within and without the Commonwealth, that we recognized their needs and their economic necessity, bringing about in a proper co-operation a dedication to the principles of freedom by ensuring that those in less-developed countries should indeed be assured of at least a reasonable standard of living.

In the field of education there was a notable and significant contribution made to the growth and the spirit and the understanding of the nature of this association. The Conference agreed that the expansion of education was an essential condition of economic development; it talked about a new system of scholarships and fellowships to the end that we within the Commonwealth will exchange students and in exchanging them would learn the problems of each other and thereby bring about an assured unity in the future in those fields.

The most important accomplishment of this Conference in view of the situation and the change of front on the part of the U.S.S.R. and Communist China, and of the greatest interest to you as businessmen, was in the realm of trade. The common objective of freer trade and payments was reaffirmed. There will be action taken by our various countries, no doubt, from time to time in order to meet local situations that may not be consonant with this principle, but the principle stands. Each and every one of us was dedicated to the principle and the maintenance of that principle, that to the greatest degree possible there should be an expansion of trade within the Commonwealth, as within an expanding world economy.

A most important announcement was made by the Government of the United Kingdom when it removed dollar import restrictions on a range of products. That policy statement announced there meant that import restrictions had been removed from almost all raw materials, basic foodstuffs and industrial machinery. We agreed on the value of the existing system of Preference and the United Kingdom confirmed its intention to maintain free and unrestricted entry for nearly all Commonwealth goods imported into this country. That was a major step. That was a major question to be discussed and pondered and decided upon, if we were to meet the tremendous challenge of the Communist trade front.

On the part of Canada, we undertook to bind against increase under the GATT the British preferential rates of duty for an important list of products which were of special interest to the United Kingdom, and to bind against increase the special low rate of duty on certain agricultural products in New Zealand and Australia. We agreed that trade agreements would be reviewed, that examinations should take place under the relevant anti-dumping legislation to prevent dumped or subsidized goods damaging Commonwealth suppliers.

These were the issues that we faced. Agriculturally, we faced the necessity of taking action in that regard, in order to assure through the medium of agreements, possible international agreements similar to those in effect, whereby we would bring about a proper disposal programme that surpluses might be disposed of to the end that help might be given to improve the living standards of the less-developed countries. In addition to that, while it remained undecided Canada suggested the formation of a food bank, to the end that through that institution we would be able

to remove surpluses which hang over the world market and make agriculture sometimes ineffective and too often unprosperous.

These were some of the specific accomplishments of the Trade and Economic Conference, but none of these expresses the full significance. They came there doubting; they went away with a new hope. They came for the purpose of seeing whether anything would be done; they went away with a new picture. I spoke to those of the Asian countries. They said that for the first time they began to realize something of the potential, something of the economic possibilities in addition to the preservation of those things which bind us together and bring about not only an expanding trade, but also can improve the living standards of the less-developed countries.

#### Tasks Ahead

I am merely going to outline briefly what we in Canada are going to do. I want to assure you in simple language that our desire is to contribute to the strength and the spirit of the Commonwealth and to the common welfare of its peoples. When you see the peoples in Asia, you realize that if all we bring before them is the promise of Parliamentary government, stomachs will not be filled. Something more is needed on the part of this Commonwealth, a common realization that each of us has a responsibility to the others, to speed up economic growth and to improve the living standards, thereby assisting our fellow men everywhere within the Commonwealth, and outside, too, in the attainment of those goals which are our responsibility.

We in Canada are among the six largest industrialized countries of the world. We are also the fourth largest trading nation. We do not forget the days when we depended upon agriculture. In the process of diversification and industrialization, we have had the help of many countries. You in the United Kingdom gave us capital, in the days when you could. Men and women from many nations came to Canada and brought with them the skills, the "know-how" and the enterprise. Our economy today, in spite of the recession that is taking place in the North American continent, has expanded rapidly in the post-war period, more rapidly than that of any other nation. If past rates of economic growth are any indication, we may well overtake the United Kingdom in terms of national income and national output within the next quarter of a century. In other words, there is a potential there.

The message that I particularly bring to you is this. That potential places upon us responsibility; we intend to discharge that responsibility in both Commonwealth aid and Commonwealth trade.

In so far as the aid to less-developed countries is concerned, what I want to find out is the nature of that aid and what will be most constructive and welcome. For that reason, the expansion of trade, I once more warmly welcome the announcement at the Commonwealth Conference of the action on the part of the United Kingdom for the relaxation of import restrictions. Since then Australia has relaxed its dollar restrictions, the better to encourage a true Commonwealth trade partnership. We in Canada last year bought \$5.6 billion worth of goods, \$700 million more than we sold to other nations. We realize the need of trade. We under-

stand the requirements of international aid, in that we believe that we shall be in a position to advance not only capital aid and technical assistance, but food aid as well in order to expand and diversify the opportunities of those countries, within the Commonwealth, particularly in Africa and Asia, which, if given economic assistance, can stand and will stand as bulwarks against the advance of Communism everywhere in the world.

Since the Colombo Plan came into effect it has resulted in the channel-ling of over \$3.5 billion in capital assistance in Southeast Asia. It has also extended to other Southeast Asian countries which are not of the Commonwealth. During that time Canada's attitude has known no political limitations. During that period Canada's contribution has totalled \$225 million. In other words, the action is not of any political party. It represents the conscience and opinion among all our people as to the need of regular economic assistance to the end that through their assistance, technical and otherwise, we will give to those nations within the Commonwealth and outside, too, a new impetus, a new inspiration, a new opportunity for development so that they, too, will be able to meet that challenge which becomes more serious day by day as the U.S.S.R. and Communist China byroad the assistance and by undercutting and by methods that do not return profits are bringing about a detrimental condition. It is a condition that has to be met now before it is too late.

Those, in short, are some of the concepts that came to me out of the Conference. I repeat what I said earlier. We in Canada and the other parts of the Commonwealth owe much to the leadership of the Prime Minister in realizing that this was a time for action. It gave to us in the days of difficulty and doubt that support which ultimately brought about, by halting and faltering steps, the beginning of a new era in a new Commonwealth founded not only on a common dedication to a great principle, but also on the realization that principles of themselves without economic action may well be ineffective.

It is a simple message, the message of Canada, the one I will carry to the other parts of the Commonwealth. It is the need of the free world to stand together to maintain its freedom, as we stood in the days of war. It is the taking of action, not to achieve an exclusive Commonwealth but an interdependent and prosperous one, thereby making a contribution to an interdependent and prosperous free world.

The doubters will say it cannot be done. The "little faithers" will say it is out of date. I do not believe that. I believe that at this time more than ever before the nations of the Commonwealth, as a result of that Conference, are determined . . . to bring about the achievement of a new destiny in this Commonwealth, a new relationship and a new responsibility between the various parties to the Commonwealth.

In other words, we answer the question there as to who is my neighbour by replying, in effect, those who are hungry, those who are in distress and those who seek peace. We learned there once more the meaning of the purpose of the development of our ideals, above all the advance in harmony to meet the challenge for the spiritual enrichment and the economic survival, not only of ourselves but of humanity itself. The Common-

wealth must win the battle. It must bring to all its members an economic welfare to which they are entitled. It is a global institution of almost every colour and race. I believe with the Prime Minister that the Commonwealth has an appointment for the survival of freedom. It has been handed a great opportunity; it has been given a great challenge. While maintaining the interdependence of its member nations, it must also catch something of that spiritual thing, preserving its ideals, contributing to the welfare of its people, realizing that man does not live by bread alone. It must enhance and increase that intercommunication in the spiritual things without which today there cannot be survival, as we face the challenge of the Red world everywhere.

What is the alternative? If we fail to strengthen the bonds of this Commonwealth, if we fail to preserve its ideals, I am of those who believe that the forces of despair will prevail for all the world in various stages of political independence, in various conditions of political organizations.

William Pitt the Younger once said in another age of crises, on a day that was dark and that was fearful, "Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her exertions, and will I trust, save Europe by her example". I substitute today the words "the Commonwealth," and I believe that, in this age of crises today, the Commonwealth in saving herself by her exertions will do much to save the world by her example.

Living in the second Elizabethan age, this is no time for those of little faith. You see the picture, the opportunity and the challenge. Let us rekindle once more the greatness of our past, strengthen and maintain the tradition and principles of the present. Let us build together a future of peace and prosperity. Let us lift our horizon and, above all, banish those fears and those doubts.

Speaking here in the shrine of freedom, I believe that this Commonwealth has today a greater appointment with destiny than in all her glorious history. That is the message I bring you tonight and I will use the words of Alfred, Lord Tennyson in a poem not often read, written at a time when Canada's future was in doubt. He wrote for that day and generation the message that I convey to this great audience this evening: "Pray God our greatness may not fail through craven fear of being great".

Go forward; see the countries of the Commonwealth with a new faith, with a new enthusiasm, with that heart-warming experience that has been mine in the last few days, culminating in a small village in Northern Scotland where a group gathered together spontaneously and unorganized and as we left, sang, "Will ye no come back again?"

That is the spirit that I hope to see in every part of this Commonwealth, joining together in a new appointment, a new appointment with opportunity and destiny, wherein each of us, maintaining our own independence, will achieve a greatness and a grandeur which will be greater and more effective than in all the history of this Empire and this country.

# **Political Developments in France**

The general elections for the National Assembly, which were held in France November 23 and 30, confirmed what the results of the September 28 referendum on General de Gaulle's constitution seemed to indicate: that strong nation-wide support existed for General de Gaulle and his constitution, and that the strength of the Communist Party had been seriously weakened. It is still too early to assess the long-term effects of the referendum or the elections. A detailed analysis of the November elections will show what validity there is in the other conclusions it has been possible to draw from the referendum. More important, it will be necessary to observe the new constitutional structure in action, before one can say whether or not the new arrangement, which received the support of 79 per cent of the voters in September, will be effective in solving the problems that have beset French politics since the war.

The changes in the constitution are expected to result in more effective and stable government in France. However, there is no indication that these changes represent any fundamental change in French political thought or habit.

### The Referendum

Both in metropolitan France (including Algeria) and in the overseas territories, de Gaulle's victory was decisive. Even the Government had not expected such overwhelming support. Not only were almost 80 per cent of the votes favourable, but 85 per cent of the electorate did in fact cast their votes. This compares with the post-war average of 80 per cent in general elections, and the less than 70 per cent who voted in the 1946 referendum where the constitution for the Fourth Republic was approved by a bare majority of those voting. The size of the vote in Algeria, where 80 per cent of those eligible turned in their ballots and 95 per cent of the votes approved the new constitution, was even more surprising. The Algerian rebel movement had done its best, not least by threats of physical violence against Moslems who did vote, to encourage mass abstention among the Arabs. These threats seem to have deterred few people; nor does there seem to have been much attempt to carry them out. Similar threats seem to have had a greater effect, however, in discouraging Moslems of stature from being candidates for the November elections.

In the overseas territories the results were more favourable than even the French had expected, with only Guinea voting for independence and all other territories voting with France. The size of the majority in favour was much greater than anticipated, however, particularly in such colonies as Madagascar. The results served to strengthen greatly the French contention that association with France is what the territories want.

The victory which de Gaulle obtained on September 28 perhaps was somewhat equivocal, for people in France, in Algeria, and in the overseas territories voted "yes" for different reasons—in support of de Gaulle, for stability, for the new institutions proposed by him, for independence, or for a new status for Algeria. On the whole, however, the vote in France, and

particularly in Algeria, has been interpreted more to be a vote of confidence in de Gaulle's leadership than an expression of considered approval for the new constitution. It had not been made clear at the time of the referendum what the status of Algeria would be under the new constitution, and even in France itself there was relatively little detailed discussion of the provisions of the constitution, and no alternative put forward by those who opposed it. In Algeria it is generally conceded that the political issues were much too complex for the majority of voters, many of whom went to the polls for the first time, and that they were voting for what they considered to be the best chance to bring an end to the war.

#### Communist Losses

The vote revealed a significant reduction in Communist support. Many of the 4.6 million people who voted against the new constitution were not Communists; a wing of the Socialist Party and the Mendes-France Radicals also voted "No". It is therefore estimated that the Communist Party lost well over a million voters (at least 20-25 per cent of their usual following) since the election of 1956 when they polled 5.6 million votes. This would seem to bear out previous claims, made by many commentators, that a large number of those who regularly voted Communist in the Fourth Republic were not in fact positive supporters of the Party.

### The New Constitution

The new constitution has two main features—(a) the strengthening of the Executive in relation to the National Assembly, with particular emphasis



General de Gaulle, President of the Council of France, receives the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. J. G. Diefenbaker, in November on his current tour. On the right is the Canadian Ambassador to France, Mr. Pierre Dupuy.

on an increase in Presidential powers and (b) the provision for a new French Community along Federal lines which the overseas territories will be able to join.

#### The Presidency

The increase in the status and powers of the President represents the greatest single change from the Constitutions of 1946 and that of the Third Republic. The more important provisions relating to the office of the President are as follows:

Election — The constitution provides for a greatly enlarged electoral college comprising members of Parliament, of the General Council and of the Assemblies of the overseas territories, along with delegates of Municipal Councils. Some misgivings have been expressed in France about this provision, on the grounds that it gives undue weight to the vote of representatives of rural communities and thus militates in favour of the election of a conservative President, regardless of the trend in the National Assembly. The President will be a much more important figure in French politics than any of his predecessors since President Thiers, who founded the Third Republic. Given his increased power, this might lead to incompatibility between the President and the Assembly.

Power of Referendum — The constitution gives to the President the power, at the instance of the Government, or on a joint proposal of the two Houses, to submit any project of law to a referendum.

Emergency Presidential Powers — The President is authorized to assume full powers "when the institution of the Republic, the independence of the nation, the integrity of its territory or the fulfilment of its international commitments, are threatened in a grave and immediate manner and the regular functioning of the constitutional public power is interrupted". While the President will, in the final analysis have to make the decision as to how he should assume emergency powers, the criterion of the break-down in political authority is considered to be one of fact rather than of his personal judgment.

#### The Cabinet

The constitution initiates a new principle that a Cabinet position is incompatible with membership in the National Assembly and that Ministers must resign their seats in Parliament on appointment. General de Gaulle had insisted vehemently on this provision on the grounds that the "race for portfolios" by parliamentarians was one of the causes of government instability.

#### Relations between Parliament and Government

The constitution gives responsibility to the National Assembly and the Senate for voting laws on a wide range of subjects, including taxes and fiscal matters and stipulates that the list of subjects can be further lengthened by law. However, the provisions governing relations between the executive and the legislation tend to enhance the secondary role of Parliament in comparison with its role under the Fourth Republic.

Parliament can now be asked to delegate to the Government the right to pass decrees on subjects which are normally a matter of legislation, a method frequently used under the Fourth Republic by the granting of full powers to the Government in certain specified fields. Such decrees must be

tabled in Parliament. In case of disagreement between the Assembly and the Senate on the text of a bill, the Assembly does not have the last word, as was the case under the Fourth Republic, unless the Government intervenes to ask the Assembly to vote the definitive text.

Provisions for a vote of confidence and a vote of censure in the Assembly are included. Failure of the former, or success of the latter, automatically brings about the resignation of the Prime Minister. The President retains the power to dissolve the Assembly which, in some form or other, has been a usual feature of French constitutions but which was never used after an unwise and unsuccessful attempt by President MacMahon in the early days of the Third Republic. This power will now be in the hands of the President without any further restriction than the obligation "to consult" the Premier and the President of each Assembly. (Under the terms of the Constitution, the National Assembly will be able to bring about the fall of the Government only with considerable difficulty.)

#### The Overseas Territories

The new constitution also establishes machinery for the association of France with her overseas territories. They may retain their present status. They may also become members of "the Community" where "the states shall enjoy autonomy, they shall administer themselves, and, freely and democratically, shall manage their own affairs." The Community will have a Senate, made up of representatives from the various Assemblies, and an Executive Council, consisting of the Premier of France and the head of government of each member together with each Minister responsible for Community affairs. These bodies will deliberate on the common affairs of the Community—foreign policy, defence, the monetary system, common economic and financial policy, as well as the policy on strategic raw materials.

It is to be noted that independence was not one of the options mentioned in the constitution. This did not mean that France was opposed to the right of the territories to determine their own destiny. Those who wanted immediate and total independence could take it and the way to indicate this desire was to vote against the referendum on the constitution. General de Gaulle made it quite clear, however, that the overseas territories should realize that a decision for independence would probably mean the end of economic assistance from France.

As noted above, only Guinea voted for independence in the referendum, all other territories choosing to retain their links with France.

#### **Electoral Law**

The constitution empowered General de Gaulle's Government to establish by decree a new electoral law to govern the elections to the National Assembly. This law was, in fact, made public on October 8 and governed the election on November 23 and 30 of the first legislature under the Fifth Republic. The most important feature of the new law was to establish single-seat in place of multi-seat constituencies and to do away with the arrangement under which several parties were able to pool their votes, an arrangement which was only partly successful in its aim to limit Communist representation vote. The new system places the emphasis upon the candidate, not upon the party or policy, and brought forward a quite different Assembly.

## **Atomic Energy Agency Conference**

The magnificent Hofburg, the former imperial palace of the Hapsburgs, recently renovated and prepared for conference work by the Austrian Government, was the scene of the second session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) which was held in Vienna from September 22 to October 4, 1958.

In the interval between the first Conference\* and the opening of the second, ten countries had joined the Agency, bringing the total to 68, all but four of which were represented. Two non-member states and the United Nations were represented by observers. A number of inter-governmental and non-governmental international organizations were similarly represented, as were the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the World Meteorological Organization.

Canada was represented by Mr. M. H. Wershof, Q.C., Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva, with Mr. J. L. Gray, President of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, and Mr. W. H. Barton and Mr. R. H. Jay, of the Department of External Affairs, as alternates. The Conference was formally opened by the temporary President, Mr. Raab, the Federal Chancellor of Austria, who welcomed the delegates. At the opening session the Conference heard statements by Mr. de Seynes, representative of the Secretary-General of the UN, and by Mr. Sterling Cole, the Director-General of the Agency.

Mr. Sudjarwo, the Secretary-General of the Indonesian Foreign Office, was unanimously elected President of the Conference. The Canadian representative, Mr. Wershof, was elected one of the Conference Vice-Presidents and as such was a member of the General (Steering) Committee. The statute of the Agency provides for a twenty-three member Board of Governors, thirteen of which are named by the retiring Board with the remaining ten being elected by the Conference for a two-year term, half of these in alternate years. The five members elected at the second Conference were the Netherlands, the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Venezuela and Peru. Canada continues to be a member as one of those countries appointed by the retiring Board.

The general debate shared with the programme and budget debate the position of primary importance at the Conference. The former offers the Board of Governors, the Secretariat and, in fact, the member states, guidance on future programmes and activities, giving as it does an indication of the emphasis (or lack of it) which the various delegations wish to be placed on the various projects. The latter outlines the programme for the ensuing year and provides the money to finance it.

<sup>\*</sup>For report on the First General Conference see Vol. 9, No. 12 of "External Affairs" (Dec. 1957).



The Hofburg Palace in Vienna, where the Second General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Commission took place. The "Atom Car" and flags of member nations can be seen in the foreground.

#### **Power Plants**

It was apparent from the general debate, during which the representatives of thirty-eight countries spoke, that there was a keen interest, especially amongst the less-developed countries, in the requirements of these latter countries for small atomic energy power plants. The Agency was looked to for assistance in assessing the needs of various power-short areas and in providing training for scientists and technicians from those areas. There was an awareness on the part of some delegations that the technical and financial problems involved offered little hope of immediate assistance in the field of power, but others stressed the fact that, so far at least as finances were concerned, the problem was not one of choosing from a variety of sources for such power, but of having either expensive electricity provided from atomic energy plants or having none at all.

Later, in Committee, after protracted discussion, a resolution was adopted (which subsequently was passed by the General Conference) emphasizing what was already implicit in the budget, that assistance would be forthcoming to less-developed countries in preparing themselves to enter the field of nuclear development. The resolution called upon the Board of Governors: (1) to initiate action both for a survey of the needs of the less-developed countries for nuclear power generation plants and for a continuing study of the technological and economic problems involved, and (2) to assist those countries in planning and implementing their training programmes.

#### Close Relations Needed

Another main theme running through the debate was the need for close relations between other United Nations organizations and the Agency. Progress in this respect was made at the Conference when draft relationship agreements between the Agency and FAO, ILO, UNESCO, WHO, and WMO were unanimously approved and the proposal that the Agency seek to join the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was adopted.

An interesting development during the general debate was the announcement by the Japanese Delegate that his country had requested the Agency to arrange for the purchase of three tons of reactor-grade uranium ingot. This is the first call on the Agency to provide one of the services for which the Agency was primarily set up. It was also encouraging to hear the Japanese and United States Delegations announce that they would request the Agency to administer the safeguards provisions of their bilateral agreement. Canada, as well as many Western countries, looks to the Agency to fulfil its statutory role in relation to safeguards in order to ensure that fissionable materials are not diverted to military purposes. On the other hand, the Soviet group of countries and some Asian ones continue to take the line either that it is premature to push the question of safeguards at this time, or that the idea of safeguards infringes on the sovereignty of states.

#### United States and Canadian Views

The most important and constructive speech of the debate was the one given by the United States Delegate (Mr. McCone, Chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission) in which he pledged anew strong support by his Government of the Agency "as an organization of primary importance in the field of international co-operation", and pledged that, consistent with his country's existing obligations, "the United States will look to the Agency as the major institutional channel through which the international peaceful uses programme of the United States will be implemented and carried forward." After giving assurances of strong support for the programme outlined in the budget, the United States Delegate outlined a series of proposals for future Agency activities. Some of these would involve generous unilaterial financial support from the United States.

In his address, Mr. Wershof reaffirmed Canada's continued wholehearted support for the Agency based on the Government's wish to foster the rapid growth of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the belief that an international agency such as IAEA would make a valuable contribution to this end. In reviewing the progress which the Agency had made in the past year, he admitted that, if all the expectations of last year had not been realized, it was because they had been too ambitious. Mr. Wershof cautioned against the dangers of the Secretariat being recruited strictly on a geographical basis, pointing out that technical qualifications are more important. He expressed disappointment that voluntary contributions from member governments to the 1958 fellowship programme had failed to meet the modest target of \$250,000, pointing out that without adequate financial backing this fundamental activity of the Agency would be crippled in its attempts to serve the needs of the lessdeveloped countries. Canada thought that the stage had now been reached when the Agency could develop a useful role as an intermediary in the development of bilateral arrangements between member states, bringing less-developed

countries together with technically advanced ones prepared to assist in the realization of their projects by the provision of information, facilities or financial support. This role could also be filled in the field of health, safety and safeguards.

### Programme and Budget

The statute of the Agency provides that its expenses shall be divided as between administrative and operational expenses, the former to be met by assessment of the membership and the latter by voluntary contributions and any excess of revenue over expenditures from agency projects. The recommendations of the Board of Governors for 1959 included an administrative budget of \$5,225,000 and an operational budget of \$1,500,000. Of this latter amount, \$1,100,000 would be used for fellowships, training and technical assistance, and the balance of \$400,000 for the establishment of a small Agency scientific service and control laboratory.

Probably the main achievement of the Conference was the approval of both budgets and the consequent approval of the programme recommended by the Board for the following year. Before the Conference started, it appeared that the operational budget might not obtain the necessary two-thirds majority and consequently might have to be referred back to the Board of Governors. Criticism came chiefly from Communist countries and was centered on the laboratory recommended by the Board. Those opposed questioned the need for the Agency to have laboratory services of its own and wanted the matter to be given further study. Those countries favouring this project were in the large majority and, after a series of votes and rather acrimonious discussions, the budget as a whole was approved unanimously.

### **Voluntary Contributions**

A special Committee of the whole Conference was formed to receive pledges of voluntary contributions from the various member states. The pledges amounted to just under \$850,000, although this amount will be increased somewhat when pledges are received from nine other countries who announced that their governments intended to contribute. The largest contributor was, of course, the United States, which made an outright pledge of \$500,000 and offered to contribute a further \$250,000 on a matching basis once the total contributions reached \$1 million. The Canadian pledge is for \$50,000, subject to the funds being voted by Parliament. The Canadian representative also announced that a further \$25,000 might be given, "depending on the response of other countries".

If the total of \$1.5 million is not contributed it will mean, of course, that the plans for scholarships, training and technical assistance as well as those for the laboratory will have to be modified.

#### Other Work

As mentioned above, relationship agreements with five other United Nations Specialized Agencies were approved and the Director-General was authorized to apply to the appropriate authorities of the United Nations for the Agency to join the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The Board was authorized to invite intergovernmental organizations engaged in the peaceful uses of atomic energy to be represented by observers at the third regular session and it approved the rules on the consultative status of non-

governmental organizations with the Agency. Arrangements were made for reports on the Agency's work to be submitted to the United Nations General Assembly and to ECOSOC. The Conference decided to fix the month of September as the one in which the regular annual sessions should be convened. and chose the date of September 22, 1959, for the opening date of the third session.



VISIT OF MRS. GOLDA MEIR

Mrs. Golda Meir, the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Israel and the first woman ever to be a foreign minister, was in Ottawa from October 15-17. From left to right are: Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mr. Arthur Lourie, Israeli Ambassador to Canada; Mrs. Meir, and Mr. John. G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada.

## **ECOSOC: 26th Session**

## International Community Problems

In view of the generally depressed level of world commodity prices, the discussions in the Economic and Social Council this year on international commodity problems assumed particular importance. Most countries intervened in the general debate and underlined the serious adverse effects of the instability in prices and in the volume of trade in primary commodities, not only for the less-developed countries, which depend for their export earnings on a limited number of basic commodities, but also, though less directly, for more industrialized countries.

After the general debate, the Council revised the terms of reference of the Commission for International Commodity Trade (established in 1954) and elected the 18 members of the reconstituted Commission.

### Statement by Canada

Speaking in the general debate, the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. W. B. Nesbitt, Q.C., M.P., characterized the instability in commodity prices during 1957 as "probably the most serious aspect of the economic adjustment which the world economy has been undergoing". Mr. Nesbitt reviewed the growth of international co-operation in this field in the post-war period and emphasized the importance of the work of the various international bodies established under the auspices of the United Nations, of GATT, and of the FAO, to consider particular commodity problems.

Turning to current problems, Mr. Nesbitt went on to say: "At present, therefore, we have a number of international bodies in existence, each looking at commodity problems from a different angle and each playing a role in working towards effective methods of dealing with them. It is quite possible that at this session, the Economic and Social Council will find that there is scope for making more and better use of this machinery. Our Delegation has already pointed out in its statement on the world economic situation that Canada shares the interest and concern of the less-developed countries regarding fluctuations in commodity prices and is willing to consider sympathetically any constructive and practical proposals in this field. Canada belongs to all three commodity agreements presently in existence although we are a major producer of only one of these items. Moreover, our country has participated actively in the work of all the study groups now operating as well as in that of the Commission on International Commodity Trade, and in the Commodity work of the FAO and the GATT. We could see some value in having a study made of the application under different conditions of various methods of stabilizing prices, such as the establishment of a range within which prices may be allowed to fluctuate, the setting up of buffer stocks or the use of export quotas. However, commodity problems are of a highly complex character and can best be dealt with on a commodity by commodity basis." Most general statements likewise emphasized the importance of commodity problems and the need for increased international co-operation to find reasonable solutions.

#### New Terms of Reference

The decision of the Council to modify the terms of reference of the Commission on International Commodity Trade (CICT) followed a full discussion of the report of the Commission which contained a recommendation that this matter be examined by the Council. The text of the resolution adopted by the Council, with minor revisions, was sponsored by Chili, Costa Rica, France and The Netherlands. It represented a compromise which made it possible for the United States and the United Kingdom to agree to participate in the work of the Commission. Under its former terms of reference, the main task of the Commission was defined as follows: "To examine measures designed to avoid excessive fluctuations in the prices of, and the volume of trade in. primary commodities, including measures aiming at the maintenance of a just and equitable relationship between the prices of primary commodities and the prices of manufactured goods in international trade . . ." In the new terms of reference of the Commission, the words underlined above have been deleted. The main task of this body is now defined as follows: "... to study and analyze developments and trends in international commodity trade, including excessive fluctuations in the price and volume of commodity trade and movement in the terms of trade and the effect such developments on both the international and domestic economic position of countries participating in international commodity trade, especially on the economic developments of less-developed countries...". The Commission is empowered to bring to the attention of the Council or of governments members of the United Nations its views and recommendations as to the need for governmental or inter-governmental action to deal with particular commodity problems. Other tasks set for the CICT are a constant review of commodity markets and the publication of studies and statistical reports on international commodity problems.

After approval of the new terms of reference of the Commission, the Council elected the full membership of the Commission (18 countries); the following countries were elected: one-year term, Argentina, Brazil, Pakistan, Poland, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R.; two-year term, Australia, Greece, Indonesia, Sweden, United States, Yugoslavia; three-year term, Belgium, Canada, Chili, France, India, Uruguay.

Of these countries, the only new members are Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia, which replaced Austria, China, Denmark, and the United Arab Republic.

In a separate resolution, the Council decided to convene a meeting of the reconstituted CICT within the first three months of 1959.

## **International Administrative Service**

The Economic and Social Council considered at its session in Geneva this summer a proposal by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to set up a small International Administrative Service on a trial basis. Recruiting competent administrators in sufficient numbers constitutes one of the most difficult problems facing many less-developed countries, particularly those who have gained their independence only recently. The ability of a country to make good use of its domestic resources, to develop its economy along sound lines and to absorb economic assistance from abroad with maximum

benefit is, of course, largely determined by the adequacy of its administrative framework and the availability of well-qualified civil servants.

Through bilateral assistance schemes, and through the Expanded and the Regular Programmes of Technical Assistance of the United Nations, there is scope for the loan of advisers in general public service and in specific areas of administration such as the budgetary and fiscal field, and for the award of fellowships for study abroad of a wide range of administration activities. These programmes, however, do not generally include the provision of administrators who can be incorporated directly in the administrations of the recipient countries at their request.

Mr. Hammarskjold proposed in May 1956, in an address delivered before the Canadian Branch of the International Law Association in Montreal, that a start should be made toward creating an International Administrative Service. Since then, consultations have been held with members of the United Nations to ascertain their views on the Secretary-General's proposals. Although the proposals were controversial in some respects and differences of views arose as to how they could best be put into practice, an overwhelming majority of governments gave their approval to these proposals in principle and agreed that they should be implemented by the United Nations on a trial basis. Sixteen governments stated their intention of seeking the type of assistance which would be provided under the proposed scheme.

### Canada's Suggestions

The Canadian Delegation made a number of specific suggestions during the debates in the Technical Assistance Committee which preceded the session of the Economic and Social Council. The Delegation was chiefly concerned to ensure that appointments were not made under the scheme for indefinite periods. It was suggested, therefore, that at the end of a three-year period, if not sooner, each particular appointment should be reviewed and a decision taken for bringing it to a successful conclusion. The Delegation also referred to the traditional Canadian position that new programmes in this general field should be financed under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. It was, therefore, suggested that at the end of the first year of the programme's operations there be a review of the best methods of financing the programme, including the possibility that it be financed under the EPTA. The Canadian Delegation also stressed the importance of studying how the new programme could best be related to other United Nations technical assistance programmes.

#### Council's Recommendations

The resolution, embodying a revised version of the Secretary-General's proposals, was presented by the Technical Assistance Committee to the Economic and Social Council, which adopted it without opposition by a vote of fifteen in favour, including Canada, with Poland and the U.S.S.R. abstaining. The Council's resolution recommends that the Secretary-General be authorized to obtain the temporary services of competent administrators, internationally recruited. This would be done on a limited and experimental basis and as a supplement to existing United Nations programmes of technical assistance, but without entailing additional administrative costs. The experts sent under the scheme would perform duties as servants of the governments which requested their services, and their duties would normally include the training of national personnel to take over the responsibilities which had been tem-

porarily assigned to internationally recruited staff. Under the resolution, the Secretary-General would be authorized to assist the governments concerned to meet the cost of employing international experts, and would report on the progress of this pilot scheme to the Council's 28th session in 1959.

Mr. Hammarskjold has expressed the hope that, if these recommendations are approved by the General Assembly, he will be able to employ between twenty and thirty administrators during the first year of operation of the scheme.

## Special Fund

At the 12th General Assembly in 1957 approval was given to the establishment of a United Nations Special Fund to "provide systematic and sustained assistance in the fields essential to the integrated technical, economic and social development of the less-developed countries". The Assembly appointed a Preparatory Committee to define the basic fields of assistance which this Fund should encompass and to consider the type of administrative and operational machinery that would be appropriate to the functions of the Special Funds.

The recommendations of the Preparatory Committee were unanimously agreed upon in the summer of 1958 by the members of the Economic and Social Council, including the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the U.S.S.R. and Canada, at their 26th session. The Canadian Delegation played an important role in the debates and negotiations concerning the Fund at the meetings of the Preparatory Committee, of which Canada was a member, and subsequently in the discussions at the ECOSOC.

The Preparatory Committee recommended, among other things, that the Fund should concentrate on relatively large projects and avoid undue dispersion of its resources. The Special Fund would undertake projects such as resources surveys, technical training and administrative projects, and would thus involve in some respects an expansion of the existing technical assistance and development activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. The Fund would not, however, be limited to technical assistance and could go into some development projects. Governmental control of the policies and operations of the Fund would be exercised by an 18-member Governing Council, which would have final authority to approve the projects and programmes recommended by a Managing-Director, Provision was made for equal representation of economically more developed countries and lessdeveloped countries on the Governing Council. In addition to the Council, there would be a Consultative Board to advise the Council on the selection of projects. Provision was made for a close working association with the International Bank. A target figure of \$100 million was mentioned for the Fund in the report of the Preparatory Committee.

In the debates preceding the adoption of the ECOSOC resolution, the Canadian Delegation pointed out that it was now generally recognized that assistance available under the United Nations Expanded and Regular Programmes for Technical Assistance should be supplemented by a new and separate Fund which would attract and stimulate an increased flow of international resources to meet the needs of the less-developed countries. The proposals of the Preparatory Committee had been reached after the most careful consideration by governments representing all points of view and with the closest participation of the Specialized Agencies. The Canadian Delegation expressed the view that the proposed organizational and administrative arrangements of the Fund would permit the selection of sound projects and their implementation on sound and economic lines. The recommendations of the Preparatory Committee were acceptable to the Canadian Government; provided they were approved by the Council and provided the Fund had broad support from the major donor and recipient countries, the Canadian Government would be prepared to seek Parliamentary approval for a contribution to the Fund. The Canadian Delegation expressed confidence that the main elements of the structure so carefully erected by the Preparatory Committee would be preserved intact. The Canadian spokesman in the ECOSOC discussions concluded his remarks by saying that Canada could "conceive of no greater contribution to the future development of international co-operation in the economic field than the successful inauguration of the new Fund".

At the meetings of the Economic Committee of the Social and Economic Council, the U.S.S.R. Delegation moved four amendments, all of which were rejected. The Soviet amendments would have opened participation in the Fund to all states and would have excluded the President of the International Bank from membership in the Consultative Board of the Fund. Another Soviet amendment sought to cancel the provision contained in the report of the Preparatory Committee that contributions to the Fund could be accepted only from governments holding membership in the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency. The last amendment would have allowed all contributions to be made in national currencies, contrary to the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee that contributions should be made in currencies readily usable by the Fund. The U.S.S.R. nevertheless voted in favour of the resolution as a whole at the plenary session of ECOSOC. It is expected that the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council will be approved substantially unaltered by an overwhelming majority of the United Nations at the current General Assembly and that the Fund will begin operations in 1959.

Since this article was prepared, the General Assembly has approved the establishment of the Fund, and Canada has pledged \$2 million for the first year of its operation.

#### Mr. Smith in Latin America

Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, accepting the invitations of the Brazilian and Mexican Governments, is making official visits to those countries in November, and early December.

This will be the first formal visit made by a Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs to Latin America. Canada's first exchange of diplomatic representation in Latin America was made with Brazil, when the Canadian Legation, later raised to embassy status, was opened in Rio de Janeiro in September 1941. The exchange of diplomatic representation with Mexico dates from 1944. The atmosphere of Canadian relations with both countries has been consistently friendly and co-operative, and the visit of the Secretary of State for External Affairs provides an opportunity to demonstrate the Canadian desire that these good relations should be maintained and strengthened. Because the Minister is already committed to attend the December meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris, he will not be able to extend his tour to other Latin American countries.

Mr. Smith will be accompanied by his wife and by a small group of officials. Several of the Canadian Heads of Mission in other South American countries will meet the party in Rio de Janeiro and will attend a two-day meeting with Mr. Smith and the departmental officials to discuss policies and problems of common interest.

Mr. Smith will leave from Seattle, Washington, immediately after the Colombo Plan Ministerial Meetings, which are expected to end on November 13. He will remain in Brazil from November 17 to November 27 approximately and will then spend four or five days in Mexico, where he will represent Canada at the inauguration of the new President, Adolfo Lopez Mateos, on December 1.

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. G. C. Langille posted from the Canadian Embassy, Ankara to temporary duty with the International Atomic Energy Agency Conference in Vienna and then to Ottawa, effective September 19, 1958.
- Mr. S. D. Hemsley appointed Canadian Consul General to Boston. Proceeded to Boston September 25, 1958.
- Mr. B. A. S. Crane resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective September 29, 1958.
- Mr. C. F. W. Hooper posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective October 1, 1958.
- Mr. C. M. Bedard posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles to temporary duty in Ottawa, effective September 15, 1958. Proceeded to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective October 1, 1958.
- Mr. F. M. Tovell posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington to Ottawa, effective October 2, 1958.
- Mr. C. J. Marshall posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, effective October 2, 1958.
- Mr. A. J. Hicks from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, effective October 3, 1958.
- Mr. A. C. Smith, Canadian Minister at the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, appointed Canadian Ambassador to the United Arab Republic. Proceeded to Cairo October 3, 1958.
- Mr. H. H. Carter posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague to temporary duty at the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective September 12, 1958. Proceeded from London to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective October 7, 1958.
- Mr. T. M. M. Pope posted from the Language School for Chinese Studies at the University of Hong Kong to Ottawa, effective October 8, 1958.
- Mr. L. A. H. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective October 9, 1958.
- Mr. J. P. Erichsen-Brown appointed Canadian Commissioner, International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam, Saigon. Proceeded to Indochina October 10, 1958.
- Mr. N. A. Robertson, Canadian Ambassador to the United States, appointed Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. Proceeded from Washington October 10, 1958 and assumed his duties in Ottawa October 20, 1958.
- Mr. J. E. G. Blais posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, to Ottawa, effective October 13, 1958.
- Mr. R. M. Macdonnell appointed Deputy Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. Assumed his duties October 14, 1958.
- Miss L. Beattie posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, effective October 14, 1958.
- Mr. W. Savage posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, effective October 14, 1958.
- Mr. L. Mayrand, Canadian Ambassador to Spain appointed Canadian Ambassador to Italy. Proceeded to Rome October 15, 1958.
- Mr. F. G. Hooton posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective October 15, 1958.
- Mr. J. H. Warren reassigned to the Department of Trade and Commerce, effective October 16, 1958.
- Mr. K. W. MacLellan posted from temporary duty as Canadian Consul, Los Angeles, to Ottawa effective October 16, 1958.
- Mr. J. Léger appointed Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council and the Office of the European Economic Co-operation. Proceeded to Paris October 18, 1958.
- Miss V. Allen posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Boston to Ottawa, effective October 18, 1958.

- Mr. T. Le M. Carter, MC, Canadian Commissioner, International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam, left Saigon October 25, 1958 and proceeded on leave until January 1959.
- Mr. S. Grey posted from the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective October 26, 1958.
- Mr. P. A. Beaulieu QC, Canadian Chargé d'Affaires a.i. in Lebanon appointed Canadian Ambassador to Lebanon. Proceeded from temporary duty in Ottawa, October 27, 1958.
- Mr. J. J. Dupuis posted from the Canadian Embassy, Ankara to Ottawa, effective October 29, 1958

# TREATY INFORMATION Current Action

#### Bilateral

#### France

Exchange of Notes between Canada and France modifying the air agreement signed at Ottawa August 1, 1950.

Signed at Ottawa October 22, 1958. Entered into force October 22, 1958.

#### India

Financial Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of India. Signed at Ottawa October 22, 1958.

Entered into force, October 22, 1958.

#### Switzerland

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Switzerland abrogating the agreement of August 27, 1872 between Great Britain and Switzerland concerning succession duties.

Signed at Ottawa March 28 and June 23, 1958. Entered into force September 8, 1958.

#### **United States of America**

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning the establishment of a Canada - United States Committee on Joint Defense.

Signed at Ottawa August 29 and September 2, 1958. Entered into force September 2, 1958.

#### Multilateral

Protocol relating to an amendment to article 45 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation.

Done at Montreal June 14, 1954. Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited September 2, 1958. Entered into force for Canada, September 2, 1958.

#### **Publication**

- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 12. Convention between Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income. Signed at Ottawa June 4, 1956. Instrument of ratification exchanged at Bonn July 5, 1957. In force August 5, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 20. Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Done at New York, October 26, 1956. Signed by Canada October 26, 1956. Instrument of ratification of Canada deposited July 29, 1957. In force for Canada July 29, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Scries 1957 No. 25. Convention concerning customs facilities for touring. Done at New York June 4, 1954. Instrument of accession of Canada deposited June 1, 1955. In force for Canada September 11, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 26. Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals. Done at Washington February 9, 1957. Signed by Canada February 9, 1957. Instrument of ratification of Canada deposited September 16, 1957. In force for Canada October 14, 1957.
- Canada Treaty Series 1957 No. 27. Protocol modifying the International Convention relating to Exhibitions of November 22, 1928. Done at Paris May 10, 1948. Instrument of accession of Canada deposited November 4, 1957. In force for Canada November 4, 1957.

# CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS\* A Selected List

- a) Printed Documents:
- Report of the Trusteeship Council covering the work of its twenty-first and twenty-second sessions. A/3822, Vol.I. N.Y., 1958. 109 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 4.
- Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. A/3828/Rev.1. N.Y., 1958. 59 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 11.
- United Nations Refugee Fund. Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1957 and Report of the Board of Auditors. A/3834. N.Y., 1958. 19 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 6C.
- Report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. A/3838. N.Y., 1958. 228 p. \$2.50. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 17.
- Report of the Economic and Social Council, 3 August 1957 to 31 July 1958. A/3848. N.Y., 1958. 91 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 3.
- Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Report of the Thirteenth Session (28 April 30 May 1958). E/3133, E/CN.7/354. N.Y., 1958. ECOSOC Official Records: Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 9.
- Structure and Growth of Selected African Economies. E/3137, ST/ECA/57. N.Y., 1958. 201 p. \$2.00. Sales No.: 58.II.C.4.
- Management of Industrial Enterprises in Under-developed Countries. E/3143, ST/ECA/58. N.Y., 1958. 35 p. Sales No.: 58.II.B.5.
- Atomic Energy. Glossary of Technical Terms. N.Y., 1958, 215 p. (English-French-Spanish-Russian). \$4.00, Sales No.: 58.IX.1.
- International Map of the World on the Millionth Scale (1956). ST/ECA/SER.D/2. N.Y., 1958. 96 p. (bil.). \$1.00. Sales No.: 58.I.2.
- Demographic Training and Research Centre. Report of the Inaugural Conference, Bombay, 5 to 9 November 1957. ST/TAA/SER.C/31. N.Y., 1958. 52 p.
- Report of the Committee on South West Africa to the General Assembly. A/3906. N.Y., 1958. 68 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 12. A/3906/Add.1: Map of South West Africa 1958.
- United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. (Geneva, 24 February-27 April 1958) Official Records, Volume III: First Committee (Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone). Summary records of meetings and Annexes. A/CONF.13/39. 261 p. \$3.00. Sales No.: 58.V.4, Vol.III. Official Records, Volume IV: Second Committee (High Seas: General Régime). Summary records of meetings and Annexes. A/CONF.13/40. 153 p. \$1.75. Sales No.: 58.V.4, Vol.IV.
- Reclassification of Government Expenditures and Receipts in Selected Countries. ST/ECA/52. N.Y., 1958. 124 p. \$1.50. Sales No.: 58.XVI.3.
- Rules of Procedure of the Trusteeship Council (as amended up to and during its twenty-second session). T/1/Rev.5. N.Y., 1958. 20 p.
- GATT—Anti-dumping and countervailing duties. Geneva, July 1958. 165 p. \$1.25. Sales No.: GATT/1958-2.

\*Printed documents of the United Nations may be obtained in Canada at the following address: Agents: The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street, W., Toronto; Sub-Agents: Book Room Ltd., Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Bookstore, Montreal; Magasin des Etudiants de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal: University of Manitoba Bookstore, Winnipeg; University of Toronto Press and Bookstore, Toronto; University of British Columbia Bookstore, Vancouver.

Mimeographed United Nations documents are available to the general public by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York; and to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations from the United Nations Department of Public Information, New York.

For more complete information see "External Affairs" for April-May, 1958, page 117.

#### ICAO.

- The Economic Implications of the Introduction into Service of Long-Range Jet Aircraft. Doc 7894-C/907. 66 p. \$1.25.
- Annex 4 Aeronautical Charts Fourth Edition (incorporating Amendments 1-32), October 1957. 78 p. \$1.25.
- Report of the Fourth European-Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting Geneva, 28 January-21 February 1958. Doc 7870, EUM/IV 498 p. \$6.00.
- ICAO Circular 54-AN/49 Aircraft Accident Digest No. 8. 212 p. \$2.25.
- Aims and Objectives of ICAO in the Field of Facilitation Doc 7891-C/906, 17 p. 25 cents.
- Proceedings of the Route Facilities Charges Conference Montreal, 18 March-1 April 1958, Volume I—Report and Working Papers of the Conference Doc 7874, RFC/1-1, 178 p. \$2.00; Volume II-Minutes Doc 7874, RFC/1-2, 166 p. \$1.75.

#### UNESCO

- International Yearbook of Education, Vol. XIX, 1957. 397 p. \$5.00. UNESCO, Paris/IBE, Geneva, Publication No. 190.
- Facilities for Education in Rural Areas. (XXIst International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1958). 241 p. \$2.75. UNESCO, Paris/IBE, Geneva, Publication No. 192.
- Preparation and Issuing of the Primary School Curriculum. (XXIst International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1958). 195 p. \$2.75. UNESCO, Paris/IBE, Geneva, Publication No. 194.
- b) Mimeographed Document:
- United Nation's Emergency Force. Summary study of the experience derived from the establishment and operation of the Force. (Report of the Secretary-General). A/3943, 9 October 1958. 75 p. Annexes I and II.

## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



December 1958 Vol. 10 No. 12

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations, in discussion in the Council Chamber at United Nations Headquarters.

## **Canada and the United Nations**

The thirteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations convened in New York on September 16. In its first three weeks the Assembly elected a new president (Dr. Charles Malik, of Lebanon), and other officers, approved an agenda of 72 items and their allocation to plenary meetings and the main Committees, decided once again not to seat representatives of the People's Republic of China, and elected Argentina, Italy and Tunisia to two-year terms in the Security Council, beginning January 1, 1959.

During the general debate, which began on September 18 and ended on October 7, 83 speakers representing 72 member states expounded their countries' view on the international situation and on items on the Assembly's agenda of particular interest to them. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Sidney E. Smith, spoke for Canada on September 25.\*

The composition of the Canadian Delegation is as follows: Representatives—Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs (Chairman of the Delegation); Mr. W. J. Browne, Minister without Portfolio (Vice-Chairman of the Delegation); Mr. G. S. Thorvaldson, Senator; Dr. R. P. Vivian, M.D., Member of Parliament for Durham; Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations. Alternate Representatives—Mr. H. W. Macquarrie, Member of Parliament for Victoria; Mr. J. N. Tremblay, Member of Parliament for Roberval; Mrs. W. T. Hayden; Mr. Jean Morin, Q.C.; Mr. J. W. Holmes, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Advisers for the Delegation are drawn from the Department of External Affairs, the Department of Finance, the Canadian Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York and the Canadian Embassy in Washington.

## Chinese Representation

The thirteenth session opened in a somewhat tense atmosphere as a result of the crisis that began on August 23, when the Chinese Communists started an intense artillery bombardment of Quemoy and other off-shore islands, and implied that they might attempt to seize these islands by force. The timing of the crisis raised the possibility that the UN might be asked to consider the question of the hostilities in the Taiwan Straits, a possibility that has not, however, materialized to date as a result of diminished tension. At the same time the crisis threw into sharp focus the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations.

The question of Chinese representation was discussed at the beginning of the session during the examination of the agenda, first in the General Committee and later in the Assembly, on the basis of a recommendation by India that the Assembly consider the representation of China in the United Nations, and of a United States draft resolution calling for another year's delay in consideration of the issue. On September 19 the Committee voted 12 to 7, with 2 abstentions, to recommend the United States proposal. On September 22, the Assembly approved the Committee's decision by a vote of 44 in favour, 28 against, with 9 abstentions. The United States, France, Canada, and all

<sup>\*</sup>Text published in External Affairs Bulletin, October 1958.

other Commonwealth countries except Ceylon, Ghana and India, voted with the majority. In his statement, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Smith, said that it would not be timely for the Assembly at the thirteenth session to consider Chinese representation because international tension resulting from military action in the Taiwan Straits did not afford a proper atmosphere for discussion.

#### Disarmament

The disarmament problem is perhaps the most important issue discussed to date at the session. Of the six questions on the agenda relating to disarmament five were, on the advice of the General Committee, allocated by the Assembly to the First, or Political and Security, Committee. After some discussion, the First Committee adopted by a vote of 50 to 9, with 19 abstentions, a United States compromise proposal to consider in priority and simultaneously the following three items: (1) the question of disarmament, i.e. an item proposed by the Secretary-General; (2) the discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests; and (3) the reduction of the military budgets of the U.S.S.R., the United States, the United Kingdom and France, these latter two items being proposed by the Soviet Union.

The debate in the First Committee on these aspects of disarmament lasted for about three weeks with the participation of a total of 63 delegations. An unusually large number of draft resolutions and of amendments to these resolutions was proposed for the consideration of the First Committee. The discussion was influenced by the imminence of the talks on nuclear tests and the conference of experts on surprise attack due to convene in Geneva, respectively on October 31 and November 10.

In the voting on October 31, the principal Western resolution covering all aspects of disarmament and co-sponsored by 17 powers, including the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada, was adopted by 49 votes to 9, with 23 abstentions. Under this resolution, the Assembly was to urge the Powers holding talks in Geneva to "make every effort to reach an early agreement on the suspension of nuclear weapons tests under effective international control" and "not to undertake further testing of nuclear weapons while these negotiations were in progress". In view of the opposition expressed by members of the Committee, the Soviet Delegation withdrew its draft resolution which would call on the powers conducting nuclear tests to halt them immediately.

The First Committee also adopted unanimously on October 31 an Indian-Yugoslav resolution on the question of surprise attack. Essentially, this resolution expressed the hope that the widest possible measure of agreement will be reached at the Conference of Experts in Geneva to study the practical aspects of minimizing the possibility of surprise attack. A somewhat similar resolution submitted by Austria, Japan and Sweden concerning the three-power negotiations on nuclear tests was adopted by 52 votes to 9 with 19 abstentions. The Committee rejected by a vote of 39 to 10, with 32 abstentions, the Soviet proposal on the reduction of military budgets.

The Committee then turned to the question of the composition of the Disarmament Commission and decided, without a dissenting vote, that for 1959 the Disarmament Commission should consist of all 81 members of the United Nations, as proposed by India and Yugoslavia, instead of 25 countries as decided at last year's session.

All these recommendations from the First Committee were examined by the Assembly at its plenary meeting of November 4. They were then rapidly approved with little or no change, by about the same votes as in Committee.

The discussion on the question of the peaceful use of outer space started in the First Committee on November 11. After several days' discussion the Committee adopted a resolution sponsored by the United States and 19 other countries, including Canada, by a vote of 54 to 9 (the Soviet bloc), with 18 abstentions. The resolution recommended the establishment of a United Nations Committee to study how outer space may be best utilized for peaceful purposes. The Soviet objections to the proposal were mainly concerned with the composition of the Committee and, following the adoption of the resolution, their representative stated that the Soviet Union would not participate in a Committee so constituted. Final disposal of the question awaits discussion in plenary session.

#### Middle East

In contrast with previous sessions, relatively little attention has been devoted thus far to Middle Eastern questions. Thanks largely to relative calmness in this area during recent weeks, the possibility envisaged late in the summer that Middle Eastern questions might come up before the Assembly in urgent form has not materialized to date.

By a resolution adopted at the Special Emergency Session of the General Assembly in August, the Secretary-General of the United Nations was called upon to make "practical arrangements" in the Middle East which would, amongst other things, facilitate the early withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan. Upon return from the journey he made to the Middle East to implement his task under that resolution, Mr. Hammarskjold presented on September 30 a report to the General Assembly on developments under the resolution. The report mentioned the United States and United Kingdom intention to withdraw their troops from Lebanon and Jordan within a short time, if conditions permitted. The report also announced the appointment of a United Nations Representative in Jordan to assist in the implementation of the Arab States' resolution, specifically in upholding the principles of the Charter in relation to Jordan, and the plan to appoint a high-level representative at United Nations headquarters to keep in touch with other governments of the area. Mr. Gromyko called for the immediate withdrawal of United States and British troops in an obvious attempt to provoke for propaganda purposes a separate debate on this question. However a number of delegations, including several from the Arab States, re-acted unfavourably and, as a result, the issue was disposed of, without the inscription of a separate item.

Thanks to the improved situation in the Middle East, the United States and the United Kingdom were able to complete the withdrawal of their troops on October 25 in Lebanon, and November 4 in Jordan. Moreover, the Secretary-General decided to liquidate and evacuate by December 10 the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) created by the Security Council in June. This decision was in accordance with a recommendation by UNOGIL based on the absence for some time of any reports of infiltration or arms-smuggling into Lebanon and on the improvement in the security situation in Lebanon and in relations between Lebanon and the United Arab Republic.

The question of the financing and further continuation of the United Nations Emergency Force (established in November 1956, chiefly to help

maintain quiet during and after the withdrawal of non-Egyptian troops) was dealt with by the Special Political Committee on the basis of a progress report on the Force. General E. L. M. Burns, Commander of UNEF, warned during the debate against cutting the strength of UNEF—now made up of 5,445 men—as the presence of the Force had reduced to a low level the incidents along the Egyptian-Israeli armistice demarcation line. A resolution co-sponsored by seven members of the UNEF Advisory Committee (including Canada) was finally adopted against Soviet opposition, by a vote of 49 to 9. This resolution authorized the continued operation of UNEF and referred the problem of financing to the Fifth or Budgetary Committee, after the Soviet bloc countries had reiterated their past refusal to pay any share of the costs. On December 3 the Fifth Committee recommended that \$19 million be voted for support of UNEF. Detailed contributions by individual countries will be worked out after the Assembly has approved the Committee's recommendation.

#### Peace Force

The report of the Secretary-General on the experience derived from the operation of UNEF and the implications of possible standby arrangements for United Nations action to meet future emergencies was circulated to the Assembly on October 15. In this document, Mr. Hammarskjold invited the Assembly to endorse a set of basic principles and rules that could provide an adaptable framework for future operations where the United Nations might be called on to intervene with military personnel. Owing to the negative attitude of the U.S.S.R. and some other countries, the Secretary-General advised the Assembly on November 5 that the United Nations should not take any action at the present time, rather it should wait until it faced a concrete situation, when the political issues involved in a United Nations field operation would have to be resolved. In the circumstances, this item was dropped without further consideration.

## Cyprus

The debate on Cyprus began in the First Committee on November 23 and, in the course of eleven meetings, a total of 43 delegations spoke. The Committee then passed to the discussion of the seven draft resolutions proposed during the debate. On December 4, an Iranian draft resolution, as amended by Turkey, was finally adopted by 31 votes in favour (including Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States and Turkey), 22 against (including Greece, India, the United Arab Republic and the Soviet bloc countries), with 28 abstentions (including eleven Latin American countries, and twelve Asian and African states). Under this resolution, the First Committee recommended that the General Assembly urge the convening of a conference "between the three governments directly concerned and representatives of the Cypriots" at which there should be discussion not only of interim arrangements for the administration of Cyprus, but also a final solution of the problem. The Committee's recommendation was considered by the Assembly at its plenary meeting of December 5, but was not put to a vote. The Assembly instead adopted unanimously a Mexican resolution expressing its "confidence that continued effort will be made by the parties to reach a peaceful, democratic and just solution in accordance with the Charter".

## Togoland

The most important development to date in the Fourth Committee, which deals with Trusteeships and Non-Self-Governing Territories, was the

unanimous adoption of a resolution deciding to bring to an end the Trusteeship agreement for Togoland when this territory becomes independent in 1960.

#### **Assistance Programmes**

One of the more significant decisions of the session in the economic and social field has been that of approving proposed arrangements for the United Nations Special Fund. This Fund, which will begin operation at the beginning of 1959, will enable the United Nations to extend its activities to the borderline between capital and technical assistance and to participate in pilot projects in various fields, such as resource surveys, housing or sanitation. The Canadian Government has pledged—subject to Parliamentary approval—to contribute \$2 million to the Special Fund, in addition to Canada's yearly contribution of \$2 million to the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme.

This year the Second, or Economic and Financial, Committee merely expressed hope for a "moderately higher level of operations" of the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme in 1959, and for contributions that will permit its gradual expansion. In fact, unfortunately, funds pledged for next year have fallen short of expectations and it may be that the Expanded Programme will have to reduce somewhat the scope of its operations.

The Assembly also decided to make provisions for an International Administrative Service, whose members will work for the national governments of newly independent countries needing trained administrators, until these countries are able to create a sufficiently large civil service from among their own people.



VISITOR FROM VIETNAM

The Honourable Vu Van Mau, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Vietnam, chats with Mr. Gordon Churchill, Minister of Trade and Commerce. On the right is Mr. Nguyen Huu Chi, Executive Assistant to Mr. Mau.

## The Prime Minister Reviews His Tour

MR. John G. Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada, returned on December 14 from a tour of European and Commonwealth countries. Mr. Diefenbaker and his party left Ottawa on October 28 in an RCAF aircraft for New York, where a brief stop was made en route to London, England. The Prime Minister remained in England until November 5 and then visited the following countries: France, Germany, Italy, Iran, Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Malaya, Singapore, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand, returning by way of Honolulu.

In a broadcast over the CBC Television National Networks on December 21, Mr. Diefenbaker said:

As you know, I have recently returned from an extended series of meetings with the heads of state and others in Western Europe and Asia. The purpose of these meetings was to discuss and assess the responsibilities which Canada has assumed within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty alliance and the Commonwealth of Nations for the maintenance of world peace and the advancement of the universal brotherhood of mankind.

Tonight I report to you on these discussions, without trespassing on the rights of Parliament to hear my report in detail. In these last few weeks, I have had the honour to speak and listen, on your behalf, to many eminent world leaders, as well as to Canada's Ambassadors and High Commissioners and other Canadians abroad.

In all these talks, I feel sure that substantial progress was made towards our individual and mutual objectives.

Je vous fais part ce soir de ces discussions, sans restreindre pour autant le droit qu'a le Parlement d'entendre, de ma bouche, un compte rendu détaillé de mon voyage. Au cours des quelques dernières semaines j'ai eu l'honneur de m'entretenir, en votre nom, avec les dirigeants de divers États, ainsi qu'avec des ambassadeurs et haut commissaires du Canada et d'autres Canadiens se trouvant à l'étranger.

Je suis sûr que, dans tous ces entretiens, nous avons progressé vers nos objectifs tant mutuels que particuliers.

There is no substitute for personal experience—for the "feel" of places and peoples that comes with even a moment's participation in their way of life. My visit to the lands of Asia and of the Commonwealth was made with fresh eyes eager to see, to learn, to absorb and to determine for myself the spirit emerging in those societies.

I have come back more convinced than ever of the importance of these personal meetings with national leaders. The more we know each other, the more likely we are to find amicable solutions of our differences; to understand the viewpoints and problems of others; and to appreciate the basic goodness and goodwill in the hearts of human beings. This is

something that can never be communicated through third parties, or by correspondence or diplomatic exchanges.

In essence, I am able to say to you, my fellow Canadians, that there is real hope for the maintenance of the peace in spite of the great problems that still confront us, because there is among most of the leaders of the nations, a determination to confine and confound the schemes and ambitions of those who would destroy that peace. There is a high resolve among the free nations to work together constructively and positively, as never before in history, to maintain a strong and united front as an effective deterrent to aggression.

There is another vital reason for the importance of these talks with world leaders. The normal diplomatic channels are still of the utmost importance, but there are times when direct communication between those in high authority, often by long distance telephone, becomes desirable and indeed essential. I need only mention the fact that there is a world of difference between speaking to someone, under such circumstances, whom you have never met, and the kind of frankness and understanding that is possible with one whom you know personally.

I can think of no one whose personal friendship and understanding have meant more to me in this regard than the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. In London we resumed those very important discussions which have been going on for some time, on many levels of government, about the trade and other relationships of our two countries. I need remind no Canadian of the importance of those traditional markets for our goods and services, because they have, from the earliest days, been the backbone of our development and prosperity. It is here, and in the related Commonwealth countries of the British trading orbit, that we must expand our mutual trade, if our Canadian economy is to have that level of earning from overseas trade which is necessary to offset our excess of imports over exports in our trade with the United States.

I am glad to report that there are excellent prospects for further expansion in Canada's trade with Britain in the immediate future. One of the major contributing factors has been the success of the Trade and Economic Conference held in Montreal. The spirit of mutual self-help engendered there is still very much alive in Britain and in many other Commonwealth countries.

We crossed from the Old Land to France, where, for the first time, I met General de Gaulle. France has passed through a time of crisis in the evolution of her Parliamentary institutions. I shall not comment on the prospects of the new Fifth Republic other than to say that I found the new head of that ancient state to be a man dedicated to his fellow citizens and prepared to devote his talents to the cause of France and her allies among the free nations. Our own direct interest as Canadians in the future of that great country was once again brought home to me in my visit to the headquarters of NATO, the Atlantic bastion of freedom against the floodtide of communism.

I must pass over quickly my visit to the other NATO countries, West Germany and Italy. I had previously met Chancellor Adenauer. Our talks added more to my admiration for him and for what he is doing to



THE PRIME MINISTER IN ITALY

Mr. Diefenbaker in Rome with Prime Minister Fanfani.

maintain, for the rest of the free world, that vital salient of the front line of freedom. Here we met our Canadian troops and their families. It is with the greatest pride that I report to all Canadians that the men and women of our Armed Forces stationed in Europe are adding lustre to the name and fame of Canada by their exemplary conduct and professional efficiency.

I stopped briefly in Italy for talks with Prime Minister Fanfani. The people of Italy have long been engaged in an internal battle against communist infiltration. Its success is vital to world peace. It is my impression that the battle is being won and that this great nation, to which the Western world owes so much of its heritage, will stand firm on the side of freedom.

After an all too short meeting with Prime Minister Manushar Eghbal of Iran, I went on to Pakistan, in which delightful country we met many Canadians engaged in the great hydro-electric project at Warsak. This is a tremendous undertaking and the fine spirit of co-operation between Canadians and Pakistanis here is doing much to develop a new and important relationship between Canada and this populous new nation. It is a relationship which must, in the long run, prove mutually advantageous to both our peoples.

In Pakistan, as in India which we visited next, I experienced at first hand the warm desire of all the Asian members of the Commonwealth for the quickest possible bridging of the gulf between the East and the West of the freedom nations. That it can and will be achieved I have not the slightest doubt, if we do our part. As a member of the Commonwealth, Canada has a significant role to play both in Asia and in Africa, where the vast majority of the members of the Commonwealth now live. The ties that bind are potentially strong. These new nations have joined us of their own free will and choice. They are extending to us the right hand of fellowship and it is my impression that, on both political and economic grounds, Canada is in a better position than any other Western nation to clasp these hands of friendship and so bring about an understanding between East and West.

The highlight of the Indian visit was, of course, our meetings with Prime Minister Nehru. I think he would allow me to say that our few days together developed an earlier acquaintanceship into a genuine friendship.

In Ceylon I met the national leaders in Colombo, the capital, well-known to all Canadians because of its connection with the Commonwealth Plan of aid to less-developed Asian countries. This new nation has many problems still to be solved, but I am able to report that Canadian assistance to this, as to other Colombo Plan countries, is already paying dividends in the kind of practical goodwill that will make Canadians and their products acceptable and welcome.

In Malaya, we saw at first hand the struggle of the little nations of Asia against communism being waged on a still active fighting front. This is one of the vital battlegrounds of the drive of international communism for the heart and minds of the Asians. Malaya seems a long way off to most of us, but I can assure you that the results of the struggle now going on in Malaya will affect the lives of Canadians for many years to come. It is a good thing for us of the West that, whatever our differences in other matters, we still have men like Prime Minister Tunku Rahman in many strategic places in the Asian world, who understand the terrible implications in a victory for communism.

The last of our talks took place in Australia and New Zealand, two Commonwealth countries with which Canada has many traditional



Mr. John G. Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada with his host, Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of

political and economic ties. I found both Mr. Menzies, and Mr. Nash of New Zeland, hopeful about the prospects for expanding the two-way trade between our countries. I wish I had time to tell you of the fine relations Australia and New Zeland are developing with the new Asian nations. Quite recently Australia concluded trade agreements with Ceylon, Malaya and Japan, practical examples of that kind of mutual co-operation between East and West which must come quickly if the free world is to survive.

And now, finally, it is proper to ask: "What has been gained for Canada?" My predecessor in office, Mr. St-Laurent, when he returned from a similar visit around the world, outlined the many advantages of his experience and I feel sure that they are as valid today as then. The average Canadian derives a third of his income from our export trade. He has therefore a more direct and personal interest in our relations abroad than the citizens of other countries.

The leaders of many states whose activities are of vital concern to Canada have been met, and have themselves now met the new leader of the Government of Canada, which has a deep-rooted tradition of international responsibility. The Canadian viewpoint on many matters has been put before them—and they, in turn, have had an opportunity to express their own views and opinions.

But I would like to think that there are more lasting consequences than even these personal contacts, important though they are. I would like to believe that these visits re-emphasize our Canadian commitments to the highest moral and political standards of international goodwill, and to a continuation of that participation in the affairs of the world which has given Canada an international status far beyond our numbers and even beyond the level of our physical and monetary contributions of recent years.

During my absence I have, of course, been in continual communication with the Cabinet here at home. I know that we still have problems of our own on the domestic front. It is here that my first responsibility lies. Every possible resource of the Government is being used to combat the national problems and individual hardships resulting from the world-wide economic slow-down.

It is a matter of great personal regret to me that some of these effects are still with us at this time. To inject a personal note, may I say my thoughts are very much with each of you, my fellow Canadians. I pray that the joys of Christmas may be yours in full measure; that the spirit of the blessed season be with you to comfort those in sorrow; to ease the cares of those who are sick; to lighten the burden of those in distress... And for the New Year, my hopes are high and my determination firm that, in so far as it may be in my power, the days ahead will bring to each of you peace, prosperity and great happiness.



THE PRIME MINISTER IN GERMANY

Mr. Diefenbaker in conversation with, left to right, an interpreter, Chancellor Adenauer and on extreme right, Dr. Gerstenmaier, President of the Bundestag (Lower House) at a dinner given in Bonn by Mr. Escott Reid, the Canadian Ambassador to Germany.

## Mr. Smith's Visits to Brazil and Mexico

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Sidney E. Smith, accompanied by Mrs. Smith and a small group of officials, returned to Ottawa on the night of December 4 after a twelve-day visit to Brazil and a four-day visit to Mexico.

#### Brazil

When the Minister and his party landed at Rio de Janeiro on November 17, they were greeted at the airport by a representative of H. E. President Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira, by Foreign Minister Francisco Negrao de Lima, by Sr. de Sa Freire Alvim, Mayor of Rio, and by Mr. W. A. Irwin, the Canadian Ambassador to Brazil, and Mrs. Irwin. The Minister declared to the press that he had come at the gracious invitation of the Brazilian Government to see, to hear, and to learn, and that he was looking forward to his conversations with Brazilian leaders.

At a dinner given in his honour at the Foreign Office, housed in the stately palace of Itamaraty, Mr. Smith said in part:

Our two countries, it seems to me, have much in common. We are both peoples of the Americas. We share the historical experience of having left our ancestral homes in Europe to pioneer on the frontiers of the New World. We share the experience of having won political independence. We share a deeply rooted respect for the rights of the individual man; a profound belief in the necessity of the rule of law; and an unswerving dedication to the democratic freedoms.

Being both immense countries of continental proportions, our concept of man's relation to space is similar. In the economic field—in agriculture, in industry, in transport, communications—as in the sphere of political organization, many of the problems which confront us are of a similar kind and of the same order of magnitude. We are both developing at an extremely rapid rate. All of this makes me believe that Brazil and Canada have much to gain by intensive and systematic exchanges of views, of skills and of experiences.

The official part of the Minister's visit to Rio de Janeiro lasted three days, in the course of which he had opportunities for exchanges of views with the President of Brazil and the Foreign Minister, not only on matters affecting Canada and Brazil alone, but Canadian relations with Latin America as a whole. However, it was not the Minister's purpose to enter into specific negotiations; as the first Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs to visit Latin America, the Minister wanted to bring to Brazil, and Latin America, the expression of Canada's sincere goodwill and active friendship.

The Minister noted with pleasure the identity of views between the Brazilian and Canadian Governments on world issues. The Minister also had the occasion to express to President Kubitschek his admiration for the initiative taken by the President in launching what has come to be known as Operation

Pan America, which proposes to find new and bold solutions to the economic and social problems of Latin America, so that the American hemisphere may play a more positive part in the development and fulfilment of Western democratic policies. Both the Brazilian and the Canadian Foreign Ministers expressed their common desire to see the two countries' delegations at the United Nations continue to work very closely on the problems facing the United Nations.

The question of Canadian membership in the Organization of American States was of course raised. As the Minister explained to the Brazilian press, the Canadian Government, in looking at this question, must keep in mind Canada's existing commitments, which are already heavy, towards the Commonwealth, the United Nations, NATO, the Colombo Plan, etc. Participation in the OAS would necessarily imply additional commitments in financial and personnel resources which our country might ill afford at this time. However, the Minister emphasized that Canada was becoming increasingly conscious of the importance of Latin America and that the question of Canadian participation in the OAS was under constant review in his Department. No decision had been reached, one way or the other, nor was one likely to be reached in the near future. The Minister also had frequent occasions to point out that there might be other ways open for Canada to show its real interest in Latin American affairs than by joining the Organization of American States. Indeed, few people realize, for instance, that one-quarter of Canada's diplomatic missions in the world are in Latin America. Furthermore, as the Minister also pointed out, Canada's contributions to the peace and prosperity of other areas are of advantage to Latin America.

While in Rio, the Minister also set two days aside to hold a conference with the Heads of the Canadian diplomatic missions in South America, to review their problems and study with them the Canadian political, economic and cultural objectives in Latin America.

Needless to say, the reception extended by the Brazilian Government and the Brazilian people to the Minister and his party was most cordial. Brazilian hospitality, which is famous for its warmth, displayed itself in a thousand and one ways. In one instance, President Kubitschek himself cancelled a mere formal call the Minister was to pay on him and gave instead a luncheon at his palace to which he invited not only the Minister's party but all Canadian Heads of mission in South America who had gathered in Rio for the abovementioned conference with the Minister.

Speaking at the luncheon, Mr. Smith said:

Columbus never visualized how North and South America were to excede his wildest expectations, how truly different from the old worlds this New World was to be. How new is our civilization, how new is our culture, how new our economy! Pre-Columbian civilizations have no doubt left their mark but the significant phenomenon seems to be the effervescence which has swept this hemisphere from Argentina to Canada. Our American nations have grown and expanded at a rate unknown before in history! They have more than expanded; they seem to have exploded to further and further reaches of their territories. Even the United States of North America, by far the most highly developed nation in our hemisphere, is still a young and growing country by the standards of other

continents. . . Our Canada is similarly expanding, indeed reaching now to its vast northern regions previously scarcely more than touched by the explorer . . .

And your Brazil, Mr. President, whose vast hinterland has resources which have as yet only in part been surveyed. As I flew over it, I was struck by its immensity, by its luxurious beauty I could picture from up above, but at the same time by the stupendous amount of human energy its development must require . . . What better symbol can I find of it, Mr. President, than this new capital city which your countrymen had dreamed of for decades but which you, Mr. President, with your moving belief in your country's potential, are striving so hard to give them. What a symbol it is for the New World, this Brasilia surging from the jungle to become the most modern, the most beautiful capital of this dynamic and inspiring country. Such a grandiose realization is typical of what can take place in the New World. I hope, Mr. President, you will give me your permission to visit Brasilia next Monday with my wife.

To facilitate the journey, the President put his own Viscount aircraft at the disposal of the Minister to go to Brasilia and, from there, to Sao Paulo.

Brasilia is the realization of a dream long cherished by the Brazilians that the capital should be removed from Rio de Janeiro and established on the central plateau in order to promote the development of the hinterland. From the air, one is struck by the size of this future capital and the length and width of boulevards which, for the time being, have to contend with hardly any traffic. At this stage, few buildings have been completed but several more are already partly built. The presidential palace, where the present incumbent frequently goes, is an architectural gem in a delightful setting. The Minister and Mrs. Smith took a helicopter ride over the rising city.

In Sao Paulo, often described as the fastest-growing city in the Americas, the Minister and his party called on the State Governor, Mr. Janio Quadros, and the Mayor, Mr. Adhemar de Barros. They also visited the Cubatao hydroelectric installations built by the Brazilian Traction Corporation, a Canadian organization. In Sao Paulo, as in Rio de Janeiro, the Minister had opportunities to meet the many Canadians living and working in these two cities.

#### Mexico

The Minister then flew to Mexico City, where he arrived on November 30. It was the Minister's pleasant task, as Special Ambassador, to represent Canada at the inaugural ceremonies marking the beginning of the presidential term of H. E. Sr. Adolfo Lopez Mateos. As Head of the Canadian Special Mission which included, in addition to officials from Ottawa, all officers of the resident mission and an RCAF Officer, the Minister brought to the new President the expression of the Canadian Government's warmest wishes for a prosperous term in office.

In a television interview at Mexico City on December 3, Mr. Smith spoke of the political, commercial and cultural relations between Mexico and Canada. In this connection, he said that exchange visits of symphony orchestras and ballet companies have enhanced cultural relations between the two countries and in recent years the increase in the number of Mexican students studying in Canada and Canadian students studying in Mexico had been very gratifying.

On the way to and from Rio, the Minister stopped twice for a few hours in Lima, Peru. In the course of the first stopover, the Peruvian Foreign Minister. Sr. Raul Porras Barrenechea, came to the airport to greet him and both Ministers reviewed common problems.



Mr. Smith, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, with the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Sr. Francisco Negrao de Lima, at the Brazilian Foreign Office. In the background can be seen the former Brazilian Ambassador to Canada, Sr. Afranio de Mello Franco.

## The Minister of Finance in Asia

In October and November, Mr. Donald Fleming, the Minister of Finance, completed a 48-day world tour which took him to a number of South and Southeast Asian countries. The purpose of the tour was threefold: to attend the annual meetings of the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation in New Delhi; to visit a number of Commonwealth countries to which Canadian aid is extended under the Colombo Plan; and to visit Japan for discussions with various members of the Government. Included in the itinerary were: the United Kingdom, Belgium, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong and Japan. On the return journey he visited Honolulu and San Francisco. The tour was undertaken by commercial airlines, involving 28 hops, and encompassing over 30,000 miles.

Accompanied by Mrs. Fleming, the Minister arrived in Brussels on September 30. He was in attendance on HRH, Princess Margaret, during her visit to the Canadian Pavilion at the World Fair. With the Commissioner General for Canada to the Fair, Mr. Glen Bannerman, Mr. Fleming called on the Secretary-General of the Exposition, and visited various exhibits. He attended a luncheon given by the British Ambassador for Princess Margaret, at which Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians, and Prime Minister Eystens were present. Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were guests of the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Charles Hébert. Returning to London, where the Minister and Mrs. Fleming stayed with the Canadian High Commissioner, the Honourable George A. Drew, Mr. Fleming and the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Douglas Harkness, were honoured at a luncheon given by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir. The Minister also had talks with the Governor of the Bank of England. Mr. and Mrs. Fleming flew to New Delhi, via Zürich, Beirut and Bahrain, on October 5, arriving on October 6.

### Bank and Fund Meetings

From October 6 to 10, the Minister attended the Bank-Fund meetings, held at the Vigyan Bhavan. During their course, he made a statement on behalf of the Canadian Government in which he reviewed the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference at Montreal, of which he was chairman. Mr. Fleming expressed Canada's support for the United States' proposal, subsequently adopted, that IMF Executive Directors study the question of enlarging the resources of the Fund and make appropriate recommendations:

May I say, on behalf of Canada, that we regard the idea of increasing the Fund resources as a very timely one, and we shall be prepared to give our warm support to a general increase in Fund quotas of at least 50 per cent of the present quotas.

In respect of the Bank, Mr. Fleming said:

I should like to re-emphasize our very active and continuing interest in the Bank as an instrument for aiding less-developed countries. While development is proceeding rapidly in Canada, and she is the largest net importer of capital in the world, we do not contemplate turning to the Bank for assistance. Nevertheless, we have been glad to release the full 18 per cent of our initial capital subscription, and the Bank has placed several issues of securities in Canada.

With the Minister in the Canadian Delegation at the meetings were Mr. Louis Rasminsky, Deputy Governor of the Bank of Canada, and Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance. Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were guests of the Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. Chester A. Ronning, in India.

On October 7, Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were received at lunch by the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru. They were also presented to the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. During his stay in New Delhi, the Minister had an opportunity for talks with members of the Indian Government, including Mr. Jain, the Minister of Food and Agriculture, and Mr. Desai, the Minister of Finance; with the Governor of the Reserve Bank; with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Derick Heathcoat Amory, and the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Robert Anderson. With Mr. Desai, the Minister concluded an agreement under which Canada extended a further \$8.8 million loan to India for the purchase of Canadian wheat. This was announced at a press conference later.

Mr. and Mrs. Fleming visited privately at Ratlam over the weekend of October 11 to 14, then travelled to Agra to see the Taj Mahal, returning to New Delhi on October 15.

#### Pakistan

The party arrived in Karachi, Pakistan, on October 16, where they were guests of the Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. H. O. Moran. The following day, Mr. Fleming paid calls on General Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief and Chief Martial Law Administrator, and President Iskander Mirza. The President entertained him at lunch, General Khan at dinner. Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were also given a dinner by the former Minister of Finance, Mr. Amjad Ali. On October 18, the party flew in an aircraft of the Pakistan Air Force to Lahore where they were guests of the Governor of West Pakistan. From there, Mr. and Mrs. Fleming went on to Peshawar, and on a trip through the Khyber Pass, where the Minister was presented with two sheep by the Headmen of the Pathan tribes of the Khyber in an ancient ceremonial, and given lunch by the officers of the Khyber Rifles in their mess. He then toured the Warsak Dam project, being constructed by Canada and Pakistan under the Colombo Plan, visited the project hospital, and met Canadians on the job at a reception at the clubhouse and later at a private dinner. While in Pakistan, Mr. Fleming announced at a press conference that Canada would supply Pakistan with \$2 million of wheat under the Colombo Plan and would construct the link between Karaphuli and the Dacca-Chittagong power connector in East Pakistan, Mr. Fleming had talks with officials in Karachi respecting the utilization of outstanding Colombo Plan funds.

Mr. and Mrs. Fleming visited Bombay from October 20 to 22 as guests of the Governor of Bombay State. They were honoured at a dinner given by the Acting Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Mr. W. J. Collett, and at a reception by the Indo-Pan-American Association. The Minister inspected the Canada-India experimental reactor being built at Trombay under the Colombo Plan. From October 22 to October 24 the party visited Madras, again as guests of the Governor of the State. The Minister was entertained at

a private dinner by leading state officials and businessmen. A visit was paid to Mahabalapuram, south of Madras, an ancient centre of Hindu culture. Mr. Fleming was the first Canadian minister to have visited South India.

#### Ceylon

He was also the first Canadian Finance Minister to visit Ceylon, where the party were state guests from October 24 to October 28. In Colombo, Mr. and Mrs. Fleming stayed at "Temple Trees", the residence of the Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. Over the weekend, the Minister and Mrs. Fleming were guests of the Governor General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, in the King's Pavilion, Kandy. While in Kandy they called on Sir Nicholas Attygalle, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon, to which Canada donated two buildings under the Colombo Plan. In Colombo, Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were entertained at a luncheon given by the Prime Minister and attended by members of the Cabinet, and at a reception and dinner given by the Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. Nik Cavell. Mr. Fleming inspected the fish refrigeration plant, the aerial survey project, and the Katubedde technical school, all Canadian Colombo Plan undertakings. He announced at a press conference that Canada was prepared to provide an additional \$1.2 million to continue the aerial survey of Ceylon in 1958-59 and 1959-60.

#### Singapore

While in Singapore, the party were guests of the United Kingdom Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, Sir Robert Scott. Mr. Fleming had talks with Sir William Goode, Governor of Singapore, Tun Lim Yew Hock, Chief Minister, and the Honourable T. M. Hart, Financial Secretary, and visited the Singapore Polytechnic where Canada equipped the machine shop. Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were entertained at luncheon by Mr. M. P. Carson, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner and at a dinner given by the Chief Minister and attended by leaders of the three other political parties in the Assembly.

#### Malaya

Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were guests of the Government during their brief visit to the Federation of Malaya, October 30 and 31. In Kuala Lumpur, they were received by Their Majesties, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and Raja Permaisuri Agong. Accompanied by the Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. A. R. Menzies, Mr. Fleming had talks with the Deputy Prime Minister, Dato Abdul Razak, Sir Henry Lee, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Tan Siew Sin, Minister of Commerce and Industry. He urged upon the Government of the Federation the relaxation of discriminations against Canadian dollar imports. Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were entertained by Sir Henry and Mr. Tan and toured the Aboriginal Research Centre.

#### Thailand

October 31 to November 3 was spent in Bangkok, where the British Ambassador, Sir Richard Whittington, acted as host to the Minister and Mrs. Fleming. The Minister had talks with, and was given a luncheon by the Acting Minister of Finance, Dr. Serm Vinichaikul. Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were honoured at a reception given by Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, Executive Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, with whom the Minister had discussions respecting the Lower Mekong River power

project which ECAFE is promoting for the benefit of Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

#### Hong Kong

In Hong Kong, Mr. Fleming laid a wreath at the Memorial in the Sai Wan Military Cemetery to the 300 Canadian soldiers who gave their lives in defence of the Colony in 1941. The Minister had talks with Mr. A. G. Clarke, Financial Secretary, Colonial Secretariat, inspected a refugee resettlement project, a textile mill, and toured the New Territories where he visited an experimental farm. Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were tendered luncheons by Sir Robert Black, Governor of Hong Kong, and Mr. W. J. Blackie, Director of Agriculture, and were entertained at receptions given by Mr. H. A. Angus, Director of Commerce and Industry, and Mr. C. J. Small, Acting Canadian Government Trade Commissioner.

#### Japan

The party flew to Tokyo November 6, touching down at Taipeh, Formosa, briefly en route. In Japan, Mr. and Mrs. Fleming were the official guests of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Aiichiro Fujiyama, who entertained in their honour at dinner on arrival.

The Tokyo portion of Mr. Fleming's five-day Japanese visit included an Imperial audience with Emperor Hirohito and the Empress, talks with the Prime Minister, Mr. Nobosuke Kishi; the Foreign Minister; the Minister of International Trade and Commerce, Mr. Tatsunosuke Takasaki; and the Minister of Finance, Mr. Eisaku Sato, who gave a luncheon for Mr. and Mrs. Fleming. Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre accompanied the Minister on his talks with government leaders. In Tokyo, the party was also entertained by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. F. W. Bull, with whom the Minister and Mrs. Fleming stayed, and the Canada-Japan Society and the Japan-Canada Trade Council. Accompanied by Ambassador K. Yoshida, the party spent three days in the Kansai District, visiting Nagoya, Kyoto and Osaka. In Nagoya, the Minister was honoured at a luncheon given by the Governor of Aichi Prefecture, the Mayor of Nagoya and the President of the Nagoya Chamber of Commerce. In Osaka, Mr. Fleming met with the All-Japan Cotton Spinners' Association and, accompanied by Prince Ivemasa Tokugawa, was the guest of honour at the inaugural luncheon of the Canada-Japan Society of the Kansai. During his Kansai tour, Mr. Fleming inspected local industries and visited the Katsura Palace. In Tokyo, the Minister told a press conference:

I have brought to the Government of Japan an expression of the warm friendship of the people of Canada for Japan. We are happy that . . . our relations, both political and economic, recognize the substantial degree of common interest that exists between the 'new Japan' and Canada.

On the return journey, Mr. and Mrs. Fleming enjoyed a two-day holiday in Honolulu and a two-day stopover in San Francisco, where the Minister conferred with the Canadian Consul General, Mr. Christopher Eberts. Arriving back in Ottawa on November 16, Mr. Fleming said that he had found that Canada's Colombo Plan projects in South and Southeast Asia were making an effective contribution; that this type of aid was needed and appreciated. He reported an enthusiastic reaction to the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference. Of his trip, Mr. Fleming concluded:

It was timely. What is going on in Asia now is of the greatest significance to the whole world. I may say that this trip has re-emphasized, if it were necessary, in my own mind, the strategic importance of Asia, South and Southeast, and I include Japan as well, by every test or concept . . . Everywhere I went I encountered the friendliest feelings expressed towards Canada. Canada, among the Western nations, is not suspect because the Eastern nations recognize that Canada has no axe to grind in her international relations or in the aid that she is endeavouring to extend to the less-developed countries of South and Southeast Asia. Canada's favoured position is something that is a matter of very great gratification, and inevitably at the same time, a very great challenge.

#### Colombo Plan Conference of National Information Officers

The first Colombo Plan Conference of National Information Officers was held in Singapore on September 9 - 12, 1958, to review Colombo Plan publicity in the context of national development in the area. Seventeen member countries of the Colombo Plan participated in the Conference.

The discussions covered all aspects of information policy and work in the various countries represented. This exchange of views was useful for a better understanding of information possibilities and problems in the Colombo Plan countries. The Conference also adopted conclusions and recommendations which were placed before the Colombo Plan Council, and subsequently referred for consideration to the meeting of the Consultative Committee in Seattle, last October and November. Canada was represented at this Information Conference by Mr. E. R. Bellemare, Acting Head of the Information Division, Department of External Affairs; Mr. Charles Marshall, National Film Board Representative, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi; Mr. R. S. MacLean, Second Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, and Mr. Barry Steers, Assistant Canadian Trade Commissioner, Singapore.

# The Overseas Friendship Society Of Ottawa

Under the Colombo Plan and various United Nations agencies, an increasing number of students, fellows and trainees have been coming to Canada each year, with Ottawa the headquarters for arrivals and departures.

In the leading cities of the Western world, organizations such as International House and the Overseas League provide a centre for students and visitors from far countries. A group of Ottawa citizens felt that there was now a need for such a centre in Canada's capital city. They spent the summer of 1955 in arousing interest in the scheme and raising funds to finance it. The Overseas Friendship Society was the result of their efforts.

Friendship House, the main project of the Society, had a modest beginning in rooms in a private house on the Driveway. This space, however, soon became too small, and in 1957 quarters at 56A Rideau Street (near the centre of the city) were made available by the Government of Canada. This new home was officially opened by the Prime Minister on May 16, 1958. Mr. Sidney Smith, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, an Honourary President of the Society, was also present.

These quarters provide lounge and kitchen facilities, and a recreation hall large enough to seat 200 people. A radio with a record player, television and a library are there for those who wish to use them.

With the exception of festival days when there is a special celebration, the club is at present open only during the week-end. Entertainment is provided to suit all tastes. Friday evenings are usually devoted to dancing, bridge and other games. On Saturday evenings, Canada is shown to the visitors through films and once a month there is a "country night" when the visitors, in turn, with the aid of their embassies, put on a programme illustrating the history, development and culture of their countries. On Sunday afternoons there is tea and an opportunity to meet friends. This is often an occasion to entertain a distinguished guest from abroad, or a Canadian who is leaving for, or returning from a foreign assignment.

Entertainment and hospitality are not confined to the club rooms. Arrangements are made for the visitors to be entertained in Canadian homes, to go skiing, to go on sleigh rides, to visit summer cottages, to see Canadian customs such as maple sugar making, or to visit points of interest outside Ottawa. In addition to entertainment, the Society maintains certain services such as locating accommodation for the visitors, making contacts in other cities across Canada, and generally helping them to become accustomed to Canadian ways and conditions.

The Overseas Friendship Society, responsible for all these activities, has a membership of over 200 residents of Ottawa. It is hoped to increase this number to 300 during the coming year. There are two types of members: first, those who think that the Society is worth supporting financially but who, for various reasons, cannot give much time to it and, secondly, the important group who contribute the modest fee and a good deal of time and energy as well.

On November 19, the Society, in conjunction with the Asian Committee of the Embassies of Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan and Pakistan, under the chairmanship of Lady Coomaraswamy, wife of the High Commissioner for Ceylon, sponsored an entertainment at the Glebe Collegiate. In "Asian Presentation", members of the Embassy staffs and students from Asian countries in Ottawa put on a colourful display of their native costumes, dances and customs. The object of the evening was not only to raise funds for Friendship House, but also to show the people of Ottawa something of the cultures of these countries.

In his report, the President, Mr. H. L. Trueman, announced that the books had closed for the year with a small balance. Reviewing the accomplishments of the Society, he said that much still remained to be done in improving facilities and programmes. The ultimate goal is to have a full-fledged International House in a residential district, with adequate club-room facilities, a resident manager and hostess, and a continually developing programme of hospitality and service.

The Overseas Friendship Society is affiliated with Friendly Relations with Overseas Students, a national organization with a local committee at each major university in Canada. In Vancouver, an International House is already under construction. This has been made possible by the gift of \$150,000 by the Rotary Club of Vancouver for this purpose, a sum which has been matched by the Government of British Columbia. It is to be hoped that in the future it will be possible to have similar facilities in other centres in Canada.



An evening of games and conversation at Friendship House.

## APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council and the Office of the European Economic Co-operation posted to temporary duty in the Department effective October 20, 1958.
- Mr. J. B. C. Watkins, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs appointed Canadian Ambassador to Denmark. Proceeded to Copenhagen November 5, 1958.
- Mr. W. M. Agnes posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi to Ottawa effective November 6, 1958.
- Mr. J. E. Bryson posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo. Proceeded to Tokyo from temporary duty in Ottawa effective November 7, 1958.
- Mr. P. M. Towe posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective November 9, 1958.
- Mr. G. Ignatieff, Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia appointed Deputy High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. Proceeded from Belgrade on temporary duty in the Department effective November 15, 1958.
- Miss P. A. McDougall posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective November 21, 1958.
- Mr. E. G. Drake posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi to Ottawa, effective November 22, 1958.
- Mr. C. E. Glover posted from the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina to Ottawa, effective November 30, 1958.

The Department regrets to announce the death of Miss Louise Saint-Pierre, Third Secretary and Vice-Consul at the Canadian Embassy in The Hague, the Netherlands, on November 7, 1958, at Utrecht, as the result of injuries received in a car accident.

Miss Saint-Pierre was born at La Tuque, Quebec on April 15, 1930, and was educated at Laval University, the Sorbonne, and Cambridge. Miss Saint-Pierre joined the Department of External Affairs in September 1955. She took up her duties in The Hague on June 5, 1958.

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#### A Selected List

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- Report of the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. For the period 1 July 1957 to 30 June 1958. A/3907 N.Y. 1958 29 p. and Map. GAOR: Thirteenth Session Supp. No. 16.
- United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 30 June 1958 and Report of the Board of Auditors. A/3941 N.Y. 1958. 16 p. GAOR: Thirteenth Session, Supp. No. 6B.
- Yearbook of the United Nations—1957. United Nations Pubn. Sales No. 58.1.1 604 p. \$12.50.
- United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Official Records. Vol. VI: Fourth Committee (Continental Shelf). Summary Records of meetings and annexes. Geneva: 24 Feb.-27 April 1958.) A/CONF.13/42. Sales No. 58.V.4 Vol. VI \$1.50. 153 p.
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- Trusteeship Council Official Records. Twenty-second Session (9 June 1 August 1958). Resolutions. Supp. No. 1. T/1403. 10 p. (bil.).
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- Annual Report of the Director of the UN. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, covering the period 1 July 1957 to 30 June 1958 GAOR: 13th Session, Supp. No. 14 (A/3931). N.Y., 1958. 46 p.
- United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund. Annual Report of the U.N. Joint Staff Pension Fund. GAOR: 13th Session, Supp. No. 8 (A/3938). N.Y., 1958. 27 p.
- United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 30 June 1958 and Report of the board of Auditors. GAOR: 13th Session, Supp. No. 6B (A/3941). N.Y., 1958. 16 p.

\*Printed documents of the United Nations may be obtained in Canada at the following addresses: Agents: The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street, W., Toronto; Sub-Agents: Book Room Ltd., Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Bookstore, Montreal; Magasin des Etudiants de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal: University of Manitoba Bookstore, Win-nipeg; University of Toronto Press and Bookstore, Toronto; University of British Columbia Bookstore, Vancouver.

Mimeographed United Nations documents are available to the general public by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York; and to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations from the United Nations Department of Public Information, New York.

For more complete information see "External Affairs" for April-May, 1958, page 117.

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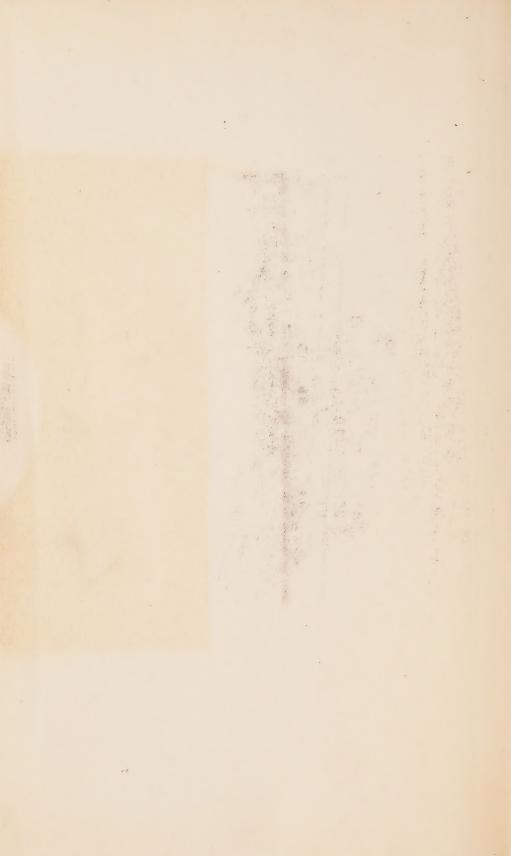
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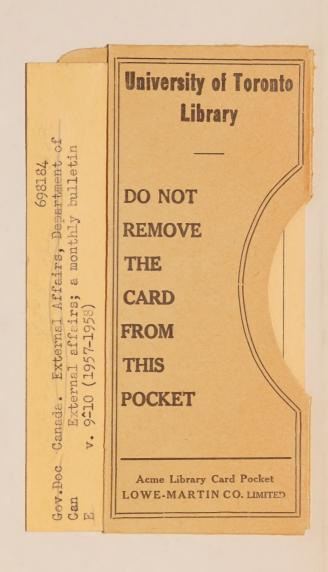
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